













TRAVELS

EGYPT AND NUBIA, SYRIA, AND THE  
HOLY LAND



TRAVELS

( IN )

EGYPT AND ~~NUBIA~~, SYRIA, AND  
THE HOLY LAND

INCLUDING

A JOURNEY ROUND THE DEAD SEA, AND THROUGH THE  
COUNTRY ~~NEAR~~ OF THE JORDAN.

THE HON. (CHARLES) LEONARD IRBY,

AND

JAMES MANGLES,

COMMANDERS IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1845.

LONDON :

BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS

## PRÉFACE.

ON the 14th of August, 1816, the HON. CHARLES LEONARD IRBY and JAMES MANGLES, Commanders in the Royal Navy, left England, with the intention of making a tour on the Continent. This journey they were led to extend far beyond the original design. Curiosity at first, and an increasing admiration of antiquities as they advanced, carried them at length through several parts of the Levant, which have been little visited by modern travellers, and gave them more than four years of continued employment.

Soon after their return to England, in the end of the year 1820, they were induced to transcribe a selection of the letters which they had addressed during their absence to their families in England, as the most convenient mode of satisfying the inquiries of numerous friends.

A limited Edition, for private circulation only, was in consequence printed : this was so well received, and the copies were in such request, that Mr. MURRAY has been solicited, as a small mark of the friendship and esteem of the writers, kindly to accept the copyright, and further to oblige them by giving the book publicity in the more popular form of his Colonial and Home Library.

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*March, 1844.*





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# TRAVELS IN EGYPT AND NUBIA.

## CHAPTER I.

### TOUR IN EGYPT AND NUBIA.

Our Party and its objects—Departure from Philæ—Our Boat's Crew—Saracenic Buildings—Supposed Boundary between Egypt and Nubia—Kalapsche—Its Temple—We are taken for Physicians—Mr. Belzoni bitten by a Water Lizard—Arrival near Koroskoff—Offidena—Arrival at Derry—Nubian Dance—Attempted impositions on the part of our Crew—Pass Ibrim—Researches of former Travellers—Abou-Simbel—The Dongola Caravan—The Mockatam Mountains—Ruins near Farras—Crocodiles—Torpedo—Camelfons—Arrival at the second Cataract—Description of the Cataract—Elpha—Further troubles with our Crew—Abou-Simbel—The small Temple—Message from the Cashiefs—Arrival of the Cashiefs—We wait upon them—Presents—Offence taken by Halleel—We engage Labourers—Proceed to the large Temple—Description of the Front—Commence operations—Are abandoned by the Natives—We continue our Labours—The Darfur Caravan—Interruption from Mahommed and Ali Cashief—Arrival of a Mameluke—The Natives refuse to supply us with Provisions—We succeed in reaching the Door of the Temple.

TOWARDS the end of May, 1817, we joined company at Philæ with Messrs. Beechey and Belzoni, who were about to proceed up the Nile. The principal object of this expedition, which was undertaken at the desire of Mr. Salt, was to endeavour to open the great temple at Abou-Simbel, which Mr. Belzoni, who was that gentleman's agent, had attempted the preceding year. The whole face of the temple, as high as the heads of the statues which are in front of it, was buried in the sand which had been blown from the desert. This sand, in the course of time, had accumulated to such a degree, as not only to fill up the whole of the valley, but also to form a mountain, sloping from the front of the temple for 200 or 300 yards towards the banks of the Nile. From all external appearance it is probable this temple, which is hewn out of the solid rock, had been shut for very many centuries, perhaps for more than 2000 years ;

and in that case, if it had not suffered too much in the general pillage and destruction which all the sacred edifices underwent at the conquest of Egypt, by Cambyzes and other subsequent princes, it was hoped that something interesting to the antiquary might be discovered.

We considered it a fortunate circumstance for us to have an opportunity of joining in so interesting an undertaking. It is advisable that travellers should be both numerous and well armed in Nubia : our party was now a tolerably strong one, as including Mr. Beechey's Greek servant, an Arab cook, and a janissary, it consisted of seven persons. We could only add one solitary musket to a pretty good stock of arms of every description which Mr. Beechey had with him. We hired a boat at a village situated on a point amidst a cluster of date-trees which bounds the view of the river from Philæ to the southward.

The crew consisted of five men, in ~~the~~ ing the reis or captain, and three boys: three of the men and the reis were brothers, and the fifth was their brother-in-law. This latter was dressed in a blue shirt, from which circumstance we nick-named him the "blue devil;" his real name was Hassan; he will be by and by a conspicuous character in this narrative. The boys were sons of some one or other of the crew, and the boat they said belonged to the father of them all, an old man who wore a green turban, as a descendant of the Prophet.

In the afternoon of the 16th of June, we started with a fine fair wind, having first settled a quarrel between two of our crew, in which one of them was cut through the calf of the leg, to the bone. Our agreement with the reis was for 160 piastres per month, 4*l.* sterling; and at the end of the voyage, if they behaved well, a backsheeish or present was promised, a stipulation which always forms part of similar bargains in this country. It was expressly understood that the crew should find their own provisions. As we advanced upwards, the sand hills filling up the cavities between the black granite rocks presented a most remarkable appearance; the surface in many places was quite fine and smooth, reminding one, with the exception of the difference of colour, of some of the scenery in Switzerland, where the snow before it cracks, and after it has been drifted fine, presents just such an appearance. The mountains here close in upon the river, and we looked in vain for that rich plain which, in Egypt, is every where to be seen on the banks of the Nile. On the heights, as we proceeded, we saw several Saracenic buildings placed in most picturesque situations; they tend very much to set off this wild species of scenery; we observed also, throughout Nubia, numerous piles of stones placed on the most elevated and conspicuous parts of the mountains, to indicate the vicinity of the Nile to the caravans from the interior of Africa.

Half a day's sail from Philæ brought us to the end of the granite rocks,

which now gave place to those of calcareous stone, though on the river side, in most instances, their exterior still retains a black colour and a polish. The vein of red granite, which begins below Assuan, and extends beyond Philæ, is supposed to continue in an easterly direction till it reaches the shores of the Red Sea, keeping, nearly throughout, the same breadth; the observations which we made on our trips into the desert from Assuan tended to confirm this opinion.

On the afternoon of the 17th, we came to a place where the mountains close in upon the river in a very abrupt manner, leaving no level land on the banks; the hills at the same time presented some very grand scenery. This by some travellers is termed the boundary between Egypt and Nubia, though I should be inclined to agree with the French, that the first cataract is a more natural limit to the two countries; as, immediately above Assuan, you perceive not only a country quite different from that below, but even natives of a character and colour in no way resembling the Egyptians, differently clothed, and speaking another language.

This evening we arrived at Kalasche, and as we had to wait some time while our janissary was buying provisions, we went up to inspect the temple, though we had agreed not to visit the antiquities until we returned from the second cataract. The ruins of this edifice are large and magnificent, but it has never been finished: it consists of a large peristyle hall, (most of the columns of which have fallen, and many are unfinished,) two chambers, and a sanctuary. The exterior walls are smooth, the sculpture not having even been commenced, and in the interior it is not finished, there being in no instance either stucco or painting. There has been first a quay on the river's side, and then a flight of steps as an approach to the temple. The outer hall had several Greek inscriptions in it, some of them in tolerable perfection.

In the evening, before we stopped, we passed two crocodiles; they were

on a sheal in the middle of the Nile, and retired before we got near them: they were the first we had seen since we left Philæ; indeed they are never met with near that island. On the 19th a foul wind obliged us to stop, when an old man came to beg medicine, thinking we were *hackim*, or physicians, a strange notion which all barbarous nations have respecting Europeans: we gave him some advice, though we declined any pretensions to the title he had given us. Bruce, in making himself acquainted with the rudiments of physic, showed how well he judged of the proper mode of travelling in these countries; and his narrative proves how much he benefited by this knowledge. Our denial of all knowledge of physic met with little belief among the natives; and to induce us to give them assistance, they offered us two fowls for any aid we would render to their patients. On the 20th we saw a camel swimming across the river; one man swam before with a halter in his mouth, leading the animal, another followed behind.

June 21.—We this day observed, immediately opposite Duckie, two lads crossing the river which is here tolerably wide, and pushing and towing a laden reed raft.

On the twenty-second observed the purple acacia; it bears some resemblance to a shrub, and is evidently a dwarf species of the mimosa; never attaining a height beyond a foot or fifteen inches; excepting in colour, the flower is like the yellow acacia. On the twenty-third our crew killed a snake that was basking on the river side; it was gray, with two black marks below its head. It was curious to see the precautions they used before they would surmise this reptile, which they represented as poisonous, though I did not believe it was so. We had this morning a regular wild-geese chase after an old one and four young ones; the crew jumped overboard and caught them all, though with some difficulty. I mention this merely to give some idea how expert these people are in the water; they may almost be said to be amphibious.

June 24.—This morning we were opposite Koroskoff; we purchased a sheep for nine piastres, but were obliged to send the money before they would even show the animal; we remonstrated much against this curious method of making a bargain, but nothing would induce them to change their plan. We this day saw the calibash growing wild on creepers up the acacia-trees on the river side. Our crew got three very good ones. The boys also found a sort of wild currant growing close to the water side; we tasted some, and thought them not unlike the bleaberry, though not shaped like them, being round; in size and colour they are alike.

Our custom was always to bathe morning and evening, frequently often. This evening, while at this recreation, Mr. Belzoni was bitten in the foot, which caused him to cry out somewhat loudly for assistance. Next morning he was bitten again, in the same place; this last bite fetched blood, taking a piece out of the toe. Mr. Belzoni plainly felt something twisting round his leg; we all agree in thinking it must have been a water lizard. The other day a man hailed us and asked "if we would buy a spy-glass;" he said he was a native of Senaar. We thought it must be the property of some European who had been robbed, and therefore told him we would see it first, upon which he came into the boat, that we might carry him to the village where it was (about four hours' sail above); however, on arriving there he walked off, and we never heard again either of him or his glass—the fact is, he wanted a passage, and we gave him credit for so cunning a method of getting one.

June 25.—We this day arrived near Koroskoff, at the place where the river reaches the southernmost point, before the beginning of the second cataract; for the river here turns due north, and continues in that direction between ten and fifteen miles; after which it becomes S. W. and then west to the second cataract. The Nile here assumes a picturesque appearance, having several islands and rocks in the

centre of it. In the evening our janissary shot a wild-geese; its plumage was beautiful, and its taste exceedingly good, though we had not the means of cooking it in a very savoury manner.

June 26.—Observed the Nile to have fallen about 1½ foot. It is now twenty-two days since it began to rise. It is already above the cataract of Syene (Assuan).

June 27.—We this day saw two crocodiles; our men requested us to fire some muskets to frighten them away, but were not afraid of towing the bark in the water close to the bank where we observed them. I think, from what we have noticed of these animals, that it is very seldom, if ever, they attack people. This morning a man on horseback came down to the river side, and said he was sent by Halleel Cashief with salam alicams (compliments): he, however, seemed chiefly intent upon getting something for himself; and, in a moment, enumerated several articles which he requested us to give him; such as coffee, snuff, gunpowder, salt, &c.; we told him we had none to spare, as we reserve those articles for Hassan Cashief, the chief person in this country, and whose favour it is necessary to gain by presents, in order to get permission to open the temple at Abou-Simbel. That chief has pledged his word to Mr. Belzoni, that none but the English should be allowed to work there, on condition that he, Hassan, is to have half the *gold* that was found in it: for these people have no idea that our researches for antiquities in this country have any other object than to get treasure; and they laugh when we tell them we are looking for stone statues, and slabs with inscriptions on them. They cannot conceive what motive can induce us to come such a distance, and expend three or four thousand piastres to clear away an accumulated mass of sand, for no other purpose than to find some granite figures.

We now observed the water to be exceedingly muddy, and of a reddish yellow colour. We stopped a short time at Offidena with a view of pur-

chasing a statue; but after much prevarication, we could not even get a look at it. The natives of this place are both handsome and well made, a circumstance very rare in Nubia; their complexion, however, was unusually dark. In the evening we arrived at Derry, and sent word to Daoud and Halleel Cashief, the two sons of Hassan, (who, most unfortunately for us, was at Dongola, and by whose absence we lost the friendship and assistance of the only honest man in the country,) that we were going up to open the temple at Abou-Simbel, and would thank them to send orders for us to be permitted to work; adding, at the same time, that we would wait on them and pay our respects on our return. While waiting there we had a specimen of Nubian dancing; about twelve lads assisted; the music consisted only in clapping the hands, in the doing of which they kept very good time. I cannot say much for the elegance or gracefulness of the dance, as it was nothing more than lifting up the right foot and stamping it down again, then rising up on the left foot by the spring of the instep, and afterwards letting the feet rest on the flat sole. This was done for a backsheelish which we gave them. We also gave the reis and crew a backsheelish of ten piastres, but they said it was not enough, so we added another five. At night, when we stopped, the reis came to us to say that we were two parties, and therefore should by rights pay double the money we had agreed to give for the boat. They also complained that we had not given sufficient to the crew to eat; that Jacques (an agent of Mr. Drovetti, a Frenchman living in this country, and who hired the boat not long before us,) always gave them one-third of his coffee, meat, bread, and every thing that he had; in short, they imagined that up here we were at their mercy. Now, as we had regularly fed them, and given them coffee without stint every day, we thought it time to come to an understanding, and therefore told them that the boat was at our disposal, and that it was no affair of theirs if we had two

or five different parties ; and with regard to food, that as they were not contented with what we had given them spontaneously, they should have nothing. We have no doubt but our janissary and the Greek servant put them up to this request, as the soldier took a poor cowardly part, and urged that as we were in a savage country, we had better temporize with them till we were on our return, thus showing of how little use these fellows are to protect travellers.

June 28.—Passed Ibrim, situated on a rude but picturesque hill of a conical shape, and of barren calcareous stone. There is not now a single inhabitant to be seen, and it presents a sad picture of ruin and desolation. Mr. Legh, in his recent publication, (a few extracts from which we have seen in the Quarterly Review for February last) says “this town was destroyed by the Mamelukes.” It was the extent or limit of his voyage in Nubia. He travelled in 1813. Mr. Bankes, it appears, was the first Englishman who ever succeeded in gaining the second cataract: he travelled in 1815. I fancy he took much about the same tour in Syria that we mean to take, though we have not as yet seen his journey traced out. In 1816, Mr. Drovetti, the *ci-devant* French consul in Egypt, succeeded in reaching the second cataract, together with his two agents, Rifaud and Cailliard ; these travellers, together with Sheikh Ibrahim (a real friend of ours) and Mr. Belzoni, are the only persons that have reached thus far. Mr. Belzoni had his wife with him in man’s clothes. Poor Norden, who travelled eighty years ago, could only reach Derry. His Nubian trip is interesting, though not very instructive. Denon went no higher than Philæ ; and Pocock only reached that isle. On the tops of the hills near Ibrim, we remarked many conical hillocks, as marks to direct the Dongola caravans. This evening we saw a crocodile sleeping on the sand a considerable way up. We were within twenty yards of him, but as none of our muskets were loaded with ball we did not fire ; we,

however, made a noise to awaken him, when he rushed into the water with his mouth open, looking very savage. He was about fifteen feet long.

June 29.—We arrived at Abou-Simbel, and unfortunately found that Hassan Cashief was absent ; we sent again to Derry, to Daoud and Hallel, for leave to begin to open the temple when we returned from the second cataract. The banks of the river between Ibrim and Abou-Simbel are beautifully spread over with the yellow and purple acacia, forming thick hedges, which have a very pleasing effect ; a species of the tamarisk is also common here. This is the plant that produces the gum arabic, which is brought in great quantities from the interior of Africa in the vicinity of Darfur. The seeds of the acacia form also a lucrative branch of trade, being sent in the first instance to Cairo, and then shipped for Europe, where they are used for tanning. The water is now become exceedingly thick, tis not, however, unpleasant to the taste.

June 30.—While we were at Abou-Simbel, the Dongola caravan passed ; it was preceded by about fifty camels, carrying provisions, &c. The conductors were armed with swords, daggers, and spears. They wore sandals to preserve the soles of their feet from the burning sand, which we now feel most sensibly, being obliged to stop every now and then to pour it out of our shoes. These sandals are much like those worn by the ancient Egyptians, and which are often found on the feet of the mummies.

The range of the Mockatem mountains terminate nearly opposite Abou-Simbel in a remarkable manner, in a considerable number of pyramidal hills rising up from the sand, and having the appearance of a gigantic camp ; some of the hills are oblong, and in the form of marquees : others are so perfectly pyramidal, that it is difficult to divest one’s-self of the idea that they are the work of men’s hands.

July 1.—Stopped opposite the village of Farras. We here examined the site of a large Nubian city, and amongst the modern stone buildings



of the Arabs found several remnants of temples, with hieroglyphics. In one was a beautiful cornice and a frieze, with the winged globe highly finished. The natives showed us some Greek and Roman ornaments, such as the spread eagle, ornamental cross, &c. Near the village are some fragments of a temple, consisting of several broken pieces of red granite pillars, also some small ones of beautiful white marble. From the appearance of these ruins, the fineness of the situation, and the rich plain of cultivated land near it, I think this must once have been a populous and flourishing city, in the time of the Greeks and Romans, as well as the Egyptians. Close to the ruins there is a natural rock standing by itself, with a doorway leading to a very small recess or chamber, in which are two Egyptian figures, in intaglio, on the wall: one is a man, the other a woman with the lotus flower in her hand. There is a double row of hieroglyphics near the inner figure, and a niche at the further end of the chamber about four feet square.

We bathed this morning opposite a village, and on a sand-bank in front of us, at not more than a musket-shot distant, we observed two crocodiles (*timsah* in Arabic). As soon as we went into the water they both walked into the river, to all appearance from fear, for they are certainly both shy and timid, and, I suspect, will only attack a single person; nor then, unless they can surprise him in the water, and off his guard. We saw no more of these two, but, at noon, we saw another swimming with his nose just out of the water. We also observed a pretty large water-lizard, and a small black water-snake. To-day the sand-hills have assumed a fine green appearance, being covered here and there with tamarisk. This verdure, contrasted with the dark yellow sand, forms a pleasing diversity of colour. In the evening, while towing the boat, our sailors found a torpedo on the very brink of the river, apparently asleep. It was curious to observe their caution and timidity in approaching it; they, however, suc-

ceeded in sticking one of their daggers in his head, and by that means hauled it on shore. Our Egyptian crew had done the same near Beni Hassan. We got it on board, and, though nearly dead, it sensibly affected my arm in laying hold of it. I felt a double shock up the arm near the elbow. It was about two feet long; had very small eyes. The belly and top of the back white; one dorsal fin, and the sides, were coloured dark brown with black spots; it had no scales. Our sailors in Egypt ate the one they caught, but the present crew would not touch this, even when dead, and consequently harmless, much less eat it. They all told us we avoided the shock by uttering a charm, or using some magic influence. This day one of the boys of our crew brought on board a camelion. He caught it in an acacia (called in Nubia the soont) tree, which they affect more than the date, or any other tree in this country. On coming on board, it hissed and shewed symptoms of anger, evincing at the same time a great desire to make its escape. It was then of a dirty green colour, with dark spots, and whenever it was approached it turned to a dusky brown, inflating itself at the same time. I conclude that one hue is the effect of fear, and the other of indifference. We had subsequently eight of these animals on board; some of them became so tame, that when the flies annoyed us we had only to take one of the camelions in our hand, and place it near the flies, and it would catch them with its long tongue in great numbers.

*July 1.*—In the evening we arrived at Farras, when two natives, with the men servants of Hassan Cashief, came to us, and we made a bargain with them to procure asses and camels to go above the second cataract. One of these remained in the boat, and the other promised to meet us at Elpha on the morrow with the animals. Elpha is opposite the second cataract, and is the last habitable place to which the Nubian boats ascend.

*July 2.*—Arrived at the second cataract, and perceiving we should have a long distance to walk to the elevated

point from whence the finest view of it is obtained, we requested the reis to take us higher up the river, in order to shorten the walk, but all the boatmen persisted that it was impracticable for the boat to go higher on account of the rocks; they offered, however, to take us if we would first go over to Elpha, on the opposite side of the river, and land all our effects, and then return again. We required the reason of this odd proposition, when they said that they were apprehensive of thieves on that side of the river. We did not however like the scheme, and therefore refused to do so, urging them to advance higher up, as we plainly perceived we might go a good league farther without the least risk, but nothing would induce them to consent. In the mean time another boat arrived, and we perceived that our reis and his sailors were in league with the men of the other boat, to force us to take their bark; but we determined to walk rather than submit to this imposition, as the new comers wanted a high price, and accordingly we set out. The sand was deep and the sun very hot, so that we soon found that walking in the desert is no joke: our trip occupied us about two hours, from one o'clock to three, the hottest part of the day. On the road we found innumerable tracts of the gazelle and other animals; we saw seven of the former in one group, and three in another. They were not so timid as we expected, and stopped to gaze on us with their ears cocked up like deer in a park: their colour is brown, not much unlike the sand, and when they are in a valley it is difficult to perceive them. We were not more than two musket-shots distant from the three we first saw. When running, they are wonderfully light and nimble, and while on the rocky parts bounded with great agility.

The spot from whence we surveyed the cataract was a projecting cliff, about 200 feet high, with a perpendicular precipice down to the river side; from this place, which is on the western bank, you look down on the cataract to great advantage; it presents a fine *coup d'œil*: the river here runs E. N. E. and W. S. W. In Ame-

rica this would be called "a rapid," there being no direct fall, only an immense cluster of innumerable black rocks, with the Nile running in all directions with great rapidity, and much noise between them; they fill up the whole breadth of the river, which may be about two miles wide, and they extend as far as the eye can reach, altogether making a space of about ten miles of rapids: three below the rock on which we stood, and seven above. The scenery here is remarkably wild, there being no human habitation visible, excepting a fisherman's hut on one of the islands, and the village of Elpha on the opposite side of the river, in the distance; some of the rocks have beds of yellow sand on them, and most of the islands have small trees and shrubs growing in the crevices: the verdure of these, contrasted with the sand and black rocks, produces a fine effect. In front, and on both sides, the view is bounded by the desert; to the southward are the tops of two high mountains rearing their heads above the hills, and apparently seventy or eighty miles distant. The western bank of the river is richly covered with trees and shrubs, and it is curious to observe, immediately beyond this green margin, the barren desert, without the least vestige of verdure. Having bathed and dined on bread and cheese, we set out on our return to the bark, our guides urging us to be quick, lest we should be benighted; they said the serpents and other venomous reptiles always came down by night to drink, and they were apprehensive that we should tread on them; they also said we should meet robbers at night: these people have a remarkable aversion to being in the dark. I remember, when at Dendera, our servant, an Arab, hurried off and left us behind, when he thought we should be late in returning to our boat; and whenever our lights have gone out in a tomb or temple, the Arabs have always clapped their hands, and made a noise to keep their spirits up till the light returned. In the evening, after dark, we reached the boat.

July 3.—In the morning at daylight

we crossed over to Elpha, the way to which place leads through several intricate passages, amongst rocks and shoals, where the current runs with great rapidity. In one part we were obliged to pass close under a high bluff, with some ruined houses on it: it was not necessary to pass through this intricate passage, our boatmen took it when we were all asleep, and we only perceived our situation on awaking at Elpha. We here found that neither asses nor camels had arrived to take us up to the temple, the reason assigned for this was, that the price agreed on the day before, at three piastres for each animal was not enough, though the person who made the agreement was there. We now endeavoured to procure beasts of the inhabitants, but they haggled so much about the price that we could make nothing of them. While this was going on, our crew, reis and all, took their clothes, arms, and effects out of the boat, and walked off to a *sackey*,\* about 20 yards' distance, on the banks of the river: here they squatted down amongst a considerable number of natives; we had not taken notice of this proceeding, as their clothes, &c. were all kept abaft, behind the end of our cabin. When we could not agree for the asses, &c., we said we did not want them, and would go back to Abou-Simbel; with this intention we called the reis, and desired him to get the bark ready to return, but received an immediate answer that "neither he nor his crew would come." When we sent to know the reason of their refusal, they replied, that we must give them more money for the boat before they would come on board: they also said that we had never fed them, nor had we given them backsheeish, and when we reminded them of what they had received at Derry, they said that was nothing.

We now threatened to go off with the boat, and for that purpose rigged the oars across, but the wind being strong against us, we did not get under weigh. When the oars were ready we

sent word to the crew to come, but they replied that they would not; that we might buy the boat if we chose, but that they would not navigate her: at the same time they said that they were people who did not value their lives a pigeon, and would take ours for half a one. While all this was passing, we observed the natives assembling in every direction, armed with spears, swords, and daggers; every minute they were arriving from all quarters on asses, and always going to the rendezvous under the sackey, where our vile crew had it in their power to tell any falsehoods against us without our being able to confute them, as neither our Arab cook, the Greek servant, or janissary understood the Barbarin language. Several of the Barbarins now came to see what arms we had, and appeared to take an exact account of everything in the shape of a weapon; for seeing affairs in this posture, we had prepared for the worst, and laid out all our arms in readiness, with which, fortunately, we were well provided. After a little time a message came from the crew that they wanted money; we sent them word that they must first come and do their duty; that as soon as the boat was off from this place, they should have a backsheeish, but not one para till they had done their duty. They now sent word that we had absolutely starved them, which was no doubt what they told the natives; they also informed us, that at this very place they had beaten Jacques Rifaud during his last voyage, and that it was done in the presence of the sheikh of the place, and all the natives; and that they had made him pay fifty piastres for the stick they had broken over his head. At Derry they had talked to us about his generosity. At this moment several of the natives came down demanding backsheeish, backsheeish, in a threatening manner. We asked the reason why we should give them money? They replied, for seeing the cataract, and coming into their country. A loaded musket was now pointed at them, and they were asked if they wanted money by force

\* Sackey is the Persian wheel with which they raise water from the river; it is described by Burckhardt, Norden, and other travellers.

or good means ; on which they retired, saying la, la, la, no, no, no, evidently not liking the sight of fire-arms. We now told them, that if we had seen the cataract without paying, so they had seen us without giving us anything as a recompense, though we were as novel a sight to them as their cataract was to us, and therefore we were quits.

Some of the most impudent now came down, and on being refused money said we should wait where we were till the high Nile : that we should neither go upward or downward, laughing and hooting at the same time ; our villanous crew all this while sitting under the sackey, and enjoying the storm they had raised against us. To all their threats we constantly replied, that we were well armed, were determined not to be robbed, and that should they come to extremities, we would certainly make good use of our fire-arms, which we took care they should all see were pretty numerous and loaded. The asses were now brought, and the people endeavoured to persuade us to go off to the temple, evidently in the hope of plundering the boat when we were gone. We saw through this trick, and positively refused to go. We also told the natives, that though we were few in number, we had the firman of the pasha, and that any violence offered to us would be sure to be well punished. Those who had brought the asses now asked some remuneration for their trouble, as we had refused to hire them. This we thought reasonable ; and, to draw off their attention, (for there were about forty of them), we gave eight piastres to be divided amongst the claimants. The division of this money turned affairs very much in our favour ; for they began to quarrel amongst one another immediately.

The crew now thinking that they should get nothing for themselves, sent a messenger, while the natives were disputing about the division of the eight piastres, to say they would come and prepare the boat provided they had the backsheeish. We repeated our terms, that they should have a present when they did their duty. Seeing they could

not stir up the natives to any acts of violence, they returned to the boat, all armed, having their daggers fastened to the left arm above the elbow joint, the manner in which all the Nubians wear that weapon. As soon as the boat was ready, they asked for the money, when we gave them fifteen piastres. Before we were off, however, one of the Farras people came to be rewarded for endeavouring to hire the asses at that place, or rather for disappointing us. We offered him five piastres, which he indignantly refused ; but seeing he could get no one to assist him in forcing us to give more (for all these people are impudent and bullying for their own interest, but never for another's), came back and said he would take the five : this we now refused ; when he went off in a violent rage, uttering threats that we should hear more of him below. After this, we got off from this infamous place, and soon found what a trap they had set for us ; for it was with the utmost difficulty that even the crew could get the boat through the numerous narrow passages, all of them being obliged to get out into the river, and guide her through amongst the rocks ; and we were also forced to pass directly under the bluff before mentioned, where the natives, had we ourselves taken the boat off, would have annoyed us greatly, while they would have been sheltered behind the ruined village. Indeed our crew wished us above all things to take the boat off, that they might represent us to the inhabitants as robbers, stealing their bark. However, we saw through all this.

*July 4.*—We arrived at Abou-Simbel, and found that no message whatever had been received from the cashiefs at Derry. This was a sad disappointment to us. Our crew, now dreading the presence of the chiefs, came to beg forgiveness ; saying that they had forgotten and forgiven everything, and hoped that we had. They said they would behave well in future —“ that they were poor, and always made a practice to get all they could from passengers and strangers.” They remarked, “ that dogs, when repulsed,

always made a practice of returning to get something as long as there was anything to be had." This appears to be a favourite proverb amongst them.

*July 6.*—We visited the small temple opposite Abou-Simbel on the south side of the river. This temple is excavated in the solid mountain; the entrance is situated on the side of a rocky precipice, which below slopes into the river: there are some remains of steps cut in the rock as an approach to it. The principal chamber is 10 paces long, by 9 wide: it is supported by four pillars, two on each side of the passage. In the centre, at the further end of the apartment, there is on each side a doorway communicating with side chambers, 9 paces by 4 each. The sanctuary at the end of the principal chamber is 6 paces by 4; this is the most common mode of construction in the Egyptian temples. At present the interior of this temple appears daubed all over with dirty plaster and Greek paintings, mostly representing men on horseback. Behind these, however, we easily discovered the Egyptian figures, hieroglyphics, &c. &c., in bas-relief on stucco. As most of the figures represent men with hawks' heads, we think this temple was dedicated to Osiris; and afterwards, perhaps, converted into a church of St. George. The sanctuary has been once ornamented, but the side apartments are plain. There is a small subterraneous chamber below the sanctuary, apparently intended for a sepulchre.

*July 7.*—A messenger on a dromedary arrived from Daoud Cashief to learn "if we were the same English for whom Hassan Cashief had promised to open the temple;" at the same time he sent word, that if we were the same persons he would immediately come himself; but if not, he knew what to do. The latter part of the message alluded to the French, who had used every effort to get Hassan Cashief to allow them to open the temple after Mr. Belzoni's first attempt in 1816. Mr. Belzoni, however, had fortunately, after his first effort, sent Hassan and his two sons a

turban each, and some other presents, in Mr. Salt's name: this he did to bind them to their promise, and they certainly deserve credit for keeping it. It ought to be mentioned, also, that Mr. Drovetti, in the early part of 1816, on his way to the second cataract, before Mr. Belzoni's arrival in Nubia, had contracted with Hassan Cashief to open the temple, for 300 piastres, and left the money; Hassan promising that Mr. Drovetti should find it ready opened on his return from the falls: however, when he came back, his money was returned, the chief candidly telling him he could not undertake the task for so small a sum. As Mr. Drovetti would not go to a greater expense, the field now became open to any one else who chose to attempt the enterprise.

*July 6.*—In the morning we started early with two of the natives in search of a temple which they said was in the neighbouring mountains, about a "pipe" distant; for it is common among them to estimate a short journey by the number of pipes they can smoke during its performance. On our way we met two white gazelles; they were very timid; the belly and tail were perfectly white. After walking about an hour, we came to the mountains, where, having waited about two hours more, our conductors came and said, they could not find the temple, though the evening before they had described the size and every particular of it. In the evening we had a violent quarrel with the crew in consequence of their drawing their daggers on our servants. We told them that the first who drew his dagger should be severely punished: this threat, however, had so little effect, that one of them who had murdered his own brother at Philæ (for which reason he did not dare to go near the island, but was taken into our boat at a village above it), said he would be the first, and swore by Alla and the Prophet that he would have one of our lives; adding, that his method was not to attack people awake, but to stab them sleeping. We laughed at their threats, and told them they were

more apt at talking of these matters than in doing them.

July 10.—To-day the two cashiefs, Daoud and Halleel, arrived. They did not come to us, nor send any message to apprise us of their arrival; but pitched their tents, formed of a few date sticks, the roof covered with grass, on the sand-bank at the river-side: here they waited till we should make our appearance. We accordingly set out to visit these potentates. The first tent we entered was Halleel's: he was a tall, handsome man, about thirty-six years of age, 6 ft. high, very corpulent, and had a fine expressive countenance, with dark eyes: his dress was a large, loose, white linen shirt, with long sleeves hanging down nearly 2 feet, an old turban, and slippers. He received us courteously, and immediately conducted us to the tent of his elder brother Daoud, who also gave us a very good reception. Daoud Cashief is rather taller than his brother, but not so fat. He is about forty-five years of age, and had a certain dignity and reserve in his demeanour that bespoke the chief: he wore a loose blue shirt. We were not long in bringing forward the subject of the temple, when he immediately said he would willingly give us his assistance to have it opened. Pancakes of flour and butter-milk were now brought, on which we all feasted, making use of fingers instead of spoons. Coffee was served, or rather a substitute for that beverage, which is not unpalatable; they call it gargadan: it is a small black grain, not unlike the English rape-seed; this they burn and pound like coffee, and it would puzzle those who are not connoisseurs to find out the difference.

The two chiefs dwelt much on the attempts which the French had made to induce them to consent to the temple's being opened, appearing to take great merit to themselves for having resisted all the offers that were made to them. The presents were now brought, and given in the name of Mr. Salt: to Daoud a handsome gun, which at Cairo cost 500 piastres; a turban which cost 50; and some trifles,

such as gunpowder, soap, tobacco, coffee, sugar, &c. To Halleel a turban and smaller articles, equal in value to those which his brother had received. We then took our leave; but had scarce reached our boat when we heard that Halleel was highly offended because he had not received a gun as well as his brother. We immediately went back and endeavoured to appease him, explaining that we were not aware that he was a cashief, or we would certainly have brought him a gun as well as Daoud: indeed, the preceding year, when Mr. Belzoni was in Nubia, the younger brother had not assumed the title of cashief, nor was he treated as such. We promised that if he would have patience, and confide in our word, we would send him a gun exactly the same as his brother's; or, if he preferred it, we would give him one of our own; though we confessed we had none half so good as that was, and advised him to wait till we got another, as he would lose much by accepting a bad one. All was, however, in vain; he would not be appeased, but sat sulky in the corner, saying, he had better guns than ours, and that he knew what to do in his own country; meaning that we should not open the temple. This was an unexpected blow to our hopes: we began to despair; and seeing nothing would please him, we retired. A message now came from Daoud to invite us to partake of a sheep he had killed in order to regale us. We went to his tent. Halleel was not there. We noticed this, and expressed our concern at the displeasure he had given. Daoud said his brother was only a boy; that he was indiscreet, and did not know what he did, and that we need not mind him. We sent a message to him to say we would not eat unless he came and ate with us, but he refused. Daoud now, at our request, went to bring him; but returned unsuccessful, saying, he was only a boy, and that he pledged himself we should open the temple. However, as Halleel was evidently of a mischievous disposition, and likely to do us injury, indirectly, if not directly, we judged it the best policy.

to bring about a reconciliation. Mr. Belzoni accordingly went himself; and, after much difficulty, prevailed on him to come: he, however, was still sulky; and we had scarce sat down to dinner, when three strangers, apparently newly arrived, entered the tent, kneeled and kissed hands, paying their respects to Halleel before they saluted Daoud. We easily saw through this little trick, which was a concerted plan between the two brothers, to induce us to give Halleel more presents, from a supposition that his rank was equal to his brother's. The men belonged to the suite, and were disguised for the purpose.

After we had retired from dinner, we went to see if Halleel was still displeased, and found him as sulky as ever; our crew and Hassan having been with him from the first moment of his ill-humour, and doing all in their power to put him against us, for which Daoud had reprimanded them severely. Perceiving there was no pleasing him; that neither presents nor promises were of any avail, we returned to the boat; Daoud having pledged his word that we should commence our operations the following morning. Late in the evening we received a message from Halleel, requesting a gun, with some powder and shot; we immediately gave him ours, which, though good for nothing, was, nevertheless, the best-looking one we had. This prompt compliance calmed his anger; and we began to congratulate ourselves on the prospect of ultimate success. The only remaining difficulty now was to make the agreement with the workmen. The Farras man, who told us at Elpha "that we should hear of him below," now made his appearance, and endeavoured all he could to thwart our proceedings: we, however, took him to the cashiefs, and explained his conduct to them, on which they reprimanded him. After much altercation, we were glad to agree for the men to work at two piastres each per day.

*July 11.*—In the morning the two cashiefs came on board, and we proceeded to the temple, about a quarter of an hour's row from the vi-

The chiefs told us we were to have sixty men, and we paid for that number; but only fifty came. We were obliged also to give them doura, as they all complained of having nothing to eat. However, we were so anxious about the temple, that we were glad to give them anything, provided they would but work. I shall proceed to describe the object of our research, and explain where it was situated, how formed, and the manner in which the mysterious door was hidden from our view. The temple is situated on the side of the Nile, between 200 and 300 yards from its western bank; it stands upon an elevation, and its base is considerably above the level of the river. It is excavated in the mountain, and its front presents a flat surface of upwards of 60 feet in height, above the summit of the sand immediately over the door, but not so much as 40 on the north side, and a little more on the south; the breadth is 117 feet. Above 30 feet of the height of the temple, from the base, is covered by the accumulated sand in the centre, and about 50 feet on either side. The surface fronting the river is hemmed in by a mountain of sand leaning against it; and the door in the centre is buried beneath this sand, which rises on each side of it, increasing the labour and difficulty of digging in a prodigious degree: for no sooner is the sand in the centre removed, than that on either side pours down, so that to gain a foot in the centre, we had to remove the whole mass of sand which leaned against the temple; this sand also was of so fine a description, that every particle of it would go through an hour-glass. In front of the temple are four sitting colossal figures cut out of the solid mountain, chairs and all: they are, however, brought out so fully, that the backs do not touch the wall, but are full eight feet from it; and were it not for a narrow ridge of the rock which joins them to the surface, from the back part of the necks downwards, they would be wholly detached.

One of the statues has been broken off by a fracture of the mountain, from the waist upwards. There were ori-

ginally twenty-two monkeys above the frieze and cornice : of these there are not now above twelve perfect. Under the arm of one of the great figures, we discovered the remains of the stucco with which they were once covered, and traces of red paint are discernible in many places. I think it very probable the whole front of the temple was once covered with stucco ; more especially as they have used that material very liberally and skilfully in the decoration of the interior. Of the cornice over the door, which was once perfect, there is not at present more than a foot in breadth remaining, just over the corner where we entered. In the progress of our labours, we discovered what had become of the rest ; and its mutilation caused us some very desponding evenings, as there was little indication of the temple being finished lower down than we could see.

*July 11.*—On the first day, the fifty men that came worked very badly, and we found that the burthen of the song which they sung, by way of stimulating each other, was, “that it was christian money they were working for—that christian money was very good, and that they would get as much of it as they could.” This Nubian song, though cheering to them, was not much so to us. In the evening we returned to the village of Abou-Simbel ; and perceiving we should never make any progress with people who, being sure of their pay whether they laboured well or ill, would only work five hours in the day, we sent to the cashiefs, and concluded a bargain with them and the natives “to open the temple” for 300 piastres. At this time none of us thought it would take more than four days to accomplish the undertaking ; so little did we know of the real nature of our enterprise.

*July 12.*—In the morning, the two cashiefs and about one hundred men came and worked very well, thinking they could open the temple in one day. The chiefs requested we would not interfere in directing the labourers where to work, as it was now their own affair : they had undertaken the task, and were responsible for its exe-

cution. In the evening our boat’s crew came and begged the intercession of the cashiefs to make their peace with us. They were the more anxious for an accommodation, as by the quarrel they lost the heads, skins, and offal of the sheep killed. We affected much reluctance, but ultimately forgave them ; the cashiefs bursting out into a violent rage against the crew, on our remarking that no European travellers would ever come into the country again, when they heard of the usage we had received. The dispute was scarcely at an end before our sailors asked for backsheesh ; this we positively refused till we arrived at Philæ, and then only on condition of very good behaviour : all came now and kissed our hands in token of reconciliation. At sun-set we returned to the village of Abou-Simbel ; when the chief of the labourers asked for 200 out of the 300 piastres, though they had consented to be paid only when the temple was opened ; we were, however, obliged to give 150, but said we would give no more till the work was finished.

*July 13.*—Only Hallel Cashief and about sixty men came ; they worked very ill, and expressed doubts as to there being any door, though they had not yet got more than four feet down. While we were endeavouring to persuade them to persevere, one of the natives, a carpenter, with an audible voice, made a speech, the substance of which was, “that they would work the whole of that and the two successive days, and if in that time they found a door, well and good ; if not, they would labour no longer.” This declaration was received with tumultuous applause, in which we thought it good policy to join, as neither our approval or displeasure would have had any weight with them ; and it was possible that our appearing to be in good humour with them might induce them to do their work more cheerfully. In the evening we returned to the village, complained to the cashiefs of the badness of the work, and noticed the approach of the ramadan, when it was probable we should no longer be able



to get workmen, and therefore our present efforts would be useless. Both the brothers now promised us "a host of men next morning," and that they should begin early. While we were discoursing, some Mograbins, on their way from Cairo to Dongola, were introduced: we remarked their melancholy looks, but were then ignorant of the cause. Our business being at an end, we retired to our boat, after having feasted on doura cake and dripping.

*July 14.*—Rose early, and sent to the cashiefs that we were ready; but, after waiting for three hours, they sent word to us to go, and they would join us by land; so busied were they in plundering the Mograbins, that we and our temple were not thought of. We accordingly went, and found only fifty men, who were doing little more than nothing; and none of the leaders or attendants were present, except old Mouchmarr, an elderly servant of the cashiefs. We asked him the reason of his master's absence, when he said "that we must not think him a Barbarin; that he was an Arab, and only lived in this country by constraint; that both the cashiefs were robbers, and were at that moment pillaging the caravan of Morocco; and that the whole tribe of natives were nothing but a gang of thieves." We could not help laughing at the remarks of the old man, which, though true enough, would have come better from another quarter, as he himself was quite as great a rogue as the rest. At noon Daoud Cashief arrived. The men still continuing to work without any energy, we remonstrated with Daoud, but only received promises of great doings on the morrow. We returned to the village in the evening, when the men asked for the remainder of the money; this was refused, and in consequence there was much discontent. Halleel Cashief came and endeavoured to persuade us to pay the money; but we persisted in refusing till they should have worked the third day, according to their own promise. We were now told that if we paid the money, they would work the next morning; but if not, that not a man of them would come.

We still refused. Halleel now asked for one of Mr. Salt's handsome pipes, which the crew had told him was in the boat; having previously begged the janissary to give him his silk waistcoat, and requested of our Greek servant his Mameluke sabre. This latter article belonged to Mr. Salt: it was very valuable; and to save it, we had pretended it was the property of the Greek, not thinking the cashief would condescend to beg of our servants. He had also asked the soldier for his pistols, offering him a slave in return;—all was however refused.

*Tuesday, July 15.*—Both cashiefs came, and some of the chiefs; one in particular, a stranger, was highly dressed, and we were told he was a leading character, and had much influence with the natives; that nothing could be done without him. But we had now seen enough of the character of the Nubians to perceive that this was only a trick to induce us to give the new comer some presents; and we therefore affected to take no notice of him, determined for the future to give no more than we could help. In the morning the men worked with some spirit: our crew assisted them, and behaved well; but towards evening the work went on badly. We returned to the village. On the way Hassan told us we must go back to Philæ, in order to repair the boat, which he asserted to be leaky. We soon gave him to understand that we had no intention of returning till we had accomplished our work. Soon after dark, Halleel came to the boat and repeated his request for the pipe, but was again refused.

*Wednesday, July 16.*—First day of the moon, ramadan or Turkish fast, during which they do not eat or drink from sun-rise to sun-set. Early this morning Halleel sent us a water-melon, and shortly after made his appearance, begging the pipe again, which, being worth upwards of sixty piastres, had greatly attracted his notice. This third attempt was evaded, and he set off in a pet, without even taking leave, mounting his horse for Derry, where he intended passing the

ramadan. We now went to Daoud's tent to pay him a farewell visit previous to his departure. He asked us what were our intentions respecting the temple? We told him we were determined to work ourselves, and persevere till we came to the door. He appeared much surprised at this; and said it was impossible we could succeed, recommending us to return, and come again after the month of ramadan—hoping doubtless to get more presents. To convince him of our resolution to proceed, we told him that the Nile would as soon change its course, as we our determination when once it was taken. He now asked the sailors if we had solicited their assistance; when they told him we had not mentioned the subject to them, which indeed was true. He then asked when we thought we should reach the door. We told him that was very uncertain. He said if we thought we should be only three or four days, he would remain, but if more, he must be off. We answered that we expected it would be eight or ten days before our work was over; but we promised, that whenever we should be near the door, we would give him notice, that he might be present, and *get his share of the gold*. He gave a tacit sort of consent for us to proceed, and we took our leave, thanking him for what he had done for us. Amongst the warlike instruments in his tent, we observed a shield made of a crocodile's skin: it was remarkably strong; one of the protuberances of the animal's back served for the boss or centre, and one of those of the tail for the hollow of the elbow. The natives assured us it would resist a musket ball. In general, Nubian shields are made of the skin of the hippopotamus. At twelve o'clock we sailed for the temple; and on the passage took occasion to represent to the reis and crew, that now we were about to be left together, we hoped they would continue to behave well and conduct themselves peaceably, promising on our part every indulgence they could reasonably expect, provided we had no fault to find with them. They all promised to behave themselves orderly and quietly. We dined at one;

and at three o'clock set off to begin our labour, going up quietly that we might not wake the crew who were asleep on the beach; as we wished, by an apparent indifference on our part as to whether they assisted or not, to keep down their demands. We now stripped to the waist and commenced, six in number, including the Greek servant and the janissary, with a good will, and soon found that we made considerable progress. We resolved to keep to our work, and regularly to persevere from three o'clock till dark in the evenings, and from the very first dawning of the day till nine in the mornings. After we had worked about an hour, some of the crew came up. They appeared astonished to see us labouring without our shirts, and expressed surprise at the progress we had made. They now began to assist, which we appeared to take no notice of. They worked well; and at dark we left off, having done as much as (speaking within bounds) forty of the natives would have done in an entire day. Our hands certainly suffered a little from blisters: I had nine on one hand, and eight on the other. We were careful to encourage our sailors, and not to expect too much from them; as their being prohibited from eating or even drinking during the day, rendered their case very different from ours. We returned to our boat in high glee at the favourable appearance of affairs. We had scarcely supped and retired to bed, when we heard a boat approaching. It proved to be that of Daoud Cashief, who was on his way to Derry: he had given a passage to one of our sailors, who had waited behind at the village to get bread made. He sent us a kid with a civil message, and a request that we would spare him some of our small coffee-cups, which were rather handsome. We sent him two; and at the same time requested of him a ludri (a skin to contain water), which he gave us. Lastly, a message came to say that he had left several of his servants behind him at Abou-Simbel, with orders to assist us with men; to procure us supplies and provisions; and, in short, to render us any

service we might require. We thanked him, and renewed our promise of apprising him when we should be near the door, that he might not think we intended to open the temple secretly during his absence ; for they all believe we expect to find money. Daoud now departed. We gave our crew two piastres each man, and one to each of the boys—there were six men and two boys—and told them that if they consented to work at similar hours, and in the same manner as we did ourselves, they should daily receive the same sum. These conditions were acceded to with great apparent eagerness.

*Thursday, July 17.*—We started at the dawn of day and worked hard, fourteen in number, till nearly nine o'clock, when the sun being at a considerable height, and shining directly on us, the heat obliged us to desist. We had made considerable progress ; and as we found that all our efforts were directed in the right way, we had reason to be well satisfied. The crew worked tolerably. Hassan was on the opposite side of the river getting bread made, and looking out for a sheep. We dined at one, and at three renewed our operations. One of the crew did not come this evening. We took no notice of it, resolving to give him only half a day's pay. The rest worked pretty well. We continued till starlight, and made great progress. At the latter part of the evening, Hassan returned, but brought nothing with him.

*July 18.*—In the morning, at the very first dawning of day, we again started to our work and called the crew ; but, as we expected, from the moment Hassan arrived, they all refused to work, alleging that the pay was not sufficient ; that it was now ramadan, and that they ought to have thirty piastres per day. Our janissary now informed us that they had spoken of this aloud in the night in order that he might tell us. Seeing them in this humour, we told them that those who did not choose to work might let it alone. At half-past eight we left off, having done nearly as much work as if they had been with us : indeed we

were astonished to see what steady persevering labour would do. One of the Abou-Simbel men came this morning and worked very fairly, promising to bring ten more on the morrow : there came also a chief from the opposite side of the river with an offer of twenty men. We told him our terms of two piastres per day for each man, and that it was our intention to pay the money into the men's own hands, as we learnt that the cashiefs and chiefs had given each labourer one piastre only, and retained the other for themselves. At three, we renewed our operations. A few of the crew came, but worked very badly—we left off at dark.

*Saturday, July 19.*—We commenced our labours before daylight. Only two of the crew came, and three other lads. The promised men from Abou-Simbel and the opposite side of the river not arriving, we continued working till half-past eight ; when, just as we were about to leave off, Halleel Cashief and his court of bullies made their appearance in a boat ; and, landing near our bark, came up to see what was doing. Immediately we saw them approaching we left off work, and, suspecting their roguish intentions, to foil them we went to bathe. The men from the opposite side of the river, about thirty in number, now arrived, but without tools : this disappointed us a little. On coming out of the water, we went to visit Halleel Cashief, as a compliment, and to keep up appearances. While so doing, a desperate dispute took place between our janissary and Hassan, who seeing the former was not armed, chased him into the boat with his drawn dagger, uttering savage imprecations. Halleel made a pretence to interfere ; but soon after, while we were settling the dispute, he sneaked away in his boat with all his attendants, without taking leave : indeed he was off before we were aware, and we were very glad to be rid of him.

Our Greek servant now informed us that Halleel had asked for some coffee ; and, on being told there was none, had desired the servant to say nothing to us about his having asked

for it. He was very inquisitive about the stay we intended to make; and seemed desirous we should call on him at Derry on our return, no doubt in hope of getting something more. The men worked pretty well to-day. The Abou-Simbel man, who had promised to bring his nine assistants, never made his appearance. This we clearly saw was Halleel's doing. At night, when paying the men, we had a dispute with some of them, who endeavoured to impose on us by false tickets. These tickets were slips of paper on which Mr. Belzoni wrote his name, and issued them out to the workmen in the morning; and on producing them in the evening they received their pay. This day the Darfur caravan, of four thousand camels, laden with gum, ivory, ostrich-feathers, tamarinds, rhinoceros' horns, slaves, &c., passed on their way to Cairo. The mamelukes had made them pay 9000 dollars (upwards of 2000*l.*) at Dongola. Some of the jelabs who led the caravan came to see our operations. They had long hair greased with oil, and hanging down in ringlets: some had it plaited. They wore sandals, had each a long spear, and altogether were singular figures.

*Sunday, July 20.*—At twilight we renewed our labours, and had sixty-four men to work. The crew stimulated them by a good example, which, coupled with our own personal attendance, produced a good morning's labour. At three p.m. we recommenced our operations and got on tolerably well. This evening one of Daoud Cashief's staff arrived, with some aqua vitæ and a few dates as a present. He also brought Irby and me some new Nubian clothes. Two suits cost us twenty-four piastres, or twelve shillings; double what we had given for better things of the same kind at Momfalout. In the evening our cook threw a kettle of water in the face of a fellow who asked him for money in a threatening manner. This truly cook-like mode of assault unsheathed the Barbarin's sword (for the most trivial occurrence produces their drawn weapons), and it was with difficulty we could prevent some

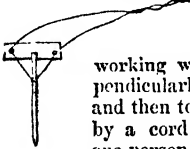
serious mischief from ensuing. At night Daoud Cashief's messenger left us, having failed in an attempt to beg a pipe for his master.

*Monday, July 21.*—This day no men came from the opposite side of the river, but we had about forty from Abou-Simbel. They worked tolerably well, and brought to light the bend of the right arm of the statue, to the north of the door, which was much broken. The discovery was highly satisfactory to us, as it proved that the statues were seated, and, consequently, that we should not have to dig down so deep as if they had been standing figures. In the evening, the men worked pretty well; and towards the close of the day, we uncovered a projecting part of the wall roughly chiselled, uneven in its surface, and having every appearance of unfinished work. As far as we could see down, which was not more than six or eight inches, it still continued the same. The projection was about four inches from the plane surface of the front of the temple, and it appeared to fill up the whole space between the two centre statues. This being exactly the place where we expected to find the door, the sudden change from a flat finished exterior to a coarsely-chiselled uneven surface, was precisely the circumstance most calculated to give the impression that the temple was unfinished, and that there was no door. Indeed we could not in any other way account for an appearance so extraordinary and unexpected. Discouraging as this discovery was, we nevertheless resolved to proceed with our work, and to dig down till we had ascertained, beyond all possibility of doubt, whether there was an entrance or not.

About eleven o'clock at night, a boat arrived from the opposite side. They did not make any noise; but the reis sent word that he had brought a sheep for us. The message was accompanied by the present of a water-melon.

*Tuesday, July 22.*—At daylight we found a great assemblage of people, the boat having brought them over in the night; and at the same time there

arrived a considerable number of persons from Abou-Simbel. As these two parties amounted to treble the number we wanted, we retired to our boat to avoid disputes, leaving thirty tickets with old Mouchmarr, with instruction to employ only that number. Returning in about half an hour, we found he had only given out twenty of the tickets, keeping the other ten to himself; and so intending to pocket twenty piastres. While we were settling this with the old rogue, a violent quarrel ensued between the natives of Abou-Simbel and the party from the opposite shore, as to who should be employed; and, after much noise and confusion, hostilities having commenced in a slight degree between the parties, the whole of them, amounting to nearly two hundred, departed, shouting and hooting, the stronger party not permitting the Abou-Simbel people to work. As they retired, our crew serenaded them with repeated cries of "barout, barout," which means powder, powder, an article they are not very partial to. In the evening we renewed our labours without any assistance; but soon had the crew and about twenty volunteers, who worked very well, considering we had only three implements, the Abou-Simbel men having taken away four out of the seven we had hitherto used. The



instrument was of this form, and the mode of

working was to fix it perpendicularly in the sand, and then to pull it forward by a cord attached to it; one person was stationed at the handle to fix it in the sand, and another at the cord by which it was pulled forward. Instead of one, the Arabs generally employed from four to six men at the cord. This evening we came to the chair of the statue; but still there was no indication of a door; the unfinished work continuing, though the figure, drapery and all, was perfectly finished, as far as we could see down.

*Wednesday, July 23.*—It was curious to observe in the morning, on the

smooth surface of the sand, drifted by the night breeze, the tracks of the snakes, lizards, and other animals, which had come down to the water's side during the night to drink; and we could plainly discern the traces of their return to their solitary haunts in the desert. Sometimes these tracks indicated the presence of reptiles of considerable size; and we now could easily account for the dread our guides expressed of walking near the water's side on the night we returned from the second cataract. We renewed our operations at the very first appearance of day, and soon had about twenty-six workmen, together with the crew. Between eight and nine o'clock, as the people were working, we perceived a boat full of men coming over from the opposite side. As soon as the Abou-Simbel people made them out, they all set off with old Mouchmarr at their head; the latter saying he knew who they were, and would go and treat with them, as they were coming to prevent our work. The old fellow, it appeared afterwards, was more intent on his own safety; as both he and his party went and hid themselves in caves in the mountains. Suspecting something, we sent for all our arms from the boat, and waited the event. The newly-arrived party now made their appearance, about forty in number, armed mostly with muskets, pistols, sabres, and pikes; they were much better dressed, and made a better figure than the attendants of Daoud and Hallel. There were two with white turbans, who appeared to be the leaders: these approached in advance of their attendants; and, after the usual salaams and ceremony of salute, seated themselves near us, and presented us with two sheep, which their men had brought with them. We now desired our janissary to ask them the intention of their visit, and to tell them we had nothing to dispose of, having given all we had to spare to the two cashiefs below. They replied that they wanted nothing; that they were in the employ of the pasha; that their office was to keep order and tranquillity in the country, and that they wished to know if any

obstacles on the part of the inhabitants rendered their assistance necessary, as they were ready to be of service to us, hoping that on our return to Cairo, we should not fail to speak favourably of them to the pasha. We replied that we were going on tolerably well, and that we did not stand in need of any assistance. After sitting about half an hour, they went down to the other temple, followed by all their attendants, and soon after sent our Greek servant up with a message, "that they were at war with the other two cashiefs; that they were greater than they; that they were the governors of this country; that when the others killed one man, they could kill two; in short, that we had given a gun, shawl, soap, and tobacco, to both Daoud and Halleel, and why, they wished to know, was nothing given to them, who possessed double the authority in this country, and could prevent our labour whenever they pleased? that they must have the same, and more presents than we had already given, or that we should not open the temple." They also wished to know under what authority we acted, and desired to see our firman. We replied to these menaces by the same statement we had made on their arrival, viz. that we had already given away all we had to give; and we added, that as we had both the pasha's and Defterdar Bey's firman for doing what we were about, any violence offered to us would be sure to reach their ears. Their answer was that they cared nothing about the pasha. On seeing the firmans, they said they were good for nothing, being written in Turkish, not Arabic; that they had no Turkish interpreter; and that were the firmans even in Arabic, nothing but presents would induce them to permit us to proceed. The crew now thought it a favourable opportunity to ask for one of the sheep (for each of which we had given ten piastres), but we refused their request, saying, that they were mistaken if they thought it a proper time to ask gifts, when other people were endeavouring to plunder us; that as soon as the banditti were gone, and

we were our own masters, we might give them something, but never through fear of them, or to gain their favour. Soon after, the two cashiefs and their gang proceeded to Abou-Simbel. We now learnt that they were Mahommed and Ali Cashief; that they lived a little above Derry, on the opposite side of the river; and were at war with Daoud and Halleel, in consequence of their grandfather (Hassan's father) having killed some relation of Ali's many years ago. This is what the Barbarians call the "warfare of blood for blood;" and it always lasts till an individual of one family is sacrificed to appease the other.\* Sometimes this hostility exists for many ages between families; and it is for this reason that a murderer, who is one of our crew, dares not go to Philæ or the neighbourhood of Assuan, where he committed the crime.

At three P.M. we renewed our operations, and had a considerable number of assistants. It was truly ridiculous to see old Mouchmarr now make his appearance, with his matchlock in his hand, and a few of the Abou-Simbel people. He took especial care to examine both up the river and down, to be sure that the cashiefs were well out of sight; and when he found the coast clear, he came to us to relate how his people had been in the habit of making slaves and prisoners of the other party; what numbers they had bound together and thrown into the Nile, &c. We rallied him about his promising to treat with them. We found that the cashiefs had prevented many of our assistants from coming, and that they had plundered the whole country, taking two sheep from every sackey, and ten piastres from those who could not procure the animals. We also learnt that a fine of four dollars (thirty-six piastres) was to be levied on every one who came to our assistance. This evening our men worked very well; as they did not belong to Abou-Simbel, they knew they were out of the cashiefs' reach.

\* "The revenger of blood himself shall slay the murderer." Numbers, xxxv. 19. "Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer." Ibid. 31.

*Thursday, July 24.*—At dawn of day we went to work again ; as we had broken our water-jars we asked the crew for our ludri which we had lent them ; but Hassan said it was ramadan, and that as they could not drink water in the day-time, they wanted our ludri to keep it cool for them in the evening, and that they would return it when they got to Philæ. We gave them to understand that we liked cool water as well as they did, and desired the janissary to take the skin without further ceremony ; asking them at the same time if that was gratitude for the sheep we gave them yesterday. Hassan answered, that the sheep was lean and good for nothing, or we should not have given it. This morning we had about twenty workmen, but neither Mouchmarr nor the Abou-Simbel men came. After we had worked about an hour, a party of about thirty came from the opposite side and volunteered to assist : as they were more than we wanted, and came late, we told them we would give them only one and a half piastre each : this they rejected at first, but afterwards accepted. An hour afterwards four other men came and solicited employ : these we refused, when one of them displaying a dirty white turban as a flag, drew the whole party off with a shout. In a quarter of an hour, however, they returned ; and the work went on pretty well, the armed ruffians not making their appearance. In the evening the people worked badly, being so numerous that one skulked behind the other.

*Friday, July 25.*—We got up at dawn of day and found one hundred men assembled, though the night before we told them that we did not want any more assistance. We explained this to them again, adding, that at most we could not employ more than twenty. They replied, that we must employ them all or none. Seeing them in this mood, we returned to our boat, resolving to wait till they were all gone ; and knowing that the heat of the sun at nine o'clock would drive them away. After much noise amongst themselves, and numerous ineffectual parleys, they all set off, taking all the implements

with them, and threatening our crew that, if they assisted us, they would acquaint Daoud and Halleel Cashief of it ; thus showing that these brothers had ordered that no assistance was to be rendered us. Our sailors laughed at them, saying, they cared nothing about the cashiefs or any one else. Soon after this, the whole rabble crossed the water, having a dirty white turban (the prophet's banner) hoisted. At three we renewed our work with six instruments which we had made ourselves. The crew, and also that of another bark came, and assistance was offered by a few others. We got on tolerably well.

*Saturday, July 26.*—At dawn of day we went up to our employment, with the same hands we had the preceding evening, in all about twenty-three persons. Our servants had another quarrel with the crew. A mancluke arrived from Dongola ; he reported his countrymen in great misery at that place. We now learned that Mahommed and Ali Cashief were gone down the river again with their plunder. In the evening we renewed our operations. A man who had received money for our bread on the opposite side of the river, refused to bring it : we had a dispute in consequence, and, after much noise and confusion, half the quantity we had paid for was brought. We found the price of everything we bought had doubled since our arrival ; the natives hoping by these means to force us to relinquish our work ; and, with our eyes open, we were obliged to submit to the imposition.

*Sunday, July 27.*—At dawn of day we set to work again, and had only two assistants besides the crew, who worked remarkably well. Several volunteers came, but we rejected them on account of their laziness. One of our two assistants sang a song to cheer up the crew : this is their constant custom when working ; the words were as follows : " Oh ! Nubia, my country, thou smell'st like a rose ; when I sleep I dream of thee, and thou appearest a garden full of flowers." Our ideas of Nubia, where a flowering shrub is

scarcely ever seen, were not in unison with this song ; but it was a new proof of that happy disposition which nature implants in the breast of every man to love his native soil, be it what it may.

"The naked negro, panting at the line,  
Boasts of his golden sands and palmy wine :  
Basks in the glare, or stems the tepid wave,  
And thanks his gods for all the good they gave.  
Such is the patriot's boast where'er we roam,  
His first, best country, ever is, at home."

At three o'clock we recommenced our operations. While we were working, a spy arrived from Daoud Cashief, who, after having deliberately examined us, began talking to the crew to draw them off from the work, and asked old Mouchmarr, who had just arrived from the village with some bread, how he dared assist us ; adding, that the cashiefs would cut off his head for it. This news did not appear very agreeable to our friend, who now desisted from working. Our young mameluke friend, who understood the Barbarin language unknown to the crew and natives, told us of this. The spy next informed us that a firman had arrived from the Grand Signior to supersede the pasha in his government, and that new troops were now at Cairo. So paltry an attempt to alarm us was met by a hearty laugh, which made both the spy and his countrymen look very foolish ; until, seeing the joke went against them, they put it off by a laugh also. In the evening old Mouchmarr came to be paid for his bread ; and, on being asked to bring more, said he did not like to tell us a falsehood—that he had strict injunctions against bringing anything more, or, indeed, rendering us any further assistance. We further learned, that the whole of the natives on both sides of the river had mutually agreed that nothing was to be sold to us ; but it was hinted that we might have some men to work if we chose ; however, as our money was getting low, and we found that we did almost as much without as with them, we sent word that we wanted none of them : we had three days' bread, and our work had arrived at such a point that we should soon ascertain whether there was any door or not : we felt ourselves,

therefore, quite independent of our troublesome neighbours. Mouchmarr now took his leave. It is but justice to the old man to say that he behaved better than any of his countrymen.

*Monday, July 28.*—We commenced our operations at the usual hour, with only our sailors and the mameluke, no Abou-Simbel men making their appearance. All worked pretty well. This morning no milk was brought. We affected to take no notice of this ; and at breakfast were particularly careful that the crew (who came down and were watching us narrowly, to see what effect the want of this luxury would have upon us) should observe no change in our manner, that they might report to the natives the poor success of their scheme. At three we renewed our labours. While working, an Abou-Simbel man came to see what was going on. He said, that if we wished it, a certain number of people would come from each sackey to assist ; and he asked us if we wanted provisions. We refused all assistance. He then asked if we could live on stones. We replied, that we had a boat, and could go and fetch whatever we wanted, and that money would always procure something. He now said we might think ourselves fortunate in having a soldier of the pasha's with us ; as, were it not for fear of the consequences, in case anything should happen to him, the whole body of natives would prevent our work by force. We replied, that we were determined to proceed ; and that even were the soldier not with us, we would persist in our undertaking. He now began to brag of the number of armed people they could muster from the neighbourhood : we, however, laughed at him ; and he left us, having failed in all his designs. Our crew this evening worked very well ; and we thought it good policy to tell them we noticed their exertions.

*Tuesday, July, 29.*—At dawn of day we recommenced our labours with the crew, and made considerable progress. No strangers made their appearance ; the one who assisted us yesterday being deterred by the threats of the



spy. In the evening, at three, we renewed our work. Towards the close of day, the sailors requested to be dismissed, that they might go to Abou-Simbel to get bread for themselves. We suspected some bad intentions on their part, but said nothing. Hassan had previously endeavoured to steal some of our doura (for bread we had none); but we were too sharp for him, and made his boy give us back what he had taken.

*Wednesday, July, 30.*—At twilight we went to work again; the crew coming as usual. This morning a man brought us milk again; but said he was obliged to do it clandestinely. This was a real luxury; as we found, after four hours' hard work on an empty stomach, that a limited ration of doura grain, dried dates, and water, to which we were now reduced, was not very sumptuous fare. The reis of the bark, who had before cheated us of our bread, now made his appearance with some spirituous liquors, which he said he had brought as a present from the wife of Daoud Cashief. We clearly saw that this was a trick to get a present for the bearer, which is expected to be double the value of the article given. We therefore refused it as a gift; but offered to purchase it. After some hesitation he consented. It was the spirit distilled from the date; but without the addition of aniseed, which in Egypt makes it palatable. We generally took a little before dinner as a tonic; for, without something of the kind (the average of the thermometer being 112° Fahrenheit in the shade), we found that we had no appetite. As soon as he had got his money he took himself off to the other side of the river, having evidently come to see if we yet began to complain of the want of provisions. But although we had nothing to eat but doura, and only enough of that for four days, we never once mentioned the subject to him. This evening we came to a projection, evidently a cornice, though much broken by the shock of an immense block of stone that had fallen on it. Beneath the projection, we found a plane and smooth surface, and a tablet

of neat hieroglyphics, highly finished, carved upon it. This strong indication of a door cheered us greatly.

At three we returned to our operations; and, by digging down and carrying away the sand in two boxes, we removed a sufficient quantity to make out about a foot of a tablet surmounted by a torus, and one end of a broken cornice above it; which, having been broken by some accident, had evidently been chiselled away subsequently, with the design of renewing it. The furrowed surface, and the marks of the tools in all directions, though rude and unfinished, prove this to be the case; and thus the mystery of the unfavourable appearances which had formerly given us so much uneasiness was cleared up. This evening Hassan asked, with more than usual impudence, for the pay of the crew, adding, that he wanted it before it was dark.

*Thursday, July 31.*—At twilight we resumed our task, and palisaded the part which we supposed to be immediately over the door, by driving in piles of date trees, and pouring at the back of them mud mixed with sand, to keep the outer sand from running in between them. Just as we were going to leave off work, some armed men came from the opposite side of the river, who had been called over by Hassan: when we inquired the reason of his sending for them, he said he wanted the boat from the opposite side, to go and get some provisions for the crew. Our sailors talked freely with the strangers, who appeared very intent on what we were doing. This day the maneluke took his departure for Cairo. He went on a small reed raft which a Nubian was conducting down the river. Hassan ran with great eagerness to send some message by the Nubian: no doubt to apprise the cashiefs below of the progress of our work.

In the evening we resumed our labours, with the crew and two strangers; and towards sun-set we came to the corner of the door: it was rather broken. The sailors, on seeing it, expressed great signs of joy, uttering cries of "backsheesh, backsheesh,"

and immediately asked us if it was not true, that we had promised them money whenever we should find the door. We replied, that we certainly had promised them a present, and would give it when we had entered the temple. The fellows now began working hard to enlarge the entrance, appearing in high good humour, and occasionally repeating the favourite word "backsheesh," *tyep, tyep—good good*. At dusk we had made an aperture nearly large enough for a man's body; but we could not tell whether it would be necessary to draw up the sand from the entrance or not, which left us in great uncertainty as to the time when our labours would end; for, should the temple be much filled with sand, we might have a prodigious deal of work to do yet. When we returned to the boat, Hassan told Captain Irby and myself, it was totally impossible we could ever get into the temple by pa-

sadoing; that the sand would fall on us as fast as we dug down, and that it was like attempting to dig into the Nile: at the same time he offered to forfeit his beard if we succeeded. All the crew joined in the same assertion. But we knew that it was the only method of getting at the door, unless we cleared it altogether, which would have taken a good month more.

We resolved to begin the next morning by moon-light, and apprised the crew of our intention, that they might not think we wanted to steal in by ourselves, and thus bring away *the gold* unknown to them. As the day's discovery had put us all in good humour, our sailors attempted to profit by it. They asked our cook for his new silk waistcoat, and begged of the Greek his new blue gown. From us they did not solicit anything further, thinking it best to wait till they got our backsheesh.

## CHAPTER II.

*Renewed Complaints of our Crew—We effect an Entrance into the Temple—Statues found in it—Colossal Statues in the Front—The Interior of the Temple—Paintings on the Walls—Description of the small Temple—We start on our return—The Cashiefs—Temples at Derry—At Armada—At Sabour—At Offidena—At Dekki—At Garbe Girshe—At Garbe Dendour—Unable to visit the Temple at Kalapsche—Ruins at Hindaw—Temple at Daboude—Present from our Crew—Philæ—General Observations on Nubia and its Inhabitants.*

AT moonlight on Friday morning, August 1st, the anniversary of the battle of the Nile, we rose and went to work. We called the crew; but, as they did not appear in any hurry to come, we went up alone with lights. While making our arrangements to begin, we heard a great noise below, plainly distinguishing Hassan's roaring voice above all the rest; and the word backsheesh frequently repeated. The Greek servant being sent down for a lamp, returned with an account that they were all abusing us; and complaining that, after having worked hard for us, they only received two piastres per day, instead of four, which they merited (although their wages from the reis are only from seven to nine

piastres per month). We were called christian dogs without faith; and they said we must take all our things out of the boat immediately, as they would stay no longer, having remained till they were tired, and in a place where they could get no provisions. Mr. Belzoni now went down to find our hammer which was mislaid; but resolved to abstain from any argument with them. Immediately on seeing him they all fell down on their knees, and began praying, bowing down, and kissing the ground, according to their custom. He took no notice of them; but brought all our arms and ammunition up. The jannisary also went and brought his pistols; Hassan saying in his hearing, that he must carry a soldier on his

back to Derry, implying that he must murder the janissary, though it was but the day before that he came to him saying that he wished to make peace, and that what he had formerly said against him came from his warmth of temper, and not from his heart.

As soon as we had commenced working by candlelight, one of the crew came to say that we must embark immediately and depart, or land our effects and let the boat go, as they could wait no longer. We sent word that they might go whenever they pleased; but it would be to their own loss if they did, as we would pay them nothing; and that for our part we were determined to remain till our work was completed. The crew now made their appearance in a body, dressed in their turbans and gowns, as at Elpha; this being their custom when they wish to appear of consequence. They were armed with long sticks, pikes, swords, daggers, and two old rusty pistols, which would be more likely to kill the person who fired, than him who was fired at. In reply to our inquiry of what they wanted, they made long complaints of being badly paid, and of never having received any adequate recompense for having brought us provisions from the neighbouring villages, and for all their other endeavours to please us; that they had waited here till the last moment, and must now go down the river; all at the same time joining in savage imprecations, and scraping the sand with their hatchets and swords. The reis, who was the foremost of the party, in a feigned paroxysm of anger, threw the sand up in his face, where the perspiration caused it to stick.\* At the same time we were accused of calling out "barout, barout," to the Abou-Simbel people, though it was themselves that first taught us the meaning of that word.

As all this farce was performed to intimidate us, and to extort a sum of money as a reward for remaining till the temple was opened, we took care that they should see by our conduct

that the scheme entirely failed. Avoiding, therefore, all passionate behaviour, we replied coolly and deliberately to all their lying imputations, telling them that if they studied their own interests, they would behave very differently; that this, of all others, was the most unlikely method to obtain any thing from us; and that, as they had stayed ninety-nine days, why not remain the hundredth? At length one of the crew stepped forward, and pretended to be a peace-maker. The janissary, meantime, had squeezed himself through the whole, and entered the temple during the debate, unknown to them; till one of the strangers, having stolen behind to see what work we had done, found it out, and apprised the crew. Seeing themselves foiled in every way, they now pretended to suffer the mediator, with some reluctance, to disarm them; and then, stripping, began to work, laughing and repeating *tyep, tyep*—good, good, *Berby tyep* (*berby* means temple). We deemed it our best policy to suppress our feelings, and appear reconciled. Hassaf had told the cook that they could murder us all if they chose; that neither law nor justice were known in this country; that they could, after committing the crime, fly to the mountains, where no one would pursue them; that they were not the *poor people* we took them for; that they had kept the French at bay four years; that they kept their own slaves, cattle, &c. &c.

We were now enabled to enter the temple; and thus ended all our doubts and anxiety. We built a wall to barricade the door: it was made of stones and mud, with a foundation of date-trees driven in to prevent the sand from giving way. A toad crept out of the temple while we were thus employed, and hid himself in the rubbish at the entrance. We brought down to the boat some statues of calcareous stone, which we found in the temple. There were two sphinxes, emblematical of Osiris (lion's body and hawk's head); a monkey similar to those over the cornice, only smaller; and a kneeling female figure, with an altar, having

\* "They cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air."—Acts, xxii. 23.

a ram's head on it, in her lap. At three we went to work again. Two of the Abou-Simbel peasants came, and appeared astonished that we had succeeded. They said the country people had no idea we should have accomplished our undertaking. They appeared to think the temple would make a good hiding-place for their cattle, &c., whenever the Bedouins came to rob them.

*Saturday, August 2.*—We continued working at the wall before the door. Hassan asked for some of our money to go and purchase a sheep, stimulated, no doubt, by the expectation of the share they always had, viz. the entrails, skin, and head, none of the former of which the crew rejected: indeed, on one occasion, I saw one of them gnawing the raw head as they were skinning the animal. Having no provisions left but doura, a grain not unlike pearl-barley, we told Hassan it was to no purpose to bring us meat when we had no bread; and that unless he brought the latter, we did not wish for the former. He now took the money, promising to bring us bread also. We did not employ the sailors this evening, having finished the wall. Hassan was roaring and grumbling all day about money, in hopes that his bawling would induce us to give more. We took no notice of him, determined to give none until they had put the statues into the boat; for we perceived there was a great difficulty made about removing them. This day all the measurements of the temple were taken, both externally and internally; Captain Irby and I undertaking this task, while our companions were employed about their drawings. Towards the close of the evening, the man brought us some cakes of doura and a sheep, for which, however, he made us pay thirteen piastres, a third more than the articles were worth.

*Sunday, August 3.*—This morning some Abou-Simbel people brought us some butter and a lamb. We told them, however, that now they might keep their provisions to themselves. In the evening the crew, after much disputing with Hassan (who was against the

measure), put the statues into the boat; this being the condition on which they were to receive the backsheesh. Soon after this we gave them a present of forty piastres amongst them. We had considerable difficulty in satisfying them; for the reis, on perceiving the money, snatched it up, saying *it was his share*. We, however, took it from him, and distributed it according to our original plan.

I shall now give some further particulars respecting the exterior of the temple, and then proceed to notice the most prominent beauties of the interior. The four colossal figures in front of the temple are all of men; they are in a sitting posture, above sixty feet high, and the two which we have partly uncovered, are sculptured in the best style of Egyptian art, and are in a much higher state of preservation than any colossal statues remaining in Egypt. They are uncovered at present only as far as the breast. Before the recent excavations one of the faces was alone partly visible, and part of the head-dress of the other remaining two. The face of the statue, No. 2, whether taken in the front view or profile, exhibits one of the most perfect specimens of beauty imaginable. It has so far resisted the effects of time, as not to have the least scratch or imperfection; and there is that placid serenity which one admires in most of the Egyptian countenances. The face of the statue, No. 3, has a more serious aspect; the nose is not so aquiline, nor is the mouth so well turned: it is not, however, without its beauties, and perhaps a connoisseur would say the features possess more character than the former. The statues are not, however, without their imperfections; the necks are short, out of all proportion, and the ears are placed considerably too high, a defect very common amongst the Egyptian figures; the bodies also seem to lean rather too much forward for the natural position of a sitting figure. However, it is scarcely fair to pass judgment on this latter defect, as, being partly uncovered, they could not be seen to proper advantage.

Little or no space appears to have been left between the figures on either side, and scarcely more in the centre than sufficient for the door. Immediately above the door, which was formerly surmounted by a cornice, now broken, is a tablet of hieroglyphics, over which is an oblong square niche enclosing a standing figure of a hawk-headed Osiris, in full relief, projecting no more than the depth of the niche itself. On the head of this figure is a globe; and below, on each side of the legs, are two symbols, which appear suspended from its hands; one is a small female figure, the other a staff surmounted with the dog's or fox's head. On either side of the niche is a female figure in intaglio, presenting an offering to the deity; and there are various hieroglyphic inscriptions, probably descriptive of the oblations. The cornice above the door presents a very curious appearance; it has been broken by a fall of part of the rock above, and the chisel has since been evidently employed to form the remaining part into some other shape, or to fashion it for the reception of a new cornice, or some other ornament of that description.

The interior of the temple is 154 feet long, by 52 broad (exclusive of the side chambers); it is comprised of fourteen separate apartments, whereof the first is the principal hall, 57 feet by 52; the second an ante-chamber, 37 feet by 25; the narrow chamber, crossing the other two, 37 ft. by 9 ft. 11 in.; after which comes the sanctuary, 23 ft. 7 in. by 12 ft. 3 in.; the rest are side apartments, placed in various directions. The interior of this temple is a work not inferior to any excavation in Egypt or Nubia, not even excepting the tombs of the kings: indeed, the effect produced on first entering it is more striking than any which those can afford: the loftiness of the ceiling; the imposing height of the square pillars, and of the erect colossal statues, full 30 ft. high, attached to them; and the dimensions of the apartments, which are on a much larger scale than any of the other excavations; all contribute to

render the interior of this temple not less admirable than its splendid exterior.

The sculpture on the walls is not so well finished, nor the colouring so perfect, as in the tombs of the kings; but the composition and invention of the design, and its spirited execution, may be considered as equal to anything in Egypt. The extreme heat and closeness of the apartments, occasioned by the want of a free circulation of air, have contributed materially to injure the paint; but enough of the colouring still remains to enable the spectator to judge of what is lost, and to convince him of the original beauty of the work. The most conspicuous groups appear to represent the victories of some celebrated hero, apparently the same who is depicted at Medinet Aboo, Luxor, Carnack, and other parts of Egypt, together with the triumphant processions and consequent offerings to the deities. There is little difference in these groups from the similar sculptures in the buildings above-mentioned: the hero appears in the same manner in his car; he is of a gigantic stature, and is destroying his enemies with his arrows. The vanquished suing for mercy; the discomfiture and flight of their companions; the procession of the prisoners, and the distribution of the other parts of the groups, are likewise nearly the same. The prisoners seem to be of different nations from those represented in other places; and it is a circumstance of no little interest to see here, thus accurately painted, the costumes of the various tribes of the interior of Africa, at a date so remote that nowhere else can we expect to find any description either of their manners or their costume. How interesting would a minute copy of these groups be to travellers in the interior of Africa, who could compare them with the inhabitants of the present day! Some of the captives are perfectly black, and have all the characteristics of the tribes of the interior of Africa—such as woolly hair, thick lips, long sleek limbs, &c.; others are of a lighter hue, not unlike the present

race of Nubians. The most common dress consists of the leopard's and tiger's skin, fastened round the waist, while the upper part of the body remains uncovered. The cap which they most commonly wear is of a construction which I do not recollect to have observed elsewhere, and appears to consist of the leaves of the palm-tree, dried and cut in slips; while the workmanship is a sort of neat plaiting, apparently worked with much ingenuity. Those who wear the caps have no hair, but some are distinguished by bushy hair and beards.

In one of the groups is represented the storming of a fortress, of very singular construction, which is defended by people of the race just mentioned. On the top are seen women, among whom, one in a sitting posture, wholly divested of drapery, and of a light complexion, bears no resemblance in character or attitude to those represented in other places by the Egyptians. The hero who directs the assault is, as usual, of gigantic stature. On the plain below are seen the peasants driving their cattle away from the presence of the conqueror, designed with much spirited action; some of the besieged party are also kneeling and imploring clemency. The arrows are flying from all quarters amongst the defenders; and some are seen plucking them from their foreheads, arms, and other parts of their body. Large stones hurled down from above, do not appear in any way to intimidate the attacking party. The group of twelve supplicating victims, which the hero is represented in another part as grasping with one hand by the united hair of their heads, while with the other he uplifts the axe to sacrifice them, is executed with much energy and force; and the marked difference of character in the several countenances of the various tribes they belonged to, is given in a masterly style: the expression of agony and despair in their several features is admirable.

In this temple we found several detached statues of calcareous stone, one of which, a little larger than life

is executed in a better style than is generally to be met with in Egyptian sculpture; the head and lower part of the legs are wanting, as well as one of the arms; but the remaining parts sufficiently attest the skill and good taste of the sculptor. The figure is an upright one, and seems to have represented Osiris, or the hero depicted on the walls. The surface of what remains is scarcely injured; but the substance of the stone is so decayed by time, that any attempt to remove it would probably occasion its total destruction. The statues which we brought away, and which I have already mentioned, were found in different parts of the temple.

How long this temple has been buried is a question which must ever remain unanswered. Forty feet of sand had accumulated above the top of the door, before the recent excavations, which were carried no further than 3 feet below the top of the entrance. There is reason to suppose that the temple was deserted before any sand had collected in front of it; but there is nothing either in the interior or exterior which indicates the age in which it was abandoned. Very little sand was found in the temple compared with what might have been expected: it did not reach beyond the second pilaster, and was not much broader than the door-way. This, no doubt, was partly owing to the great depth (18 ft. 11 in.) of the entrance-passage. A light black substance, which seemed to be decayed wood, was found in every apartment, in some places of the depth of 2 ft.; its substance, at the surface, was not unlike that of snow when it has been frozen over by one night's frost; it cracked under the foot, leaving the impression. Many small pieces of wood were strewn about, apparently little injured by time, but which, on being touched, crumbled into dust. The wooden pivots on which the doors traversed still remain in the upper corner of all the entrances to the different chambers; and we also found fragments of wood in many places. Some of these appeared so perfect, that we thought of bringing them away; but they moul-

dered at the first touch: we were, therefore, very careful in leaving what remained for the benefit of future travellers. A broken brass socket, for the pivot of a door to traverse on, was also found.

The extreme heat of the temple was such, that Mr. Beechey spoiled his drawing-book while only copying one of the groups, the perspiration having entirely soaked through it: it produces the same sensation and effects as the hottest vapour-bath. In the centre of the sanctuary is a bench with four sitting statues: the one on the right is Osiris, with the hawk's head and globe; the others are human figures: two have the *crux ansata* ♀ in their hand.

The eight standing figures of Osiris, 30 ft. high, which ornament the outer hall, and between which is the passage into the interior of the temple, are as well proportioned as they are highly finished: the drapery reaches nearly half-way down to the knees, and is striped like that of the figures without. The features of the countenances are perfect, and they all have the hook and scourge (the usual emblems of Osiris) in their hands, which are crossed on the breast.

I shall now describe what, speaking comparatively, we may call the small temple of Abou-Simbel. The direction of the river here is W. S. W. and E. N. E. Both the temples are situated on the left bank, at the ends of the two mountains which form the valley, through which the sand which has buried the great temple found its passage: both are cut out of the solid rock, which is of a sandy or calcareous nature. The easternmost and smallest appears to have been made before the other, as the style of the colossal statues which are sculptured in the front of it, are ruder than that of the large one, and have been cut in a less advanced state of the art. The front of the temple is not perpendicular, but sloping from the top to the bottom. Six square spaces are excavated in the surface, serving as niches to the same number of colossal figures, the remaining part being left in the form of buttresses projecting 10 ft. at the base

beyond the inside of the niches. The door is in the centre, with three erect figures, one a female (Isis), with a male figure on each side of her: these latter represent Osiris. On either side, between these colossal statues, are two figures of about 6 ft. high, which reach nearly to the knees of the former: those supporting the male figures appear to represent Horus, while the others near Isis are females. The space left in the centre, and in which the door is cut, is more than twice the breadth of the other projections between the figures, and slopes on the same plane with them for about one-third from the top: it then descends somewhat more perpendicularly; and in this lower plane the door is cut, without any other projection. The points of the projecting buttresses are covered with hieroglyphics; and a single line of them extends along the top of the niches for the whole breadth of the temple, of which it forms the ornamental summit. Immediately above the door is an offering to Osiris; and on each side of it are hieroglyphics as on the other projections: a line of serpents and globes surmounts the offering, similar to what is often met with over the doors of Egyptian temples. The height of the projecting buttresses nearest the door is 34 ft. 7 in.; taken in the angle that of the others is 38 ft., their projection at the base 10 ft., that of the door only 7 ft. 6 in.; the distance between each buttress, 8 ft. 3 in.; breadth of the buttresses, 4 ft. 7 in. The height of the female figures is 24 ft. 6 in., not including the head ornament, which reaches to the top of the buttress. The male figures are 25 ft. 8 in. high, and their head-dresses 4 ft. 10 in. The height of the doorway is 11 ft. 6 in.; width, 4 ft. 10 in.; the length of the passage into the temple, 12 ft. 9 in. The whole width of the ornamented front of the temple is 88 ft., and its height, in a perpendicular line, may be about 40 ft.

The interior of the temple is composed of three principal apartments; the first and largest supported by six pilasters, three on each side, (surmounted with the head of Isis in the

front,) is 36 ft. by 34 ; the space in the centre between the pilasters is 14 ft. 6 in., and they are 7 ft. 8 in. from the wall : the distance between the pilasters 5 ft. 9 in.; their dimensions 3 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. The breadth of the second chamber 8 ft. 5 in.; its length is the same as the first, taken at right angles with the line of entrance: the sanctuary is 7 ft. 10 in. by 8 ft. 9 in.: on each side of the second chamber is a small side apartment 6 ft. square.

I shall describe the decorations of the interior rather minutely, as there is more uniformity, and evident allusion to the deity to whom the temple is dedicated (Isis), than is generally met with. The interior of the porch is ornamented on each side by an offering to Isis from a human figure. Within the chamber, on each side of the entry, is a large figure having an axe in one hand, whilst with the other he grasps a bow, and holds a kneeling victim by the hair of the head. On either side are two human figures: that in front has a knife upheld, and appears to command the sacrifice; while that behind seems to preside over it with the lotus flower in her hand: the opposite side is the same, excepting that the figure commanding the sacrifice is Osiris. On the left, as you enter, the wall is embellished with, first, an offering to Isis; secondly, the initiation, by Jupiter Ammon and Osiris, of a young priest; thirdly, an offering by a female figure, of a small sistrum, surmounted by the head of Isis and the serpent, together with the lotus flower, to a male figure; fourthly, an offering to a male figure of a small sitting figure, with the crux ansata on its knees, which are raised up. On the right hand the wall is ornamented with, first, an offering of provisions to Osiris, with the scourge in his hand; secondly, an offering of the lotus flower and three water-pots, pouring water on other flowers, to Jupiter Ammon; thirdly, an offering to Isis of two small heads of that deity surmounting two short handles or staffs; fourthly, an offering to Osiris of two small water-vases. At the end, on one side of the door, is an offering to Isis of the lotus;

and opposite is the same offering to a female figure. The inner chamber has offerings to Isis and Osiris, and the initiation of a priestess by two Isides; the sanctuary has a small figure, in alto-relievo, in a recess at the end.

*Monday, August 4.*—Early this morning we started on our return, and soon saw, on the eastern bank, Mahomed and Ali Cashief, together with the band of thieves that had attempted to plunder us. They hailed us, and asked if we had opened the temple, and how much money we had found in it. In the evening we called on Daoud Cashief, who protested his innocence of the transactions at Abou-Simbel, even before we had mentioned the subject. This was certainly not very wise in him; as nothing could tend more to prove his guilt: and, if further evidence were necessary, we saw amongst his train several of the principal spies and bullics that had annoyed us. It was, however, necessary to dissemble, and appear to credit him, as a contrary line of conduct could lead to no good; and, after receiving a present of a sheep, goat, and some bread, together with his promise to keep the temple open for Mr. Salt, we took our leave. When near Derry, we met Halleel crossing the water to be present at our interview with his brother, and thus get his share of anything else that could be squeezed out of us: he was, however, too late.

In the evening we arrived at Derry, and went to see the temple with candles. This temple is situated about a quarter of a mile from the town: it is cut in the solid rock, but is so much ruined that nothing perfect is to be seen. There has been a middling-sized hall, with eight square pilasters and four terms, with standing figures in alto-relievo. The latter seem to form a sort of portico to the principal chamber. The eight outer pilasters have fallen; but those of the portico are perfect, with the exception of the terms, which have all been broken off. Within is the principal chamber, 17 paces by 16, supported on each side of the centre by three pilasters; this latter leads to the sanctuary, on each side of which



is a small chamber surrounded with benches. At the further end of the sanctuary are the marks of four sitting statues which have been chiselled off: they appear to have resembled those of the large temple of Abou-Simbel. In this temple the stucco and paint is imperfect, and the whole has a black and dismal appearance; but, to judge from the size and execution of the figures, &c., in intaglio, on the walls, it may once have been handsome. The dedication appears to have been to Osiris. There are boats, battles, sacrifices, &c., like those at Abou-Simbel.

We had just gone to bed this evening, when Halleel arrived. He sent us a present of some aqua vitæ, and a miserable sheep. All these presents are paid for at the rate of double their value.

*Tuesday, August 5.* — Early this morning Halleel came on board; when we told him, as we had his brother, that we had nothing left to bestow upon him, having given away everything we had to spare. All this while he was whispering to one of our sailors, asking, no doubt, if we had anything left, and whether it was true, that we had given nothing to his brother. He now examined attentively everything in the cabin; but as nothing was forthcoming, he took his leave, and we started also, glad to get rid of him and Derry too. It was here that poor Norden, eighty years ago, met with the treatment from Baram Cashief, which prevented his going farther up the river. This morning we visited the temple at Armada, and saw two gazelles near it. This temple is built in the desert (at least it is a desert now), not far from the river, on the opposite side from Derry, and about one quarter of the way between the latter place and Koroskoff. It consists of a hall, supported by twelve pilasters and four pillars, in four rows of four each; but as a wall of intercolumniation surrounds it, the detached pilasters and pillars within the hall are only six in number. Beyond the hall is a small cross chamber, 9 paces by 3, and within that is the sanctuary, which is 8 paces by 3. The interior of the latter is

daubed over with plaster and modern Greek paintings of the twelve apostles, saints, &c. Underneath this plaster, however, the ancient Egyptian figures and hieroglyphics, &c., in bas-relief, appear: they have been executed in a very superior style; and the colouring has been rich beyond description. There is a small chamber on each side of the sanctuary. The dedication is to Osiris. The sand has drifted into and nearly filled up the hall. Some modern sun-burnt brick ruins attached to the temple have probably been additions by the Greeks.

At noon we arrived at Sabout, and proceeded to inspect its temple, situated on the western bank, about 100 yards from the river side. It is built of calcareous stone, in a plain at the foot of the mountain, at present covered with sand. The approach to it is by an avenue of sphinxes, with two statues in a standing position at the end nearest the Nile, all of calcareous stone. At the further end of the avenue is a pylon, with two fragments of ill-carved statues, which have been thrown down: they are all full-length figures, and much dilapidated. On each side of the entrance within is a peristyle space, with four terms on either side; these appear to form the hall of the temple, which, being filled with sand, cannot be entered. The masonry is here much ruined; and there is not one perfect figure to be found. We observed that the hieroglyphics on the back of the two statues, nearest the temple, were the same as those on the frieze of the large temple at Abou-Simbel, with the difference only of being written vertically instead of horizontally. These hieroglyphics occur on either side of the crux ansata, which occupies the centre of the frieze: on one side they are written from right to left, and on the other from left to right. The hieroglyphics on the upper part of Cleopatra's needles at Alexandria, are exactly the same; and we noticed similar characters on the two great obelisks at Luxor.

Towards the close of the evening we had another quarrel with Hassan, who drew his dagger on Mr. Belzoni, utter-

ing savage imprecations, and saying, that all who disbelieved in the prophet were dogs. We made a great effort to get him out of the boat; but the reis and crew adhered together so much, that we could not succeed. In this country it is difficult to chastise an insult; for should a traveller so far forget himself as to use a weapon against a Nubian, he would be sure to be sacrificed, as the whole country would rise against him, and escape would be impossible.\* A pistol went off twice by accident in the boat during these unpleasant disputes; but, fortunately, did no harm; and Captain Irby had his hand much cut in wresting a dagger from Hassan, who, foaming with rage, was in the act of stabbing Mr. Belzoni. It is not a year ago, since a Russian was murdered a little above Derry: he was in company with another who escaped to Assuan; they were unfortunately unarmed. Our reis and one of the sailors quitted the boat in consequence of our last quarrel.

*Wednesday, August 6.*—We started at dawn on our voyage. About seven the reis returned. He now wanted to land the statues and leave them behind. This we told him he should not do; and advised him to beware what tricks he played us, as we would bring him to an account at Assuan, where, at least, there is some sort of government. Our young mameluke joined us this morning, having been robbed of his money and the reed-raft which he had purchased. About noon we inspected the small temple at Offidena, which has been left in so unfinished a state, that it is difficult to make much out of it. All that is at present to be seen is a small peristyle hall, with fourteen pillars; but neither the columns, their capitals, nor the sides of the hall, are finished. The Greek Christians had converted this temple into a chapel. On the ruined wall of a detached building, there are three figures, evidently not Egyptian. They are in intaglio, and are either of ancient Greek or Roman workmanship. They

appear to represent an Egyptian, and a Grecian priest and priestess. In the same tablet is a figure of Isis, with Horus presenting her an offering.

The people came and crowded round us here, asking for backsheesh. As they demanded it in a very impertinent manner, we did not give them anything till we had explained to them that a more quiet mode of begging would have got them more money. We endeavoured here to purchase a statue, the same that we had attempted to buy on going up; but, after being detained about two hours, we were obliged to give it up.

In the evening we visited the temple at Dekki. The exterior and part of the interior of this temple have not been finished; but the basso-relievo in the interior bears every mark of having been executed by a skilful artist. Only one chamber, however, has been completed with stucco and painting. The whole building is on a small scale, but the plan is very neat; it is approached by a pylon, beyond which is a portico of two columns in front. Within this are three small but distinct chambers: the centre apartment is narrow, with a smaller one on each side. One of these has steps by which you may ascend to the top of the temple. The width of the building is narrower than that of the pylon, and a wall from the exterior of the latter surrounded it. The entrance of the pylon is covered with Greek inscriptions; amongst which, several commemorate the homage paid to the god Mercury, by Greek and Roman visitors; the latter under the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. This temple, like some others in Nubia, has been subsequently used as a Greek chapel, as appears by their daubed paintings. Other ruins are scattered about near the temple: probably those of some small town.

*Thursday, August 7.*—We started at dawn, and visited the temple of Garbe Girshe. The natives here have a very bad character. Last year they murdered a soldier of the pasha's, and not having been punished for it, have become remarkably insolent.

\* This part of the country has, however, been since garrisoned and taken possession of by Mahommed Ali.

Seeing us all armed, and not being numerous themselves, they asked for backsheesh in a quiet manner, and we gave them some. This temple is principally an excavation in the rock, but has been fronted by a built portico or peristyle hall ; of which four terms on each side, and two pillars in front, remain in a mutilated state. But there have been many more of the latter ; and probably it was approached by a flight of steps preceded by an avenue of sphinxes, fragments of which still remain. The excavated chambers have a black and dismal appearance, and the interior ones have become the habitation of bats. In plan it is not dissimilar to the great temple at Abou-Simbel, but much smaller ; and the sculpture is unusually bad and heavy. The first chamber is 19 paces by 18, and is supported by six terms, three on each side of the centre, with alto-relievo figures of Osiris in an erect posture ; but, instead of the arms being across the breast, with the scourge in one hand and the hook in the other, as at Abou-Simbel, both the insignia are here in the right hand, which is uplifted, while the left hangs down : these are executed in a most heavy and unsightly manner. On either side of this chamber are four niches, in each of which are four alto-relievo figures. The second chamber is smaller, supported by two pilasters, one on each side of the centre. Beyond this is the sanctuary, which is small ; the altar remains in it, and four sitting statues at the further end. There is a small chamber on each side of the sanctuary ; and side apartments leading from the second chamber.

Towards sun-set we inspected the temple of Garbe Dendour. This is a small unfinished edifice. It is built with a small portico of two columns in front, and has two small chambers within it. The sanctuary at the back is an excavation in the rock, before which the temple is built. Before the building is a portal and a square space walled in, probably intended as a quay to protect the edifice from the river near which it stands—Garbe Merie. We passed this place without stopping,

there being nothing but the broken wall of a temple with hieroglyphics on it.

In the evening we landed at Kalapsche, and went up to see the temple. Here we found all the natives collected together, armed with their daggers, to dispute the entrance. We demanded the reason of their being assembled in such numbers, and what they wanted : they said they must be paid before we entered the temple. We asked the speaker if he meant that he himself was to be paid, or who it was that we were to give money to. They all cried out, that we must pay every one of them. Now, as there were about sixty, and others were arriving, we thought it a bad speculation, and explained to them that we cared very little about going into the temple, as we had already inspected it ; but that, if they chose to let us enter, we would give them a reasonable present when we came out. While we were settling this, our janissary thought fit to pick a quarrel with the natives, abusing them all, calling them thieves, and saying we would enter the temple by force. In consequence of this, they all rushed on him with their drawn daggers, and had nearly wrenched his musket from him, when, thinking it high time, we flew to his rescue, and, after much struggling, succeeded in regaining him his arms. We were now glad to get to the boat, being well hooted as we went down ; and, on our shoving off, they pelted us with stones. We fired a musket over their heads, to show them that we had ammunition. Our Greek servant told us, that, while we were absent, one villain had entered the boat with a drawn sword, and was proceeding to plunder it, when, conceiving that this was carrying things a little too far, he pointed a loaded gun at the fellow's head, with a threat that he would lay him dead on the spot unless he desisted. This timely firmness caused him to quit the bark ; the crew all the while not interfering or saying a word. We commended the Greek for his presence of mind ; but had not so much reason to be satisfied with the janissary, whose unseasonable

rashness alone prevented our seeing the temple; this was the more provoking, as higher up the river such a fit of valour might occasionally have been of use.

It is a great inconvenience to a traveller in this region that both servants and interpreters always think themselves wiser than their masters; and, therefore, when they are desired to say or do anything, always act according to the dictates of their own judgment, never letting their employer's wishes influence them. When interpreting they never tell you half what is said, and frequently when you explain something which you are anxious should be interpreted, they answer, "Yes, yes, I know it;" never thinking of telling the other party, but taking it for granted you are speaking for their information, not for the purpose of their explaining your words to others.

This evening we repassed the gates of Nubia. As the Nile was now high, and the river at this point is much contracted by the approach of the mountains on both sides, the rocks jutting down perpendicularly into the water, our crew, in the hope of obtaining backsheesh, made a great merit of taking the boat through the rapids; but, though noticing all that was going forward, we took care, by an assumed carelessness, to make them think that we were regardless of the whole proceeding, and thus escaped an additional tax.

This evening the current drove us past the two small temples of Teffa. Mr. Belzoni, who has seen them, says that only one of them is finished; it is dedicated to Isis, and is about 20 ft. square; it is in a dirty state, being used as a cow-house—not a bad application for a temple of Isis, to whom the cow was peculiarly sacred. The other, which is of the same size, and situated near the former (both being on the western bank of the river and near the water's edge), has never been completed.

Just before dark we went to visit Hindaw. The ruins in this quarter are very extensive, but nothing can be distinctly made out as to the nature of

the buildings, which, whatever they may have been intended for, have never been finished. Beginning from the southward, the first object is a great square, situated on a bed of rock surrounded by an unfinished wall, built of immense blocks of calcareous stone. On the north side, in the middle, there is a portal similar to those by which the Egyptian temples are generally approached: the top of the door-way is ornamented with the winged globe, and a figure of Isis, in basso-relievo, appears half finished on the side of it. It is not improbable that this wall (which incloses a space about half-a-mile square) may have been intended to surround several temples; its extent being too great for us to suppose that only one was intended to be constructed within it. Further north is an extensive quarry, from which, it is probable, the stone for these buildings was obtained. Within this quarry we perceived a doorway carved in the Egyptian style; and on each side of it a convexity, as if it had been intended to carve out pillars. There is also a niche, with a bust of Roman execution on each side, and forty-two very perfect Greek inscriptions, written in the time of the Romans, to commemorate the visits of various generals, and other persons of distinction, who had come here to pay their vows. Mr. Bankes copied all these. To the northward of the quarry, on an eminence, is a small unfinished portico, of two pillars on each side, and two in the front; the capitals are finely executed: those of the former combine the lotus flower with the vine, date, and doura grain; the latter have a quadruple head of Isis.

*Friday, August 8.*—At noon we inspected the temple at Daboue; it is situated about two hundred yards from the river side, and is altogether unfinished. The approach is by three portals. The temple consists of a portico, composed of four columns in front, and a wall of intercolumniation reaching half way up the pillars. Within, there are two chambers and a sanctuary: the latter contains two handsome monolithic cages of red gra-

nite, between 6 and 7 feet high, and about 4 broad; these are the only objects of interest which the temple contains. Towards the river side, on the banks, are the remains of a quay. To-day the murderer quitted the bark, not daring to show himself near Philæ: he did not appear ashamed of the crime which he had committed.

In the evening our crew stopped at their village, and brought a scabby, half-starved lamb as a present to us. We could not forbear from laughing, as it was really the most pitiful animal we had seen in the country; and it must have put them to no small trouble to find such a specimen. We refused the present most stoutly, but it was all in vain; they forced it into the boat. At three we arrived at Philæ, called by Hamilton and Burckhardt, Giesiret el Berbe el Ghassir, or Giesiret Anas el Wodjoud. The first of these names means the Island of ruined Temples—not an inapt denomination. Philæ is the easternmost of a group of islands and rocks which compose the first cataract. It is about half-a-mile long, rather high, and, being entirely covered with magnificent ruins, has a grand and imposing appearance: the lofty pylons are seen at a great distance, and produce a fine effect. The island divides the Nile into two streams, and the water, finding so great an impediment in its course, rushes by with considerable velocity. The principal edifices are approached by an avenue formed on each side by a gallery supported by columns, the capitals of all which are different. There are thirty of these pillars on the left, and on the right only sixteen, with cells (probably the habitation of the priests) within them; the greater part of these last-mentioned columns are finished, but there are some incomplete. These show that the columns were first constructed and erected in the rough, and that the sculpture was finished afterwards. The rough outlines which we found traced were very curious; and, neatly as all the capitals are sculptured, the artist who finished them had but a rough and coarse pattern to guide him. The difference in the number of columns

in the two galleries is occasioned by a small temple having been situated at each end of the one on the right: these temples are now entirely ruined. At the end of the avenue is a large pylon, formed by two moles. The entrance in the centre has had two lions, and two small obelisks of red granite, ornamented with hieroglyphics, before it. It is on the pedestal of one of these latter that Mr. Bankes discovered the Greek inscription; and it is on the doorway of this pylon that the inscription was written, announcing that this island was the boundary of the French conquests in Egypt, and consequently of their progress up the Nile. The following is a verbatim copy of it:—

“République Française, An 6, Le 13 Messidor. Une Armée Française commandée par Bonaparte est descendue à Alexandrie. L’Armée ayant mis, vingt jours après, les Mamlouks en fuite aux Pyramides, Dessaix, commandant la première Division, les a poursuivis au-delà, jusqu’aux Cataracts, où il est arrivé le 13 Ventose, 3 Mars. Les Généraux de Brigade.” Here follow the names.

“An 7 de la République,  
de Jes. Chr. 1799.”

It was in the portico of this temple that we noticed the elephant as an hieroglyphic. This is the only instance of our finding this symbol in the country. The portico leads through the left end of the great pylon, after which there is a handsome court or hall, and then you enter the temple.

We here first noticed a singular imperfection or peculiarity in the sculpture of the large figure of Isis in the great pylon—she has two *left* hands. We have since observed the same singularity in other places. The French work has given some of them. In all parts of the island, on the sides of the temples, are Greek inscriptions, commemorating the worship of Greek and Roman generals who have come to pay their vows to Isis and Serapis. Philæ is said to have been the spot where Isis was appeased of her wrath for the violence offered by Typhon to her husband; and hence we find no less than

four temples dedicated to her in so small a compass.

Before I quit Nubia, I will add a few observations on the country and its inhabitants. At present only two English travellers have been in this country. Mr. Hamilton, Colonel Leake, and Captain Hayes, visited Daboude, but were prevented from advancing further by the united efforts of the cashiefs, and the mameluke bey, Elfi. Mr. Hamilton's book contains the result of the mission into Upper Egypt. The French had penetrated only as far as Philæ, where they left the inscription just given. Several years elapsed before any European travellers entered Nubia, when Burckhardt led the way, and was followed by Mr. Legh and Mr. Bankes:—the former has published.

Immediately after passing the first cataract, the traveller observes that the Mockaten and Lybian chains of mountains close in upon the Nile: this remark is applicable, with few exceptions, throughout Nubia, at least as far as we went; there is, consequently, only a narrow strip of cultivated land on either bank of the river. The ancients, to preserve the soil and prevent the rapid stream from washing away the land, constructed immense walls, or, more properly speaking, piers, built of huge masses of stone piled one on the other, and reaching into the river from the foot of the mountain, or rather the limit of the Nile's rising, to the point of the water's lowest ebb. These piers are invariably built at right angles with the stream, and are generally about 15 ft. wide. As they are very numerous, and as the labour and expense of their construction must have been prodigious, some idea may be formed of the importance that was attached to them. From the number of temples, and from the fine plains of loamy soil, now generally covered with a surface of sand a foot thick, which makes them look like the rest of the desert, there is every reason to suppose that this country was once both populous and flourishing. At the time of the height of Egyptian power, it was considered

as an integral part of the state; this is evident from the figures and devices in the temples resembling in every respect those of Egypt. Of the land in Nubia which might be cultivated, I do not suppose one-fourth is made use of; this indifference to agricultural pursuits proceeds from the despotic nature of the government, where the authorities think of nothing but making the most of their situations whilst they hold them, consequently their sole aim is to get money, no matter how it is procured. A licentious soldiery are ever ready to contribute to the oppression of the inhabitants, more especially when the funds from whence they derive their own pay and emoluments are drawn from this source. This observation applies to Egypt as well as to Nubia, only that the fact is more easily perceived in the latter country. The consequence is, that the date palm, the fruit of which ripens without cultivation, and which pays no duty, is here more encouraged than any other production, and the date may safely be called the staple of the country. The doura, which is the *Holeus arundinaceus* of Linnæus, is the only grain to be met with; it makes very good bread, but they grow barely sufficient for their own subsistence: indeed, it is so prized, that they frequently prefer it to money in payment for the articles we purchased. The miri, or land-tax, is paid at the rate of ten dollars per sackey, consequently every sackey which the Nubians build becomes an additional inducement to the Turks to come into their country; and it is only the scantiness of the produce which deters the pasha from quartering his troops on them; this the crafty natives are well aware of, and take care to put no temptation in his way. The present mode of collecting the miri in Nubia, is by sending thither annually about two hundred Turkish soldiers in boats, and the money they get hardly defrays the expenses of the expedition. The duty is not paid in cash, but in doura, which they purchase back from the Turks; but they generally contrive that the soldiers do not return very full-handed. These

soldiers usually make Derry their head-quarters, and remain about six weeks in the country, during which time the cashiefs retire into the mountains, and the natives conceal their arms, which are always taken from them whenever they are found. In several parts of Nubia we noticed the sites of ancient towns, indicated, as in Egypt, by mounds of rubbish.

As we resided longer in the country, and had more dealings with the natives than any other Europeans have ever had, I shall subjoin a few remarks regarding them. The Nubians are a very distinct race of people from the Arabs. Their dress is commonly a loose white shirt and a turban; sometimes they are uncovered, except a cloth round the waist. They are very superstitious, most of them wearing charms to keep off "the evil eye," or other apprehended ills. These charms consist of some words written on a scrap of paper, and sewn up in leather; they are worn mostly on the right arm over the elbow, and sometimes round the neck. All the cashiefs we saw had them, and one Nubian dandy had nine of these appendages. These people pride themselves on their cunning schemes to deceive strangers. Few of them smoke, instead of which they use salt and tobacco mixed, enveloped in wool, and kept between the under lip and gum; the boys commence this practice when quite young. They are all rogues, but being bred up such, do not think there is any harm in being so; the opprobrious terms, *haramé*, *cadab*, (thief, liar,) are not considered abusive with them, as they have no notion of honesty, and cannot possibly keep from pilfering anything within their reach; we detected our sailors at this work almost daily, but they always made a joke of it. The several districts differ much in regard to dress, and particularly in the manner of wearing the hair: some have it curled, "*à la Brutus*," others plaited and hanging down with great uniformity, in ringlets, to the shoulders, where it is cut off square at the bottom, and looks exactly like a mop. These latter grease their locks plentifully

with oil; the former have generally a skewer sticking in their hair in readiness to disturb any animalcule which may bite too hard. There is great difference in the features and make of the several Nubian tribes: the natives of Elpha are tall and good-looking; the people of Derry ugly and deformed; the tribe at Armada are small, but handsome, and well made; all of them are considerably darker than the Arabs. Nubians are frugal in their mode of living, subsisting principally on doura, made into flat cakes, and baked on a heated stove, and on sour milk and dates. It is usual to see a man set out on a journey of several days with no other provision than a small bag of dates. They eat the offal of all the beasts they kill, not rejecting any part; and when we were at the village to which the crew belonged, the women came down eagerly to dispute for some fowls, which, having died, had been thrown on shore. They are great boasters, but do not appear to have any firmness; and they have an especial aversion to fire-arms. They evince much outward show of religion, praying four or five times a day; and to display their piety, they leave the sand on their foreheads, which sticks there while they are performing their devotions. They are respectful to their cashiefs, to whom they refer all their quarrels and disputes. They are invariably armed, and appear very proud of their weapons; most of them carry a dagger on the left arm, a long pike and a sword slung across the back. The boys, when young, have weapons given them; this, they imagine, shows their independence, and they acknowledge no government. They are exceedingly passionate with each other, but are soon reconciled, even after the most inveterate abuse. They adhere together, and no bribes can separate them; we never saw an instance in which we had any of them on our side, or where they revealed anything to us. Ear-rings are common amongst the men; they usually have but one, and it is immaterial in which ear it is worn. They eat the locusts grilled, and affirm that they are good. Necessity has led

them to the only manufacture which they possess. It consists of neat close-grained platters, made of the date-tree, to contain their milk and food. No earthenware is made in the country; their water-jars are brought from Egypt.

The women do not cover their faces so scrupulously as the Arabs; they are not ill-looking, are generally well made, and have good figures. They wear a brown garment reaching down to the ankles; it is thrown over the right shoulder, comes close under the left arm, the shoulder of which is bare, and has not an ungraceful appearance; they are very partial to rings and bracelets; the former are frequently worn at the nose, the latter are made of one piece of brown glass, which, not yielding and being forced on as small as possible, often causes much pain: they always go bare-footed. Young girls have a covering round their loins made of

strips of leather, hanging down and ornamented with cowry-shells and beads. The hair of the women is plaited somewhat like the men's, and greased with oil. The Barabras, from their frugal mode of life, are subject to few diseases. They are all marked with one, and sometimes two, scars on the spine of the back, where they have been burnt for the cure of an endemial disease, which attacks them when young. This mode of treatment draws all the humours to one spot, and keeps the discharge open till the patient is recovering; experience has doubtless shown it to be often successful. A boy, while we were at Abou-Simbel, was in a state of cure, and accidentally injured the part, which caused it to bleed; the father immediately applied a remedy, of which there is no scarcity in the country. He threw some sand upon the wound, which soon appeased the boy's cries and pain.

### CHAPTER III.

**Descent of the first Cataract—Ancient Quarries at Assuan—Visit from the Aga—Elephantina—Koum Oumbo—Mountains of the Chain—Temple at Edfoo—Fine Ruins at El Cab—Esneh—Luxor—Tombs of Gournah—Mummy Pits—Magnificent Tomb—The Tombs of the Kings—View from the Summits of the Lybian Chain—Observations on Thebes—Tentyra—Singular Use of the Mummy Cases—Ruins at the Foot of the Mockatem—Arrival at Cairo—Visit to the Pyramids—Observations on Cairo—Massacre of the Mamelukes—Appearance of the Country—The Nile—Travellers in Egypt—Expenses.**

*Tuesday, August 12.*—After about four hours' disputing and bargaining with the crew, we persuaded them to take us down the cataract in the boat, for the sum of fifty piastres; but they would not start unless we paid them every para of the money beforehand. We tried to induce them to take half the cash at first, and the other half on our arrival; but, no, they must have it all. It was of course the same to us, whether we paid them before or after; but knowing their character, we were afraid that when they once got the money, they would turn our things out of the boat and take themselves off, especially as there was a great crowd assembled who would have aided them in any of their pranks. We could not help laughing when we found that, how-

ever unfavourable an opinion we had formed of them, they were equally suspicious of us. Having at length given them the money, they prepared to depart. A pilot and eight additional hands came on board to conduct us down. Just before putting off, Hassan sneaked off and disappeared, dreading, no doubt, the report we should make of him to the Aga. We were about two hours on our passage, which was amongst all the windings and turnings of the innumerable islands which form the rapids, for cataract there is none. The scenery was wild, barren, and romantic. Sometimes the bark was carried away pretty sharply by the stream, and occasionally, when she was roughly handled in the vortex of the current, the sailors cried out, "tyep,



tyep," (good, good,) and asked us whether they were not bold fellows for undertaking what they had done. At times they made such a violent noise, all speaking and bawling at once, that a person not used to Nubian manners would have thought the whole concern was going to the bottom. The boat only struck once, but it gave her a prodigious shock, and made us fully sensible of the hardness of granite rocks. The sailors immediately began to sound the well, expecting that she was bilged, but she did not make much water, and we soon got off. At the commencement of the rapid, and while near Philæ, we observed oyster-shells incrusting on the granite rocks, bordering on the river; some of them were very perfect and large. We reached Assuan (the ancient Syene) in the evening. Mr. Ruppell, a German traveller who was at Thebes with us, discovered on one of the barren and uninhabited islands which compose the fall, a fine tablet of red granite, with a perfect Greek inscription on it, of great interest. This stone Mr. Ruppell takes with him to Frankfort, to be presented to the museum of that town.

On our arrival at Assuan, we proceeded to visit the ancient granite quarries in the neighbourhood. Our principal object was to examine the column which is there, and which has a Latin inscription upon it of some interest. At first our guide lost his way, and took us to another part of the quarry, where we found an immense granite basin, 17 ft. long, by 7 wide, and 3 deep. It is hewn out in the rough, and is narrower at the bottom than the top. We were at a loss to imagine for what purpose such an immense vessel could be intended, unless for a bath. The whole of this quarry was highly interesting. Here we had an opportunity of noticing the manner in which the ancients used to cut the prodigious masses which one meets with throughout Egypt. It appears, that, when they wanted to detach a mass, they cut niches in a right line throughout the piece they intended removing: these niches were about 2 ft. apart, 5 or 6 in. long, and about

3 deep, by 2½ broad. As soon as they were finished, the block was separated by some violent blow or concussion. We met in all directions specimens of the progress of their work; some masses were but half detached, others wholly separated; here we saw an obelisk in the rough, and there a column. The whole was a most interesting sight. The ancient road, regularly paved with granite, is still plainly to be seen, though the sand covers a great part: in the vacancies between the hills are causeways, some of considerable length, to connect the elevated parts one with the other, and thus keep a communication open with the several quarries. All these roads lead to two principal ones which conduct to Assuan. We now searched for the column with the inscription, and at last found it. The pillar is small, not being more than 10 ft. in length, by about 3 ft. in diameter; the inscription is tolerably perfect. An Arab, acquainted with Mr. Belzoni, told him of it, and that no traveller had seen it until last year. As Mr. Belzoni had copied the writing, we did not think it worth while to do so. Its purport is as follows:—"To Jupiter Ammon, Kneephis Bona (the Good Spirit), and to Juno the Queen, under whose protection is this mountain, in which were discovered nine quarries near Philæ, during the happy age of the Roman Empire, under the most pious Emperors, Severus and Caracalla, and ———, and Julia Domna, his august mother; and a vast number of statues and large columns were taken out of these quarries by Aquila, prefect of Egypt. *Curre Magna Opera,*," which Mr. Salt interprets, "under his directions, Aurelius Heliogabalus ordered this stone to be erected in the calends of March." The vacant space before Julia Domna, the mother, is where the name of "Geta," the other brother was erased. Caracalla, having murdered him, ordered his name to be blotted out of every inscription where it was inserted. Mr. Salt tells us, that there is one instance of this at Rome, and that he has met another on an inscription, discovered at the late

excavation of the sphinx. As the inscription says, that the Romans *discovered* the nine quarries, *not that they made them*, one must infer that they were first worked by the Egyptians; and as they were so numerous, and of such magnitude, they must have been of great consequence, and are doubtless of the most remote antiquity. It is difficult to understand how the Egyptians could have cut, hollowed out, and polished, such immense blocks of the hardest stone without the use of iron, a metal which they are said to have been wholly ignorant of. The niches above mentioned may probably have been cut with brass. We examined the construction of numerous mummy cases, and boxes containing the sacred emblems of the Egyptians; they were invariably fastened with wooden pegs, no nail of any description being visible. Some of the cases were of beautiful workmanship: Mr. Ruppell has two legs of a chair elegantly worked in the form of a lion's feet and paws. These specimens of cabinet-making bespeak great taste and judgment; and it is difficult to conceive that they could have been carved with brazen tools. The negroes in the South Sea at this day certainly cut hard woods shaped as clubs, and ornament them in the most exquisite style; but I doubt much if they could with their flints make cases and boxes.

Syene was the place to which Juvenal was banished by the Emperor Domitian, being sent there with the title of "Governor of the Frontier of Egypt:" he returned to Rome at eighty years of age. Assuan has nothing to interest the traveller; an immense heap of rubbish lies behind the town, which is a dirty, ill-built place.

*Wednesday, August 13.*—This morning the Aga came to pay us a visit: he was asleep all yesterday, for as the ramadan prevents them from eating and drinking during the day, the great people invert the order of things by sleeping during that time, and sitting up and feasting all night. We complained to him of the treatment we had experienced from our crew. He

told us that they were a notorious set of rascals; that no one would employ their boat, their character being so bad, that people were afraid to trust their goods in their hands. Our friends had not waited to be catechised for their conduct, but took themselves off the day before, after having made great efforts to persuade us to give them some more backsheesh. We visited Elephantina, so glowingly described by Denon. It certainly has a pleasing, flourishing appearance, the north end being richly covered with fine crops of doura; and there are also a few palm-trees. The south end of the island is high, and here are situated the ruins of the ancient town, together with the temples, only one of which, dedicated to the serpent Kneephis, is in any degree perfect; it is small, with an ante-chamber and sanctuary. There are the remains of several others, but so mutilated that nothing can be made out. A high quay leads directly down to the Nile at the S. E. end. At eleven o'clock we started on our return, having hired a boat to take us to Thebes for 120 piastres.

*Thursday, August 14.*—We inspected Koum Ombó, the ancient Ombos. Here are the remains of two temples situated on a promontory of the Nile's eastern bank; the large one, dedicated to the crocodile (as appears by the principal offerings being presented to a deity having the head of that animal), is situated at a short distance from the river, which it fronts. The smaller one, to Isis, is close to the river side; and not far distant from the other, to the S. W., and close to the river side, is a building which appears to be part of an unfinished pylon. There is a whimsical irregularity in this edifice: the base is built of small blocks of stone, which gradually increase in size till you come to the top, where are the largest masses of all. The large temple consists of a portico of three rows of columns, five in each row: the column at each of the outer angles has fallen. The cornice, only parts of which are perfect, is ornamented with four winged globes.

The frieze consists of a double border of large hieroglyphics. The columns are of great dimensions, and have dissimilar capitals surmounted by a plinth. There are two entrances, one on each side of the centre pillars; this is occasioned by the unusual circumstance of there being an odd number of columns in front: these entrances conduct to another ruined apartment, originally supported by ten pillars in two rows of five each; beyond which are three other apartments; the communication from the one to the other is by two large doors, one on either side, instead of a centre one usual in most Egyptian temples. The cornice over the entrance, on the left, from the second to the third apartment, has an inscription in Greek, stating that it was written by direction of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, and that the temple was dedicated to Apollo, &c. The decorations of this edifice are in basso-relievo, highly finished, and in a good style. Amongst the figures, we noticed the lion with the hawk's head, similar to the statues we found at Abou-Simbel—a union we had not elsewhere noticed. The small temple of Isis points to the south; it consists of a small portico of four columns, surmounted by the usual quadruple head of the deity, with the passage in the centre; and beyond the portico are two chambers and a sanctuary; but all the western side of the temple has fallen into the river, and with it the chief part of the flooring of the chambers, together with a large plain altar of black basalt, which had evidently been in the sanctuary. The want of hieroglyphical inscriptions on this altar is probably the only cause why travellers have not removed it. The ornamental parts of this temple are in no way inferior to those of the larger edifice; we did not, however, notice any representations that we had not before seen. In consequence of the elevation of Koum Ombo, the view is extensive, but the country to the north and east presents nothing but a barren, sandy desert; to the S. E. there is a small portion of land cultivated. Opposite to the temple, in the middle of the Nile, is the large island

of the Mansouria, which is highly cultivated, and a smaller island to the south, the soil of which is also good. Exclusive of the temples, the promontory of Koum Ombo has several Saracenic ruins of both baked and sunburnt brick; and the ruins of the ancient town are marked by the rubbish of the former material.



We visited Djibel Selsilis. This name, which means "mountains of the chain," has been given from a tradition that a chain was here drawn across the river, to prevent the irruption of any hostile parties from above. The principal objects of interest are several small temples hollowed out of the rock, which is of calcareous stone. The northernmost consists of a portico and sanctuary, with three recesses in the latter, containing statues in alto-relievo; the walls have been stuccoed and painted, but at present are so much disfigured that little or nothing can be made out. To the southward are two other small temples, each consisting of one single niche or hollow in the rock. The fronts of both have two handsome columns, together with a cornice and frieze, executed with considerable taste. The colouring must have been extremely rich. There are numerous other niches with statues, &c. The quarries near this spot are very extensive; and one large detached block, of considerable height, would seem to be the mass of stone where the chain which secured the river was fastened. On the opposite side of the river the quarries are also numerous; the vicinity of the Nile, so favourable for embarking and transporting the stone, was no doubt the principal inducement to the Egyptians to establish these extensive works.

On *Friday, August 15*, we reached Edfoo, the ancient "Apollinopolis Magna." It is situated in a fertile plain, at a short distance from the western bank of the Nile. The large temple appears to have been one of the most magnificent of any in Egypt; though in beauty it must yield to Tenetyra and some few others. It consists of a remarkably high pylon, the exterior

wall of which is sculptured with a large figure on each side, sacrificing a number of human victims; and above these are two rows of figures presenting offerings to Osiris and Isis. The inside of the pylon is decorated similarly; the cornice is imperfect as far as the torus, or astragal moulding, which at present forms the summit of the pylon. Within is a large and magnificent peristyle court, forming an oblong square, with a covered gallery supported by columns on each side; beyond this is the portico of the temple, presenting a front of six pillars, behind which are two other rows, making eighteen pillars in all; those in front have had a wall of intercolumniation reaching up half their height. These pillars appeared to be of very large dimensions, but on measuring them we found the upper part of the shaft to be only 6 feet 4 inches in diameter, while those at Carnack are 11 feet 6 inches at the base of the column. This portico is filled with rubbish more than two-thirds up to the roof. The frieze in front of the portico is ornamented with a row of standing figures of monkeys, in basso-relievo, and the architraves within have rows of figures of Isis sitting on a chair. The chambers of the temple are inaccessible, as the rubbish which fills the portico blocks up the door. The whole of the large peristyle court, and the top of the portico, and other parts of the temple, are covered with the mud-built huts of the modern town of Edfoo. The temple is surrounded by a wall, about 8 feet thick, which is continued in a line from the outer part of the gallery of the peristyle, leaving a passage between the sides of the temple and the wall. The exterior of the edifice, and both sides of the wall, are ornamented with offerings and hieroglyphics; we remarked nothing novel in the symbolic representations, excepting the horse, an animal we had not before seen in this character. The ruins of the ancient Apollinopolis Magna are high, but not extensive. The paltry modern town of Edfoo presents a striking contrast to the magnificence of the ancient buildings; seen from the top of the

lofty pylon, the huts at its foot, and in the peristyle court, do not look like human dwellings. You here enjoy a fine view of the river, and an extensive fertile plain. To the S.W. of the great temple there is a smaller one, which is nearly buried. An interesting discovery was made a few weeks ago near this place. A Frenchman, named Cailliaud, who understands mineralogy, has lately been employed by the pasha to examine the Mockatem and Lybian chain in search of coal mines. His last trip was to inspect the ancient emerald mines, which are south of Cossur, at five hours' journey from the Red Sea. On his way from the point opposite to Edfoo, where he quitted the Nile, he crossed a road at two days' journey from that place, which appears to be the ancient Egyptian road from Koptos to Berenice; and he also found there the ruins of a temple. The road is paved with granite, and in some places is cut or hollowed out of the solid rock. He observed several tablets, with hieroglyphic characters and inscriptions, but he could not spare time to examine them. We have seen some of the specimens from the emerald mine which Mr. Cailliaud brought with him. Our friend Ruppel, who is a good mineralogist, and who has made a valuable collection, tells us that these specimens are composed of black mica; it is of a softish, sealy nature, and may easily be separated into laminae. The emeralds which we saw were very small, and ran in narrow layers through the other substance.

This evening, *August 15*, we stopped at El Cab, the ancient Eleethias. The ruins are situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, not far from the river. This city has been inclosed by a wall of sun-burnt brick, 37 feet thick; the inclosed space is about a mile square. Within the great wall is another inclosure surrounding the ruins of a small temple, and other buildings much dilapidated, and consequently uninteresting. At the back of the ruins, in the side of the Mockatem, are several sepulchral grottoes, two of which are well worthy of notice; the one is remarkable for a highly finished tablet

of hieroglyphics, in intaglio; the other is a very interesting chamber. Some of the groups have great originality of design, and are executed with good taste. On the left, as you enter, the first object of interest is a man writing on a tablet, which he holds on his left arm; fronting him are various men driving asses, cattle, pigs, goats, &c.; near to these are several hillocks of corn, and people in the act of reaping and sheafing, with gleaners, &c., following behind them. After this are three distinct rows of agricultural proceedings; the upper one begins with two men bearing on their shoulders, by means of a long pole, as brewers carry a cask, a sort of net basket shaped thus  filled with wheat in the ear; next to them are two other men, one bringing on his shoulder an empty basket, while his companion carries the pole; next is a man in an inclosed space, with six head of cattle, treading the corn, their mode of threshing. Behind these are four people winnowing the grain, by holding it up over their heads, and pouring it down for the wind to blow through it; near these is a man seated on the top of a high hillock of grain, and writing down an account of the quantity, and there are four men piling it up. This group terminates with two men depositing the corn in a square inclosure, which was doubtless the granary. The next group is a ploughing scene. There are two ploughs, each drawn by two oxen; a man walks opposite the animals, sowing grain as they advance; this he takes from a basket suspended from the yoke across the horns of the beasts. Behind him is a person driving a wheel harrow; the ploughs are preceded by four men, using a sort of pick-axe in the shape of the Greek letter alpha; this was probably to break the clods of earth. Further on are four men working another plough. Below this scene is a pair of scales; at one end is a man writing an account, while another is weighing some small articles shaped thus , and which we think may probably represent their loaves, as bread is at present sometimes made in that form in Egypt. Four of these

are in one scale, and many others on the shelves at the side of the wall; the weight in the other scale is in the form of a cow couchant. Next to this are perscus carrying the weighed articles into a boat, by means of a gang-board, and near to this boat are three other boats already laden, with men poling them. The cargo is placed in a square magazine, built in the centre of a boat, not unlike the cabin of the Thamesis. Below is a boat under sail; the sail is square, with a yard at the head and foot. It is trimmed by means of a wheel, which is attached to the foot-yard, acting the part of a roller, and working on a pivot on the top of the square magazine or cabin, which is nearly half the height of the mast. There is a door and window to the cabin, and seven men are rowing on each side: the helms-man steers with an oar. The next group represents fishermen drawing their net, with two men carrying the fish away in baskets, and another splitting them and hanging them up to dry. Beneath this is another party catching geese with a net; after which are others employed plucking and trussing them, while one man is putting them in jars. Above are men plucking grapes, while two are carrying them away in baskets; six others are pressing them, and others filling jars with the wine. Among numerous other groups of figures, we noticed a female, standing and playing a harp with ten strings. The instrument is rudely shaped, and badly finished. Another plays on a wind-instrument not unlike a clarionet, with this difference, that the end is not shaped like a trumpet's mouth, but plain. As most of the other groups are met with in other places, I do not deem it necessary to describe them. We visited a small temple situated in the plain, at a short distance to the N.W. The serpent Knecephis is said, by the French, to have been worshipped in this temple, though we could not make out any more marked allusion to a serpent than is usual in the sculpture of other temples.

On *Saturday, August 16*, we reached Esneh, situate on the site of the

ancient Latopolis. In the centre of the town, near the market-place, is an Egyptian temple, which must have been magnificent, but the whole of it is now completely buried, and built over with modern houses, except the portico or ante-chamber. This is supported by twenty-four columns, in four rows of six each; the outer row in front having a semi-wall of intercolumniation like that at Tentyra. The sculpture, in basso-relievo, is executed in an indifferent style: the signs of the zodiac are represented on both ends of the ceiling, but they are much inferior to those of Tentyra. The chief beauty of this portico consists in the elegant proportions of the shafts of the columns. The capitals, all of which are different, are well executed, representing the fruit and leaves of the date, vine, lotus, &c. &c. Three miles north of Esneh there is a small temple in ruins, supposed to be situated on the site of the ancient Aphroditopolis, and on the opposite side of the river there is another on the site of Contra Latopolis. We visited neither of them, as they were reported unworthy the trouble, and time was growing precious. As we had inspected the ruins at Erment, the ancient Hermontis, on our passage up the Nile in May, we did not again visit them. The city appears to have been extensive and compact. There are the remains of four temples, but only one at present is in such a state as to indicate what they once were. This temple has but seven columns standing, each of which has a capital of a different pattern from the others, the whole being composed of representations of the palm leaf in various forms. There are two sanctuaries in the temple, both ornamented with various symbolic representations, in basso-relievo, stuccoed and painted. Some of the groups are peculiar. In the larger sanctuary are sixteen hippopotami, in two processions, walking upright; also a hippopotamus presenting an offering to Horus, who is sitting on the lotus flower; several crocodiles, with hawks' heads, on square cases, either altars or sarcophagi; two rows of three monkeys,

and two of four cats; a human figure, with the Ibis's head, presenting offerings to a cat; a man bearing a globe on his shoulders; an oblong-square case ornamented all over with flowers; above it appear twelve human heads, in four groups of three each, and below are their feet with sandals; (these last are probably men carrying a sarcophagus;) a small human figure (Horus), with a hawk's head, riding between the horns of a cow (Isis). In the inner sanctuary are two cows, with a child sucking each, the animals with their heads turned round and looking at the infants—probably Isis and her son Horus. On the ceiling are two rams with wings—a taurus and a scorio; twelve figures in three rows of four each, with a circular head ornament, and a star in the centre, probably have some allusion to the signs of the zodiac. All the ornaments of these two sanctuaries are highly finished. Near the temple, on the east side, are the ruins of an ancient basin, in the centre of which Denon mentions, on the authority of Aristides, there was a Nilometer, but the column on which it was graduated no longer exists; the remains of a flight of steps, from the basin up to the temple, are still to be seen.

*Sunday, August 17.*—Early this morning we arrived at Luxor, part of the ancient Thebes, and took up our quarters in one of the temples. Having established our household, we devoted the day to a careful re-examination of both Luxor and Carnack. At the former place we carefully inspected the sculpture on the exterior of the great pylon. We also clearly made out that, with the exception of being written vertically instead of horizontally, eight or ten of the upper hieroglyphics on the magnificent obelisks are the same as the first characters of the frieze at Abou-Simbel, and the same also as the upper hieroglyphics in what are termed Cleopatra's Needles at Alexandria.

*Monday, August 18.*—We devoted this day to visiting the tombs of Gourna; and Messrs. Beechey and Belzoni having been employed for months, by Mr.

Salt, in digging and making excavations in various directions among the rubbish of ancient Thebes, and particularly at Gournâ, were the best guides we could possibly have. It is customary with the natives to deceive travellers, and tell them that they have seen all, before they have inspected half; and it was precisely this trick they played on Mr. Irby and myself on our former visit. They have not been unmindful of the eagerness with which travellers inquire after objects of antiquity; especially the papyri, which are generally found under the arms or between the legs of the mummies, and the demand for which has been so great of late, in consequence of an opposition between the French party, employed by Mr. Drovetti, and the English, employed by Mr. Salt, that they now sell for thirty, forty, and fifty piastres each, whereas, formerly, you could get them for eight or ten. About a dozen of the leading characters of Gournâ, that is, the greatest rogues in the place, have headed their comrades, and formed them into two distinct digging parties, or resurrection men, designating them the French and the English party; these are constantly occupied in searching for new tombs, stripping the mummies, and collecting antiquities. The directors have about three-fourths of the money, and the rest is given to the inferior labourers. They dread lest strangers should see these tombs, which to them are so many mines of wealth, and should commence digging speculations of their own—hence the care of the Gournâ people in concealing them. It would be endless to describe all the intrigues which are carried on; or the presents given to the Defterdar Bey, the Agas, and the Cashiefs, to attach them to the one or the other party. Lately, Mr. Drovetti obtained an order from the Defterdar Bey, that the natives should neither sell nor work for the English party, and a cashief was most severely bastinadoed by the bey's orders, and in his presence at Gournâ, for having done so. At present, things are on a better footing. Mr. Drovetti is not an amateur, but collects to sell;

he offered his museum to Mr. Salt, on his arrival, for seven thousand pounds, but most persons seem to think he will never get this price. He is now gone into Upper Egypt in search of a temple and Egyptian road, which are said to have been seen by the jelabs, at one day's journey, in the desert, from Madfuni, the ancient Abydos.

The tombs of Gournâ are situated in a valley to the S. W. of the Memnonium. Those which we first inspected are considered the best, and consist of two square courts cut in a bed of calcareous stone. There are excavations on three sides of the square, and the fourth, or south side, is that by which they are entered. The principal excavations are on the north side; these are very extensive, and we were at a loss which most to admire, the beauty of the sculpture on the walls, or the grandeur and extent of the excavations. The figures are cut on the smooth stone, which is very close-grained, resembling the finest chalk, but without cracks or flaws, and rather harder; the colour is of so pure a white, and admits of so fine a polish, that stucco has been quite unnecessary. There is a harmony throughout the decorations of these tombs that we have no where else noticed; the sculpture, which is in intaglio, will bear the minutest inspection. The plan of the excavation is extremely singular, sometimes abruptly turning either to the right or left, without any apparent cause. At the further end there is a fine quadrangular court, having the solid rock in the centre. You here meet with some very rich groups; and there are innumerable remains of fine statues, in alto-relievo, leaning against the wall in all directions; we could not, however, distinguish one that was perfect. The art and precision with which the decorations of these sepulchres are finished, exhibiting an endless variety of symbolic representations, in the most elaborate and highly finished style, are truly astonishing. In some places the roofs are arched, in others they are flat; here you meet with a deep well in a corner; shortly afterwards, you descend a flight of

steps. Some of the hieroglyphics are painted blue on a pale red ground; blue is much used, the colour of the stone itself serving occasionally for a fine white field. Amongst the figures, in basso-relievo, there were many quite perfect, and so minutely cut, that the eye-brows and ears, the hair, nose, lips, and the hands and nails, would bear the closest inspection; in short, throughout the whole of this mausoleum, the work of most skilful artists is observable. The examination of the principal tomb occupied us two hours.


We afterwards went to see the mummy pits. It is impossible to conceive a more singular and astonishing sight than this. Imagine a cave of considerable magnitude filled up with heaps of dead bodies in all directions, and in the most whimsical attitudes; some with extended arms, others holding out a right hand, and apparently in the attitude of addressing you; some prostrate, others with their heels sticking up in the air; at every step you thrust your foot through a body or crush a head. Most of the mummies are enveloped with linen, coated with gum, &c., for their better preservation. Some of the linen is of a texture remarkably fine, far surpassing what is made in Egypt at the present day, and proving that their manufactures must have arrived at a great degree of excellence. Many of the bodies, probably those of the lower orders, are simply dried, without any envelopment. Innumerable fragments of small idols are scattered about; they are mostly human figures of Osiris, about two inches long, with the hook and scourge in either hand; some are of stone, some of baked earthenware, and others of blue pottery. Except as being so odd and extraordinary an exhibition, few of the common tombs, which were most likely for the poorer class of natives, are worth seeing, as none of them are ornamented in any way whatever; the bodies are stowed away in compact masses, tier on tier, always crossing each other. In some instances we found the hair quite perfect. It was

in a tomb of this description that some of the diggers found a beautiful net-work, composed of long blue hollow beads, with threads passed through them; the parts of the net hanging down over the shoulders, and all emanating from a scarabæus Thebaicus, which was on the crown of the head. It was found on the head of a female mummy.




At the commencement of this year the diggers also found two remarkably fine Egyptian vases of brass, covered with hieroglyphics; they are nearly two feet high, and are the most valuable remains of antiquity which have been discovered for some years, being quite perfect. Mr. Belzoni was fortunate enough to get them for Mr. Salt, for one hundred and seventy piastres—4*l.* 5*s.*

We now went to inspect a newly discovered tomb, that well recompensed us for the trouble. Having crawled in by a small hole barely sufficient for the body to be squeezed through, we entered a small sepulchral antechamber adjoining to a tomb filled with mummies. From the finished style of the decorations of this chamber, we concluded that it must have been the tomb of some noble family; the paintings are all in fresco, and so wonderfully well preserved, that not the least scratch or stain is visible; the pure white ground of the wall not being even tinged with yellow. Amongst the groups we noticed an interesting troop of six female musicians, dressed in white robes reaching down to their ankles; over this they have a sort of black, loose woollen net hanging over the shoulders, and reaching down to the waist. Their hair is jet black, plaited in ringlets, reaching down from the outer part of the eyelids all round the head, and has, at first sight, the appearance of a veil. They are walking in procession and playing at the same time: the leader has a harp with fourteen strings; then comes a girl with a guitar, which is not unlike that now in use; then one with a lute, hand-omely shaped; after which comes another girl clapping her hands, apparently keeping time; then



another with a sort of double pipe : this instrument is played on like a clarionet, and is long and slender ; both the tubes are of equal length. The procession closes with a female beating on a tambourine, which is in this shape . The gestures of these musicians, with their uplifted eyes, would lead one to suppose they were playing some impassioned air. The preservation of this painting is astonishing, the colours being perfectly fresh, and no part whatever in the least defaced. What would not the French have given for such a specimen to put in their splendid work ! There is nothing throughout Egypt to be compared to it. In this apartment there are figures of two male harpers ; both are squatted down, and playing on smaller instruments than that just described, having only nine strings each : one is playing alone, the other is accompanied by a man playing on a guitar. These last-mentioned musicians are bare-headed, and have bare feet ; they are apparently elderly men. There are many other groups. The sacred Bull (Apis) is here most magnificently ornamented, and is a handsomer animal than it generally is. The ceiling of the apartment is divided into four compartments, each of which is painted with a different device. Adjoining the chamber, and connected by means of a small well, is a tomb filled with mummies, amongst which are the fragments of a mummy-case, richly painted and glazed. Some of the bodies are covered with canvas, over which is a coat of plaster painted. We found concealed in the envelope of the corpses, some of the small ornaments of earthenware, called Nilometers.

The valley of Gourná ends at the foot of the Lybian mountains, where their sides present a perpendicular precipice. Here are some interesting antiquities—a granite portal, discovered this year by digging ; an arch, the only one of Egyptian masonry to be seen in the country. It is well known that the Egyptians were ignorant of the scientific mode of building an arch ; and it is this circumstance

which enables us frequently, in this country, to distinguish the works of the Greeks and Romans from those of their predecessors. The Egyptians built their arches in this form  ; the Romans thus . All the temples  are roofed over with blocks of stone, frequently 30 ft. long ; but as this was the utmost extent to which they could carry their system of building, you never meet with a space between a row of columns wider than that. Their staircases, whether circular or straight, are built on the same principle as their arches, being merely blocks of stone firmly inserted in the side of the wall, the workmen taking care to leave stone enough within the wall to support the weight. A painted chamber and a granite slab appear to be the other objects of interest near to this spot. The chamber seems to have been a sepulchre rather than a temple, and was approached by two or more avenues. It was discovered by digging, at Mr. Salt's expense, this year ; but the Defterdar Bey, or governor of Upper Egypt, made the men desist from their researches.

We next proceeded to visit a small temple dedicated to Isis, which is situated to the N. W. of Medinet Aboo. Its position is seen from Memnonium, but being surrounded by a Saracenic wall of sun-burnt brick, nothing but one portal is visible. This constitutes the approach to the edifice, and through it you arrive at a small portico, the pillars having capitals of the head of Isis. There is, besides the portico, a cross ante-chamber, a sanctuary, and two wings : it is altogether a neat little temple. In the evening, after examining the statues and temple at Memnonium, we returned to Luxor.

*Tuesday, August 19.*—Early this morning we crossed the water with our janissary to pay a farewell visit to the Tombs of the Kings. One of the chief diggers accompanied us to show us two new tombs discovered by Mr. Belzoni this year. We found them quite unworthy of notice. They are situated in a small valley adjoining the great one. We afterwards again explored the other tombs. In the small

chamber where Bruce made the drawing of the harp which he gave to Mr. Burney (for his History of Music), we saw that traveller's name scratched over the very harp. This is, we think, strong presumptive evidence that he made the sketch upon the spot, though he has been accused of drawing it afterwards from memory: he is, however, in error as to the number of strings. In other respects, he has given the form of the instrument correctly, but the musician is very indifferently copied. This evening, we found some scorpions, which our guide took up in his hand with great indifference: we remarked, however, that he took good care always to seize the reptiles by the tail.

We returned on foot, by the way of Memnonium, ascending to the top of the Lybian chain, which on one side gave us a fine view of the valley and Tombs of the Kings, while on the other side we looked down on the plain, which contains the whole of the ancient Thebes, together with the Nile, both seen to great advantage, and forming a splendid specimen of Egyptian scenery. As we descended, we counted on one spot upwards of fifty mummy-pits, discernible by their open mouths or entrances, on the sides of the hills, exclusive of an innumerable quantity of doors of grottoes, sepulchral chambers, &c., &c., cut out of the sides of the mountains. We now returned to Luxor, and having seen everything, began to think of returning. I cannot, however, quit Thebes without adverting to Homer's description of it. He says—

“ Not all proud Thebes' unrivalled walls contain,  
The world's great Empress on th' Egyptian plain;  
That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,  
And pours her heroes through a hundred gates,  
Two hundred horsemen and two hundred cars,  
From each wide portal issuing to the wars.”

In our researches throughout the whole of the Theban ruins we did not meet with any remains of either walls

or gates, unless the term is applied to the pylons, and other buildings, which constituted the approaches to the sacred edifices. Now, if Thebes had been a city with a hundred gates, there must surely have been a wall through which to construct them; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the wall of so extensive and magnificent a city would have been built with stone, or at least that the frames or portals of the gates would have been of that material. Still no vestige of either gate or wall is to be seen; and as so many ruins of temples and their porticoes remain to this day, how is it that not one solitary gate, nor even fragment of the wall, is left? Under these circumstances, I do not think it an improbable conjecture, that it was the numerous porticos, pylons, &c., of the Theban temples, that obtained for her the boasted reputation of a hundred gates. That she vanquished and subdued many states, and that her inhabitants were proud of their warlike achievements, appears from the battles so frequently traced on the walls; but we nowhere observed Egyptian horsemen, the horsemen being always of the enemy's party in the act of flight, and looking back with dismay on the conquering Egyptians, who are invariably in chariots. Numerous as have been the researches amongst the ruins of Thebes, I suspect that many treasures of art still remain concealed: and if the English party are not prevented from digging, it is probable we shall be continually hearing of some new discoveries.

*Friday, August 21.*—We started early this morning for Cairo, having bargained with the reis to take us down for thirty piastres—fifteen shillings. The boat was laden with lentils for the pasha. We placed a few mats over-head for a shade, and found the cargo a good soft foundation whereon to put our beds; the sailors, in the boat, helping us in our cooking operations, we found we did as well without as with a servant.

*Saturday, August 22.*—This morning we stopped at Tentyra, and, as our reis said he should not start for an hour, we determined to revisit the

temple of Isis.\* We accordingly started on foot for that purpose. When we had got two-thirds of our way, we found the canal was filled, and that we must either swim over it or return. As we were dressed in our Arab costume, the former alternative was not difficult; we therefore threw our clothes over and plunged in. We examined the temple, and did not forget the little chamber, in which we had before noticed the circular astronomical table on the ceiling as being a monument of the same kind as the Isiac table which we had seen at Turin. It was in the ceiling of the other half of this chamber that Mr. Ruppell discovered a complete lunar system, which had totally escaped Denon and all the other French savans. Mr. Ruppell took an exact copy of this interesting tablet. It clearly contains twelve moons and a bit of another, which no doubt was meant for the odd five days, as the twelve make 360. As this throws an additional light on the Egyptian mode of calculating the year, it is a matter of no small interest, and reflects the more credit on Mr. Ruppell, as so many travellers have examined this chamber, without the circumstance having occurred to them. In the great French work they have put down fourteen or fifteen

moons, never having taken the trouble to count them.

*Tuesday, August 25.*—We stopped at Siout, and went up to pay respects to the hospitable doctor, Marouky—found him as friendly as ever;—stopped two hours, and then pushed on.

*Wednesday 26.*—Visited Mr. Brine, a grateful remembrance of whose kindness also induced us to pay our respects to him. We here took charge of the heads of two Egyptian mummy-cases, and other antiquities dug up for Mr. Salt from a spot supposed to be the burial place of Hermopolis, near the Lybian chain.

*Thursday, August 27.*—We stopped at Houarti. As this was the village where our crew live, we were obliged to reconcile our minds to stop for three days, while they made merry with their friends and relations. We had scarcely been here an hour, when our reis came to ask us to lend him the two mummy-cases which we had on board. He said he should like to have them up at the village for an hour. We lent them immediately; but it was not until the following day that we found out his reason for borrowing them. Numbers of women came down to us and asked permission to walk three times round them, crossing over them each time. This we found was to procure them families. The women were constantly arriving, young and old, and all going through the same ceremony. They were all very serious during the performance of this mystery, and seemed to think it odd that we laughed so much. Our sailors informed us there were some antiquities at the foot of the Mock-tem, about one hour and a half's distance. They mentioned temples and catacombs. We did not much believe them, but were glad of any excuse for a trip to pass away the time, and accordingly started with one of the reis's brothers as our guide. He took us to the site of a very extensive and finely-situated city, which, from the state of the rubbish, must have been of some consequence. It stands at the mouth of a valley in the Mock-

\* The inscription on the listel of the cornice, in front of this temple, speaks of it as dedicated to Venus, which agrees with Strabo, who says "The Tentrites worship Venus. Behind the temple of Venus is a sanctuary (*temple*) of Isis." The latter still exists: it is a small temple without columns. It is curious that the French savans did not copy this inscription: either they did not see it, or, stranger still, none of them knew Greek enough to be able to copy the letters, which are considerably broken and erased. It was first copied by Colonel Lenke and Mr. Hamilton. It is not surprising that the French, having failed as to the inscription of Tentyr, should have omitted others more difficult, or that they should have occupied Alexandria for three years without having been able to decipher a single word of the inscription on the column of Diocletian. Colonel Lenke was the first to discover the legibility of this inscription, by making out the words ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ and ΕΠΙΛΕΥΣΤΕ ΑΙΤΙΟΤ. The joint efforts of himself and Mr. Hamilton, and Colonel Squires during several days afterwards, deciphered all that is at all legible of the remainder. See *Classical Journal*.

atem, on an elevated spot, at the edge of the cultivated plains, of which it commands a fine view. The modern village of Tehene is close to it. The ruins have been much dug up by the Arabs in search of antiquities. We only found one capital approaching to the Corinthian order, most likely of Roman workmanship. Immediately above the rubbish is a considerable range of catacombs and ancient temples hollowed out of the rock. One small temple of Isis is well worthy of notice, the decorations in basso-relievo being finished in a good style. At about a quarter of an hour's walk along the side of the mountain, to the southward, we saw a large excavated space, and on the top of a frieze with a Greek inscription, the letters of which are remarkably large. It is about three fathoms long, and its size (the letters being nearly one foot high) led us to believe it must be generally known; we therefore did not copy it. We clearly made out the word *ITTOAEMAIOS*. We have since found that no travellers have noticed this inscription. We have therefore given the particulars to Mr. Salt. A very old map of Danville's, on a small scale, has the site of an ancient town, under the name of Cynopolis, placed nearly in a parallel of latitude with this place. We continued our voyage, and arrived at Cairo on the first day of September.

*Wednesday, September 2.* — Our first care now was to shave our beards, which we had allowed to grow from our first departure from Philæ, and we resumed our European costume. We felt as awkward at first at this change of dress, as we did when we first assumed the Arab costume. Mr. Salt received us very civilly. We found that great discoveries had been made during our absence; and the first thing that drew our attention was Mr. Salt's explanatory plan of the pyramids, the sphinx, and all their interesting environs. We found, at Mr. Salt's house, Colonel Stratton, of the Enniskillen dragoons, and Mr. Fuller. These two travellers had just made the tour of Palestine, having

arrived by land from Yaffa and Gaza. They embarked at Constantinople, after having completed the tour of Greece. As they had not yet been to the pyramids, we gladly arranged to accompany them.

*Friday, September 4.* — We set off early in the morning, and Mr. Salt having lent us a copy of his newly made plan, we regularly went over the whole of the ground, place after place, according to it. To our disappointment we found there was nothing new for us to see, excepting a few of the upper steps fronting the sphinx; as, unfortunately for us and all future travellers, they have filled up all the excavations around the sphinx, so that there is not so much to be seen now as there was previous to our departure, the base having been perfectly cleared on one side before we started for Upper Egypt. From the several drawings and plans which we have seen, as well as from what we have heard, it appears that the indefatigable Captain Caviglia continued his operations till he had cleared all the breast of the animal; that he afterwards pursued his labours till he reached the paws, at fifty feet distance from the body: and here it was, between the two paws, that he discovered the temple. I imagine that this small edifice is composed of three large, flat stones, like a similar shrine in the possession of Mr. Salt, and that the door was filled up by two smaller pieces of stone on each side of it; the sides have some fine specimens of basso-relievo: a man is depicted as presenting an offering to the sphinx. Some of the inscriptions also are interesting, and one of Carnacalla has the name of Geta, his brother, erased, as in the Latin inscription at Syene. The lions which were found, together with the tablets, in basso-relievo, have been sent home to the British Museum, as well as the great head of Memnon. There are still at Thebes the remains of thirty-seven statues, of equal, or larger dimensions. Beyond the small temple is an altar. At some distance from the paws is a flight of steps, which lead some depth below them to the base of the temple. Mr. Salt is of opinion that this descent

by steps was meant to impress the beholder (after having first viewed the sphinx at a distance, on a level,) with a more imposing idea of its grandeur, when he views the breast in its full magnitude from below. A wall of sun-burnt brick was on each side of the steps, to prevent the sand from filling up the space. We afterwards went all over the great pyramid, again descending to the lower chamber, which Captain Caviglia discovered, and also reinspected the well, &c. We could not go into Colonel Davidson's chamber, as the Arabs had stolen the rope ladder which was left there. We slept at the entrance of the great pyramid, and in the morning returned to Cairo; the excursion occupied us two days. When we were last at Cairo, a trip to the sphinx used to take two hours; we were now five hours going there, the inundation of the Nile forcing us to go more than double the distance round the edge of the canals. As we are now about to leave Egypt, I shall add a few remarks on Cairo. All Turkish towns impress Europeans with very unfavourable ideas; the streets are invariably narrow, and the fronts of the houses look like so many barn doors. Cairo is particularly ill-built, and a stranger, after having heard so much of "Grand Cairo," can scarcely believe his own eyes when he enters; and this is the more striking, as, at a short distance, the lofty minarets give it a grand appearance. Miserable narrow streets, the square bow-windows meeting over the head, and built with unpainted deal wood; no pavement to be seen; gratings substituted for panes of glass; a dirty ill-dressed populace, and women covered up like so many ghosts, all conspire to render it disagreeable in the extreme. The various classes of inhabitants, such as Turks, Arabs, Copts, Jews, Franks, &c., have their respective quarters where they reside in detached societies; each quarter has its gate and porter to attend it; all are shut at eight o'clock in the evening; after which time it is customary to fee the porter to get admittance. In case of tumults, when the troops go about robbing and

plundering all they meet with, these gates become of great service. The citadel of Cairo is built on a commanding eminence; here the pasha resides. Great merit is due to Mahomed Ali for the tranquillity which exists at present throughout Egypt, and could such an atrocious crime as the murder of the mamelukes be overlooked, he might be considered as a great man. This barbarous act was committed about six years ago: the unsuspecting victims, about two thousand in number, were invited to the castle to be present at the presentation of the Pelisse to the pasha's son, Toussein, and his investiture with the command of Jidda, including the government of the sacred city of Mecca. During the ceremony, the walls and tops of the houses, the castle, &c., were lined with troops, and, on a signal given, as the mamelukes were quitting the palace, the soldiers opened their fire on them, and nearly all of them were slain.

Egypt at present presents a very different appearance to what it did when we took our departure from Cairo, in March; the Nile having overflowed, all the villages are insulated, and the date palm-trees, which invariably surrounded them, partly conceal the mud-huts, and give a pleasing and lively appearance to the face of the country. The river, also, in some places, appears of prodigious width, the plains being overflowed for many miles. We have been fortunate, in having seen Egypt throughout, with the Nile at its lowest ebb, and also at its greatest elevation. There is no freehold property in this country, all the land being let out by the pasha, who afterwards forces the peasants to sell their property to him only, and at *his own price*. Soldiers are quartered in all the principal villages to enforce a due observance of this law. All the boats are likewise monopolised by him, and gun-boats are stationed at the narrow parts of the river, to prevent the passage of any barks unless laden for the pasha. The Arabs, Copts, and others, who become rich in spite of this oppressive system, are allowed but little enjoyment of their wealth. It is not at all

an unusual occurrence when any one of them has built a handsome house, that he should be desired to turn out, and give it up to some Greek, Turk, or perhaps to an European consul, and should he not immediately obey, his head is the forfeit.

It is a curious fact, that no water-plants or weeds grow on the banks of the Nile ; a sedgy margin is never to be met with in this country. The lotus, affecting fens and marshy places, can only flourish during the most propitious part of the year, when the overflowing of the Nile promotes its growth : hence it was so favourite a plant with the ancients ; and is so generally coupled with all symbolic allusions to the river. This year the Nile has risen 17 pies or 34 ft. ; this is called a good Nile. Last year it rose 18 pies, which produced a very plentiful crop. We went to the island of Rhoda to see the Mekias, but the column of graduation was wholly covered by the water ; so that we might have spared ourselves the trouble. The appearance of the island, however, now a complete carpet of verdure, with splendid sycamore trees (*ficus sycamorus* of Linæus), was beautiful. There are no barns in Egypt : the peasant being sure of fair weather at harvest-home, the corn is immediately threshed, and the grain is piled up in immense hills, encircled by a wall. The birds are then freely allowed their share, though, during the time it is ripening, their claims are disputed by children, who are placed on elevated mud-hillocks, scattered in all directions throughout the plains ; bawling, and flinging stones by means of a sling, to drive away the feathered robbers. The other day we went to Boulack, situated on the banks of the Nile. It is, properly speaking, the port of Cairo, and the busy scene it presents at this time of the year is not exceeded by any of our quays in Europe. The large dgerms, some of 40 and 50 tons, bring their owners immense profits during the overflowing of the Nile. The stream brings them down with great rapidity, and the strong north breeze takes them up

again with equal speed. It is said these boats sometimes clear half their original cost the first season ; a great part of the year, when the Nile is in its bed, they are laid up in ordinary, as their great draught of water prevents their moving. Throughout Egypt we never met with the remains of anything like a pavement in their cities, with the exception of Antinoë, where we clearly made out that the streets had been paved in many places.

English travellers are now beginning to make their appearance in Egypt. A few days ago Captain Bennet, of the dragoons, and Mr. Jolliffe arrived from making the tour of Palestine. The former is gone up as high as Assuan, with Colonel Stratton and Mr. Fuller ; the latter is obliged to return immediately to England. We start in a few days for the tour of Syria. Sheikh Ibrahim, who travels for the African Association, and who is mentioned in Mr. Legh's publication, has been of great assistance to us with his advice in tracing out our route, &c. This he also did for both the travellers mentioned above. Mr. Salt is very kind and attentive to us ; we dine with him every day, and he has allowed us to copy his map of Syria. We intend to cross the desert on camels to Gaza ; to visit the whole sea-coast up to Lathia ; from thence to cross over the mountains by Antioch to Aleppo ; to go to Palmyra or Damascus, according to circumstances, and from Damascus to Jerusalem, visiting in our way all the objects of interest in the neighbourhood of our route. We calculate that the tour will occupy us till the middle of January, when we mean to embark at Alexandria for Smyrna and Constantinople. By the time we start for Syria (which will be in a few days), we shall have been fourteen months absent. We have supplied ourselves with provisions, clothes, and arms (*viz.*, two muskets and a brace of pistols), and have, up to the present time, spent only one hundred and ninety pounds each, including our share of the boat-hire from Philæ up to the second cataract and back to Thebes, and also of the expenses at Abou-Simbel. except

ing the payment of the labourers and the presents to the cashiefs. Mr. Salt furnishes us with letters of introduction to Lady Hester Stanhope, Mr. Barker, the consul at Aleppo, and all the English agents in Syria. Lord and Lady Belmore arrived at Alexandria in their yacht on the eighth instant, and embarked for Cairo on the seventeenth; we expect them daily.

We have been so fortunate as to discover an interesting tomb opposite to Mr. Brine's at Radimore; the sides are covered with paintings, amongst which are two groups, of a description

very rarely, if ever, to be met with; one of them represents the removal of a colossus between 30 and 40 ft. high, seated on a chair; upwards of a hundred labourers are employed to move it. The other drawing represents an Egyptian garden, with exotics in flower-pots arranged on a terrace, near to which is an arbour, bee-hives, &c., &c. Mr. Bankes and Mr. Beechey are the only travellers who have visited this tomb since we discovered it: the former has made accurate drawings of all its contents.

## CHAPTER IV.

### TOUR IN SYRIA.

*Departure from Cairo—Route to Jaffa—El Arish—Haneunis—Gaza—Ancient Khan at Asdoud—Ruins of a Roman Bridge—Jaffa—Singular appearance of the British Consul—Liberality of the Aga—Cesarea—Ruins at Athlith—Convent on Mount Carmel—Acre—Zib—Value of Medical Knowledge—Tyre—Sidon—Lady Hester Stanhope—Bayruth—Tripoli—The Cedars of Lebanon—Baalbec—Arab Village—Latachia—Picturesque Scenery on the Orontes—Heavy Rains—Antioch—Aleppo—Mr. Barker—His Hospitality and Kindness—Abundance of Game—Proposed Route—Observations on Aleppo.*

On the 1st of October, at 8 A.M., we were without the walls of Cairo. We had made a bargain with an Arab to provide us with three camels, and to conduct us to Jaffa, for thirty dollars. About eleven, we passed, on our left, the obelisk of Mataria, the site of the ancient Heliopolis; and shortly afterwards we passed close to the ruins of another ancient city on the skirts of the desert, where the only object of interest was a statue in a sitting posture, mutilated, but originally well executed. Our road was in the desert, but close to the cultivated plains, which extend no further from the Nile than where the soil is benefited by the overflowings of the river, either by natural or artificial means. This causes a distinct line of separation between the barren sand and irrigated land, having the appearance of a sea beach. We had left Cairo with only one camel and three asses; the other two camels were to meet us at a village in the evening. We had enlisted in our service a Maltese interpreter, who mounted the third ass, while the camel carried our baggage. Arriving in the

evening at the village before mentioned, we parted with the asses, and, at eleven at night, set out again on the three camels, with their owner and his black slave. We heard the howling of wild beasts during the night, resembling the cries of human beings in distress.

*October 2.*—This morning we were joined by a man with a laden camel, who, seeing we were armed, was anxious to have our protection. As the Tarabeen Arabs of the desert through which we were to pass are notorious robbers, we were not sorry to see our number thus increased; the stranger was bound to a village near Gaza. To-day we passed occasionally through the skirts of the desert, as well as of the cultivated plains; the latter are rich beyond description; the crops of doura were the finest we had seen. The soil being saturated with water, and receiving at the same time the heat of an ardent sun, produces a very rapid vegetation. We slept this night in the desert; and on the following morning we halted at Selahieh, the last village on our road,

which is situated on the borders of the cultivated plains of Egypt. We remained here a few hours to lay in a stock of water and provisions. On leaving the village at 2 p.m., we were astonished at the picturesque appearance of the desert, which was covered with wild shrubs. The occasional hil and dale give a pleasing variety to the scene, very different from what we had been accustomed to in Nubia, where the desert deserves that appellation in the strictest sense, being nothing but a barren expanse of sand and rock, totally destitute of every sign of verdure or vegetation. This difference is to be attributed to the nightly dews in this more northern climate. Wells of brackish water are occasionally met with, which serve to sustain the numerous gazelles which we constantly see feeding in the distance. We frequently met with birds; and in some places the quail and partridge were in considerable numbers. We found that, although the camels are capable when grazing, and not in work, of going five, six, and even seven days without drinking, it is necessary that, when travelling, they should drink at least every third day; and our driver, whenever he met with water, even if they had drunk the day before, never failed to let them drink again, which always appeared to refresh them; for the heavy sand fatigues these animals greatly. They perspire but very little, which tends much to the retention of that moisture so necessary for their support: they were constantly feeding as they went along, the length of their necks allowing them easily to do so. We could not but notice the provident bounty of nature in planting the desert with vegetables of a succulent and nutritious kind. It is undoubtedly to the want of verdure in the Nubian desert, as well as throughout the interior of that of Lybia, that we are to ascribe the difficulty of exploring those parts of Africa, as every camel there must have another to carry provender. Our road, or rather our track, was tolerably good. At Selahieh we had been joined by several persons—a man with

asses, an Arab without a nose, a free negro, and six Mugrabins, one of whom was from Morocco, another from Algiers, and a third from Tunis, all bound on their pilgrimage to Mecca. By keeping with us they secured for themselves a supply of water, of which we had a good stock. They had separated from the great caravan from Morocco, consisting of 10,000 camels, which we met on our last expedition to the pyramids, when we learnt that the two sons of the emperor of Morocco were among the pilgrims. At the time we met it, this immense assemblage had been five months on its journey.

*October 4.*—We passed, on our left, the great lake, which is situated to the east of Damietta, and were obliged to cross several rivers and pools of salt water, sometimes up to the bellies of the camels, the Arabs and asses swimming across. In the afternoon we saw, on our left, the ruins of Pelusium, but they were too far distant for us to visit them, and too many pools and lakes lay between. In the evening the desert became more hilly, with occasional clumps of palm-trees in the valleys. In one of these we remained for the night, near a well of brackish water.

*October 5.*—To-day we had much the same country; the palm-trees, however, had disappeared. We saw many carcasses and detached bones of camels and asses, which had probably dropped with thirst and fatigue. We also passed a few wells of indifferent water. This evening, Mahomet, our camel-driver, made some bread. He kneaded the dough in a leathern napkin, and, mixing a good deal of salt with it, made a flat round cake about half an inch thick, and baked it on dried camel's dung. It was very good.

*October 6.*—In the morning we came near a bay on the sea-coast. On the right we saw some Bedouins. The sand now became heavier, and the shrubs less plentiful: we, however, occasionally passed through some long damp plains between the sand-hills. We met a small caravan laden with tobacco; the attendants were armed.



They asked backsheesh of us in a very rude manner, but we refused to give it, and determined to make the best possible display of our fire-arms for the future. I have little doubt that these people use their arms to commit robberies when opportunity offers, as much as to protect themselves. We still find the road strewn with bleached carcases of camels and asses. In the course of the day we were surprised to see a very fine hare.

*October 7.*—We passed over a plain of about four miles in length, covered with thick, hard salt, resembling in appearance sheets of firmly frozen snow.\* The surface bore the weight of our animals without giving way. Whilst we were at breakfast, a man on horseback came and talked to the camel-driver a good deal, saying, he wished to know who we were: that he was a guard, and had orders to stop all Europeans travelling without a soldier of the pasha of Egypt. He also asked for backsheesh, but did not address himself to us. We took care to let him see our arms, and when he found that we took no notice of him, he retired. The road was now level, which relieved the poor animals a good deal, and we soon reached the sea beach. At three in the afternoon we arrived at El Arish. About an hour before we reached it, we stopped at some wells of fresh water, where we found a great assemblage of camels and many Tarabeen Arabs, who appeared to stop all passengers. They entered into a violent dispute with our conductors, which we did not understand, but they took no notice of us. They presently levied a contribution on the Arabs who had joined us; and certainly we should have shared the same fate had it not been for the appearance of our arms, as the chief followed us all the way to El Arish, surveying our baggage with the most thievish inquisitiveness. We were also passed by the horseman who had visited us at breakfast, but observing that we kept our muskets in our hands, he said that

it was not against us that he meditated hostilities, and galloped on. At El Arish are some Roman ruins: we noticed several marble columns. The village, which has a very fine well of good water, is situated on a slight eminence about half a mile from the sea, from which it is hidden by sand hills and clumps of palms. The principal part is inclosed within a high wall of considerable thickness, having loopholes all round for musketry. There is an octagon battery for cannon at each angle. Some ruined guns and old French ammunition boxes are all the warlike stores it contains. This place is remarkable for the treaty made between Sir Sidney Smith and the French army, for the evacuation of Egypt, which his superiors would not ratify. The land about El Arish is quite barren.

*October 8.*—Soon after midnight we left this place. The morning was cold and foggy till sunrise, about an hour after which we stopped to breakfast. We begged our camel-drivers to halt in a vale at some distance from the road, that our Tarabeen neighbours might not discover us. We had, however, scarcely unladen the camels, when one of them came and seated himself in the midst of us. We could not help being surprised at the way in which this fellow stuck to us, as we were now nine hours from the place where we had first met him. We requested he would take himself off, as he could have no business with us. He walked away, apparently disappointed at not meeting some of his companions to assist him in plundering us. The desert was now much the same as at first, the number of shrubs increasing. In the forenoon we passed an extensive plain, where there are wells of tolerable water, a sheikh's tomb, and a Mahomedan burial-place. In the afternoon we had occasional views of the sea. We met many flocks of sheep and goats, peasants, and several laden camels. The attendants were usually armed, and eyed our baggage with a scrutinising look, but the sight of the muskets has always a tranquillising effect on them. We saw some par-

\* "He shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited." *Jeremiah*, xvii. 6.

tridges, and a good many gerba, a sort of rat which jumps like the kangaroo. About four we passed a temple of considerable magnitude. Two pillars of grey granite are standing, with several prostrate fragments; and there is a large wall, constructed of antique remains. At sun-set we reached the village of Haneunis. It has a long square fortification, inclosing a mosque. The approach to this place is picturesque: it is seated in a valley, and its environs are prettily laid out with gardens, trees, &c. There is but little land turned to agricultural purposes. We remarked both the houses and inhabitants to be cleaner and handsomer than those of Egypt. There are many marble fragments of columns, &c., which mark the site of a Roman town. We had often, before we left Cairo, inquired about the cheer we were likely to meet with in crossing the desert, and were always told of the hardships we should experience; such as want of water, the fatiguing motion of the camels, and the total privation of every accommodation. Bruce's narrative had also led us to expect very indifferent fare. With these unfavourable impressions, we were not a little surprised to find our journey a most pleasant one. The pace of the camels, though tedious, being little more than two miles an hour, we found very agreeable. The open air was the best sleeping-place during the night, and even then it was rather too warm; and as for water and provision, as we had taken care to lay in a good stock of both, we fared remarkably well. Indeed, if I except the heat, which about noon is certainly a fraction more than is agreeable (the skin of our noses being blistered off by it), I can truly say, I never made a more pleasant trip in my life.

October 9.—At daylight we proceeded, the road leading through a barren country resembling a heath. In two hours we came to the village of Esdier, prettily situated, with a view of the sea. There is here some land well cultivated and artificially watered, with the sneaky, as in Egypt. The principal produce is tobacco. Beyond

the village, scattered about over an uncultivated plain, are some beautiful sycamore trees, similar to those in Egypt. We remained four hours under one of these trees for the purpose of drying all our things, which had been wetted by the salt water some days before, but we had not discovered it until now. While we were thus employed, a woman came hastily forth from the village, and seating herself on the ground, under a tree near us, bewailed most bitterly, throwing the sand over her head with frantic gesticulations which lasted about twenty minutes, when her husband, with whom we heard she had quarrelled, came, and with difficulty took her away.

There are some marble remains of antiquity at Esdier. We thought we perceived a decided change in the climate; the dews for some nights past had been very heavy. This morning the N.E. wind blew keenly, but the sky was fine and clear. From Esdier to Gaza, which latter place we reached at 4 P. M., there are fine extensive plains prettily cultivated; and the neighbourhood of Gaza itself is richly wooded with the olive, sycamore, mulberry, cedar, fig, and other trees. The country is inclosed by hedges of prickly pears, the hills gently rising to the view beyond each other, and the whole has a beautiful appearance. Excepting the less perishable materials, with which the houses are constructed—stone being substituted for mud—the town partakes of the wretched appearance of those in Egypt. The rains in winter have forced the natives to roof their houses, whereas in Upper Egypt they merely lay some canvas across to shade them from the sun, that being the only inconvenience they have to guard against. We remarked that the inhabitants here were better looking and cleaner, the women being dressed in a white or blue shirt, and a white shawl thrown loosely over the head, with which those who have no other veil occasionally cover their faces. Being tired, and having nine days' beard, we did not visit the town; we were further discouraged by our servant having been scoffed at on account

of his religion. This was the frontier town of the land of Canaan.\*

October 10.—At 4 A.M. we left Gaza; the road for two hours was through beautiful groves of olive trees. Then entering an open country, partly cultivated, we passed some villages on each side of us, and the dry torrent of the Escol over a bridge of two high arches. About noon we had on our left Majudal, a large village with a mosque, situated in a valley, surrounded by groves of olives. At three in the afternoon we arrived at Asdoud, the site of the Roman Azotus; near it is an antique building in the form of an open square, which we at first took to be Roman, but as the Turkish clans for the accommodation of caravans and travellers are built much in the same manner, we are rather inclined to believe that it is one of them of very ancient date. Its inclosed court is entered by an arched passage, within which, on each side, are piazzas formed of five arches, two on each side of a larger one in the centre. On each side of the south entrance are chambers, with steps to ascend to the top of the building. The chamber on the left has evidently been used as a primitive Christian chapel, as appears by an altar and a cross; and there is an inscription in some Eastern language over the door. There are other arches in ruins, and partly buried, closer to the village, amongst which is a marble fragment, which would appear to have once formed the capital of a Corinthian column. The natives of this place flocked round us in numbers, looking at us, and everything belonging to us, with wonder and astonishment. After we thought they had sufficiently surveyed us, we begged them to retire. They showed no incivility, but said they merely came to look at us. Some women came also, with a sick young man, apparently in a consumption, asking medical advice. We assured them we were not doctors, which they did not believe, and we luckily recollected that our Maltese interpreter had some "balsam of

Mecca," which the friars say is an antidote for all distempers. We gave them some, which appeared to excite much gratitude. They, however, soon returned to beg some of our hair, saying that the smoke of Christian hair, burnt while the medicine was warming, would ensure a cure of the disorder.\* We could not help laughing at their superstition, but they continued to entreat us. For my part I had little to spare, and Irby did not seem inclined to give away any of his. They at length retired without the desired remedy, and brought us some honey and bread by way of return. This we offered to pay for, but they would not accept anything. We had been advised by Sheikh Ibrahim to go from Gaza to Jaffa, by the way of Ascalon or Ashkelon, but our camel conductor could not be prevailed upon to go through that place, as it is not on the direct road, and he would be liable to a penalty if he deviated from the common route of the camels—a regulation intended, we suppose, to prevent smuggling, as Ascalon is on the sea-coast. At that place we should have seen part of a Roman amphitheatre, and some excavations made by Lady Hester Stanhope, in search of supposed treasure, which failed of success; but what we saw at Azotus in some measure recompensed us, and this we should have missed had we gone by the other route. It was at Ashkelon that Samson slew thirty men (Judges, xiv. v. 19). Asdoud is called Ashdod in the Old Testament (see Isaiah, xx.; Jeremiah, xxv.; Amos, i., ib. iii.; Zechariah, xix.; and Zephaniah, ii.). It is called Azotus in the Acts of the Apostles, and by the Romans. Palmyra, built by Solomon by the name of Tedmor, or Tadmor, is another instance, among many in Syria, of places having regained their original names. The Arabs in that neighbourhood know nothing of Palmyra, always calling it Tedmor.

October 11.—Before daylight, we quitted Asdoud; the country is open

\* Mungo Park, at Dingyee, was requested by a foulah to give him a lock of his hair to make a saphire.

and little cultivated, though the soil is very rich. In the afternoon we passed some ruins, probably Roman; they appear to have been an aqueduct to convey water to the road-side, which is to the eastward of the tract we traversed. We also passed a well which our conductor told us contained poisonous water; on our right was Yabne, the ancient Jamnia, situated on a small eminence. About noon we crossed the nahr (or river) El Rubin, close to the ruins of a Roman bridge, one arch of which, and a part of another, are all that remain. They are overgrown with bushes and weeds, which have a pretty effect; and certainly, to an amateur of the picturesque, the ruins of Syria must have a decided advantage over those of Egypt, where an arid climate totally prevents there being the least spot of verdure on a ruined fabric, be it ever so old. The traveller is, however, recompensed for this deficiency, by the comparatively high state of preservation in which he finds the Egyptian monuments, notwithstanding their superior antiquity; and I think that he who has once seen Egypt, will never feel equally interested in any other country. It is this feeling that has brought Mr. Banks back to the Nile, after having explored Greece, Asia Minor, and the Archipelago; and he is now gone a second time to Thebes. The river El Rubin, above the bridge, is nearly dry, and filled with wild flowers and rushes. Below it there is a handsome winding sheet of water, the banks of which are likewise covered with various water-flowers, and many black water-howl were swimming on its surface; the water is bad, but not salt. On the opposite side of this river, on a small eminence, is Sheikh Rubin's tomb, surrounded by a square wall, inclosing some trees. There are in Syria and Egypt numbers of these tombs, which the Arabs erect to the memory of any man who they think has led a holy life, for the title of sheikh is not only given to their chiefs, but also to their saints. These tombs are generally placed in some conspicuous spot, frequently on the top of a

mount. The sepulchre consists of a small apartment with a cupola over it, white-washed externally;\* within are deposited a mat and a jar of water, for the ablution of such as retire there for devotion. Sheikh Rubin, who lived many years since, appears to have been much respected, and the people still go to pay vows at his shrine; they also bring provisions and celebrate festivals there; the river no doubt receives its appellation from this sheikh. Leaving the neighbourhood of the nahr El Rubin, we crossed the sand hills and came to the sea beach, four or five miles south of Jaffa, and continued coasting till we came to the back of the hill, on the opposite side of which stands the town; here we crossed over between the most beautiful gardens, filled with vines and fig-trees, the prickly pear, &c., though the soil is a deep sand. We arrived at Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, about 5 p.m. On our right we saw Ramla and Loudd, the ancient Arimathea, and Lydda; the former is in the road to Jerusalem. There being no inns or khans in the sea-port towns for the accommodation of travellers, we were obliged to repair to the residence of the English consul. We found the representative of Great Britain sitting at the door of his house; he was a man apparently about sixty years of age, dressed in the Turkish mode, excepting an old brown cocked hat covered with grease, and put square on his head. His beard might be of some seven or eight days' growth, and his back was ornamented with a plaited pig-tail, reaching down to his middle. It was difficult to refrain from laughing at the sight of so odd a figure, for his dress was all soiled with fat and the drippings of soup. He received us with a dignified reserve, and, uttering several "*favoriscas*," showed us into the apartment, which performed the office of a saloon. This room was filled with water-melons; some English prints decorated the walls, and an old dirty sofa, without a

\* "Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which, indeed, appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones." *Matt. xxiii. v. 27.*

covering, and well stocked with fleas, constituted the furniture, whilst numerous holes in the floor gave free access and egress to the rats. In the evening, when supper was announced, we were in hopes of a splendid repast, and as we had not tasted anything since our early breakfast of dried fruit, we entered the room with our appetites very sharp set. Great was our disappointment when we found nothing but rice and cabbage, our host observing that it was "*Giorno della Penitenza*." We slept in the *saloon*, and got unmercifully bitten by the fleas. Next day we received some scraps of meat, but the old consul took care first to fill us so full of rice, that we could hardly find room for the better part of his feast. Jaffa, situated on the sea-coast, is a small fortified town; the defences were in a very ruinous state, but the Aga was busily employed in repairing them. Vessels were arriving from the northward daily, with stones, &c., and he himself superintended the operations constantly. The Christian and Mahomedan inhabitants were obliged to work alternate days, the parties being changed every morning at sunrise by the sound of the drum. We saw the place where the French entered the town on their advance into Syria, and the hospital where Buonaparte poisoned his sick, on his retreat, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks. This place is now the Armenian convent, and one of the priests, who was in the town at the time, says there were *only* thirty-five men thus poisoned. About a mile without the town the French army was encamped, and it was here that Napoleon inhumanly massacred the inhabitants in cool blood, after the town was fully in his possession. The number thus slain is uncertain, but many people now in Jaffa attest the truth of the story. Our camel-driver being bound to Jerusalem, we sent the heaviest part of our baggage to that place by him, and endeavoured to purchase horses to continue our route in Syria. As we found great difficulty in procuring them, we sent to request the Aga would lend us a

soldier to assist us, as old Damiani, the consul, was of more harm than good in the business. Instead of doing so, the Aga very kindly said he would lend us government horses for nothing, as he had also done to Colonel Stratton, and that we might keep them as long as we pleased; he added, that an Englishman, to whom he had granted the same favour, had three years afterwards sent him a spy-glass in return. This observation savoured a little of self-interest, but he was a kind-hearted man, as the following incident shows. Our Maltese interpreter, twenty years ago, had been in a better situation of life, and, whilst trading in a small way in cotton, became acquainted with this Aga; on some occasion he had given him a watch as a present; they never again met till the other day, when the Maltese, travelling as interpreter to Colonel Stratton, was recognised, at Jaffa, by the Aga, who, seeing him in reduced circumstances, forced him to receive a sum of money, saying, it was now *his turn* to give a present. The Maltese, who is an honest man, declined accepting the cash, but the other forced him to take it. This is one, amongst other instances we have met with of the disinterested generosity of the higher class of Turks. Jaffa is the ancient Joppa: Hiram, king of Tyre, sent Lebanon cedars by sea to Joppa, for the building of Solomon's temple; and the latter had them removed by land to Jerusalem (see 2 Chronicles, c. ii. v. 16). The scene of St. Peter's vision was near Joppa (Acts, x.).

October 15.—At 9 A.M. we left Jaffa. We had not slept in a house, or under any cover since we departed from Cairo; as yet we had found no inconvenience from this; but as we were going to the northward, and the winter was fast coming on, we thought it advisable to equip ourselves in a thick Arab garment, made of a sort of coarse wool or sackcloth; it was very heavy, and, although of the best quality, cost only ten piastres, little more than five shillings; a pair of coarse white Turkish breeches, and red worsted turban completed our costume. The sun in the desert had browned us to a

good standard colour, which according well with our dress, we thus avoided the curiosity of the natives, who before used to flock round to gaze at us as if we had been wild beasts. For five piastres we purchased a woollen mat to do duty as a bed; and thus furnished, and with four good hack horses, we felt quite independent. As to provisions, we always had a staple of bread, cheese, and onions, which served for breakfast, dinner, and supper, unless we were fortunate enough to meet with a fowl. Our road led along the sea-beach, and we shortly crossed the nahr El Petras. In the afternoon we passed through a wild but pretty country, and crossed the nahr Arsouf, leaving the village of that name (the ancient Apollonia) on our left. The following morning we set out very early, and crossing the nahr El Kasab arrived at Cesarea. Here we stopped two hours, examining the antiquities. A small part of these are inclosed within the ruins of an old wall and ditch, which appeared to be Saracenic; and on a promontory which bounds this extremity on the south side, are the remains of a large edifice, constructed apparently upon the ruins of a Roman temple. Many fragments of immense pillars of granite have been used to form a landing-place on the north point of a small bay. The Roman remains extend far beyond the limits of the walls before-mentioned, and to the north of them. Above, and parallel with the sea-beach, are the ruins of some arches, and of a wall, which appears to lead to the hills, which now begin to approach closer to the sea, and to the nahr Zerka, where the water is fresh; this circumstance, and the wells of the town having bad water, led us to suppose that these arches had once been part of an aqueduct. There are also wells on the promontory, but they are now dry. Without the Saracenic walls, to the south, we found a column of marble, with a Roman inscription of the Emperor Septimius Severus, but too much buried for us to take a copy of it. About noon we arrived at Tortura, the ancient Dora (see Judges, i. 27). There are extensive

ruins here, but they possess nothing of interest. We left this place at two, and at four reached Athlita, where we remained for the night. Between Tortura and Athlita are numerous stone quarries. The village of Athlita is situated on a peninsular-shaped promontory, and has apparently been constructed from the ruins of an ancient city. It is of small extent, and would seem from its elevated situation, and the old wall which surrounds it, to have been a citadel. There are the ruins of two other walls, one of which incloses a square space, the farther or southernmost end of which juts into the sea. There are three entrances through this wall, two on the east, and one on the south side, and steps in various places to ascend to the top of it. The other wall approaches near to that of the citadel; but the outer one, which we may suppose to have included the remainder of the ancient town, incloses a considerable space of ground now uninhabited. There is a small bay to the south of the promontory, which may have occasioned the construction of a town on this site, as it makes a tolerable haven for small vessels. The most interesting thing within the citadel, is the ruin of a great building, which we were puzzled to make out; the half of the circumference, which is still standing, has six sides. On the exterior, below the cornice, in alto-relievo, are heads of men, lions, and sheep. The exterior walls of this edifice have a double line of arches in the Gothic style; the lower row larger than the upper one; the architecture is light and elegant. There does not appear to be any ancient name to this place, and from all the information that we could obtain, the ruins are no older than the time of the crusades, when the town went by the name of Castel Pelegrino. From the commodiousness of the bay, the extent of the quarries in the neighbourhood, the fine rich plains near it, which now are only partially cultivated, it would seem that this place was formerly of much importance, and that the neighbourhood, though now very thinly inhabited, was once populous.

*October 17.*—At day-light we departed through the northernmost of the two passages in the eastern wall. Here the rock has been cut away to form the road, and various circumstances combined, induced us to form an opinion that Athlith is of much greater antiquity than is represented. Passing by the part of the coast formed by the foot of Mount Carmel, we entered the bay of Acre, and in less than three hours from Athlith we were at Caiffa (the ancient Hephla). Here we found the only friar at present belonging to the convent of Mount Carmel, an intelligent man (a Maltese), who, after supplying us with breakfast, attended us to the summit of Carmel, where the convent is situated. This building was formerly fitted up with beds, and every accommodation. It was pillaged and destroyed by the Arabs after the retreat of the French army from the siege of Acre; the latter having used it as a hospital for their sick and wounded, while their operations were carrying on; and in the places where the poor fellows were laid, the numbers by which they were arranged are still visible on the walls. The friar shewed us a cave cut in the natural rock where the prophet Elijah had his altar (see 1 Kings, xviii. 17, and following verses). In front of this are the remains of a handsome church in the Gothic style, built by the Empress Helena at the time she made her pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From Mount Carmel there is a beautiful view of the bay of Acre, the mountains inland, and the Mediterranean. Near the convent are some prostrate columns. We found an immense scorpion amongst the rubbish in the court. There is a well of excellent water. The mount is of very inconsiderable height, and quite barren, though at the north-eastern foot of it are some pretty olive-yards. On mentioning to the friar our suspicions of the ruins of Athlith being partly Roman, he suggested the idea that it might have been called Athla, as the present name Athlith resembles that word much in sound. We returned from Mount

Carmel, and leaving Caiffa at three in the afternoon, followed the coast of the bay of Acre, and shortly passed over to the right of the brook Kishon, where Elijah slew the worshippers of Baal after he had proved to them the existence of the true God, by the miracle he had wrought on Mount Carmel. We soon after crossed the mouth of the river Kishon, and subsequently the river Belus, and reaching Acre at sunset, were shown to the house of Signor Malagamba, the British agent. All the rivulets we have hitherto passed in Syria are fordable in the Autumn, close to their junction with the sea, where the counteraction of the rapid streams of the rivers, and the surf, form sand-banks or bars. The water is generally fresh close to their junction with the ocean.

*October 13.*—We found Signor Malagamba more useful to us than Damiani: but as he had no room to lodge us in, we took up our quarters in the convent, where we were kindly received by the "Padre Superiore." We ate our meals with the worthy consul, whose house is in the same khan as the convent. Acre is a strong fortified town. Since the French siege, in 1799, the Turks have doubled the walls which inclose the town. We were shewn the breach made by the French army, now entirely repaired, except the spent shot-holes. The situation of Acre is delightful. The principal objects of interest in the town are the mosque, the pasha's seraglio, the granary, and the arsenal. A great religious festival was solemnised by the Turks while we were here. The mosques were brilliantly illuminated at night. The next day we went to see the pasha's finest horses: they were splendidly caparisoned with gaudy trappings of leopards' skins embroidered with gold and silver; but the animals themselves were ill made and good for little, the whole affair being more for show than use. Acre was the Accho of the Old Testament, which, together with Achzib, Dor, Sidon, and some other places of the sea-coast of Syria, were never completely subdued by the Israelites (see

Judges, i. 31). Gaza, Ekron, and Ascalon, further to the southward, were subjugated (same chap. i. v. 18). We here procured a firman from the pasha, having travelled thus far without any authority from the Syrian governments. This firman was worded very strongly in our favour; it was addressed to all the Agas in the pashalic of Acre, and our horses were ordered to be furnished with fodder, &c. free of expense wherever we might go.

*October 20.*—At one in the afternoon we quitted Acre. Our route lay across the plain of that name, in which there was nothing remarkable to be seen except the extensive aqueduct by which the town is supplied with water. We stopped at Zib, the ancient Achzib (see Judges, i. 31). The inhabitants were dressed for the Mahomedan feast, and crowded round us, and all their sick came for medical aid, but we had nothing to give them but the balsam of Meera, which had been so useful at Ashdoud. Amongst our patients was the sheikh's son, who had burnt his hand most terribly. He evinced much gratitude for the assistance we rendered to him and the rest of the villagers. He offered our interpreter a considerable sum of money, which he refused. A small medicine chest, with Reece's or some other book on the subject, would be a truly valuable article in the trunk of a traveller in these countries, and would be the surest means of conciliating the natives.

*October 21.*—We were mounted and on our route at daylight, and in about an hour's time reached Cape Blanco. The descent on the north side reminded us, in its numerous windings, of the mountain roads of Switzerland; and the sea dashing against the rocks below us had a fine effect. The road was execrable. About three hours before we reached Tsour, the ancient Tyre, we stopped to visit some ruins on a small eminence on our right; they consisted of the remains of a large city, and the ruins of a temple in a most dilapidated state. Only two columns are standing. In the lower part of the capital of one we distin-

guished the Echinus moulding. The material used in these buildings is the natural stone of the country, which is calcareous and very porous. Beyond these ruins we distinctly traced the remains of the ancient paved way towards Tyre, and we afterwards ascended what is called the ladder of the Tyrians; it is a picturesque spot, the road being cut in the side of the perpendicular cliff on the sea-shore, to the height of several hundred feet above the level of the water. This, according to Maundrell (page 52), was the work of Alexander the Great. After descending from this elevated spot, we passed the ruinous heaps of another ancient city and some picturesque rivulets, and arrived at Tsour at one in the afternoon. Here we put up at the house of an Arab, who called himself a Christian archbishop; he was not at home, and, at first, his wife, daunted by our rough Arab attire, was unwilling to receive us, but our conductor assuring her that we were Englishmen travelling for pleasure, she treated us with great civility and attention. The establishment was a very humble one, as might be expected in so mean a place. The prophecies of the fall of Tyre in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, seem to be fulfilled in the present appearance of Tsour, there being no vestige remaining, but mere rubbish, of the ancient city (so called from Tiras the son of Japheth). The city, formerly built on an island, is now on a peninsula; the isthmus, which Alexander caused to be made for the prosecution of his attack on the city, has now the appearance of natural ground. The walls and castle are visible, but I should strongly suspect they are not the same which existed at the time when Tyre was in its glory, and the port is much choked up with mud.

*October 22.*—At sun-rise we proceeded on our journey. We saw the remains of the ancient aqueduct, and crossed the mouth of the Kasmia; the banks of this winding river, which proceeds from an extensive valley between the mountains, are very picturesque. There is a bridge with one arch over it, a little below which is a



small island. We continued our route through a country nearly barren, very thinly populated, and very uninteresting, with mountains on our right, destitute of either beauty or vegetation. We passed through the ruins of five or six large cities, now mere rubbish, and only distinguishable as sites of towns, by numerous stones much dilapidated, but still showing marks of having been cut square with the chisel, with mortar adhering to them, and here and there were fragments of columns. The only place marked in the map in this quarter is the ancient Sarepta or Zarephath, remarkable by the miracles wrought there by Elijah (see 1 Kings. xvii.) In the afternoon we crossed the dry beds of several torrents, and a river by a bridge of five arches; the banks of all these streams were covered with wild-flowers, amongst which was the oleander, in full bloom and beauty. As we approached Saida we observed that the sides of the hills were covered with vineyards, but their appearance is not at all picturesque. Half an hour before we arrived, we passed the ruins of another ancient city; also a fragment of a granite column, and a Roman mile-stone, like that near Cesarea, and having upon it an inscription of the time of Septimius Severus. The immediate neighbourhood of Saida (the ancient Sidon) is pretty. The place derived its name from Sidon, the first-born of Canaan (see Genesis, x. 15). The plain at the foot of the hills is entirely appropriated to extensive and shady groves and gardens, with narrow and pretty lanes between them. There is no English consul or agent at Saida, we therefore went to the convent, but found no friars there, and the church was shut up. The French consul had entire possession of all the apartments; he was now on a tour to the Holy Land. We had seen him at Acre; he was then with his wife going to Nazareth. We had some difficulty in obtaining a room in this convent, but at last we got one belonging to one of the absent servants. We were now in the neighbourhood of Lady Hester Stanhope, and as we were entrusted with a letter from Mr. Salt, a packet

of English letters from Acre, and a book from Jaffa, we deemed it our duty to wait on her, and therefore set out for her usual residence, an old deserted convent in the mountain, about one hour and half distance from Saida, called Mar Elias Alza; but her ladyship had removed from thence on account of the heat to a more elevated spot in the mountains, called Castle Jeba: we therefore forwarded the letters, &c., together with a note, requesting permission to wait on her. The following morning we received a letter, saying, that she had made her mind up not to receive any more Englishmen, with the exception of officers of the army and navy, "all fine fellows," as she was pleased to express herself; at the same time she strongly dissuaded us from undertaking the trip to Palmyra, and recommended us to make a short tour of fifteen or twenty days round the vicinity of Saida, and then to return and pass twenty days with her in her convent. This, at the present season of the year, with the winter and rainy season fast approaching, would have been the most impolitic plan we could have pursued, and therefore we returned a polite answer declining her civilities with as good a grace as we could. She is always dressed in the Turkish costume as a man; her generosity we heard spoken of in all directions. Saida possesses as few relics of its ancient magnificence as Tyre. The port, although it may once have been extensive, is now small, and nearly filled up with mud. The castle, connected to the main land by a bridge, is an old building, but the same remark which I made on the ancient edifices at Tyre is applicable to those of Sidon, *v. z.*, that they are more recent than the time when the city was in its splendour.

*October—25.* At 9 A.M., we left Saida by a wretched rugged road, and through an uninteresting country. We met occasionally with the remains of the ancient paved way. In the afternoon we passed the ruins of an ancient town and burial-ground; here are many stone sarcophagi, some never opened; their lids are high and massy,

and terminate in an angle. A little beyond them are two arches in the mountain's side, the ruins either of a bridge or an aqueduct. Shortly afterwards we quitted the sea-coast and passed over the hills which form the promontory of Bayruth; here we had a fine view of the plain, covered with groves of olives, and of several villages on the mountain's side. Descending, we passed through plantations of figs, and of young mulberry trees for the silk-worm, and from thence through gardens neatly inclosed by walls, where we met occasionally with fragments of antiquity. It was dusk before we entered Bayruth, the ancient Berytus. It stands well, and like all the other towns of Syria that we have seen, has pretty environs and rich gardens at the back of it; but these beauties are always confined to particular spots, and an hour's ride usually conducts you again into an uninteresting and rocky country. There is a fine view of the sea from the marina, and the jetty is built on foundations of antique granite columns. There is also an ancient bath within the town. We were at the house of Mr. Laurella, the English agent, a very good fellow.

October 26.—At two in the afternoon we left Bayruth, the road being for a short time very pretty, with gardens on each side of us. We soon crossed the nahr El-Sazib below the junction of the nahr El-Leban, or River of Milk, so called from its foaming when overcharged with water. It is a pretty rivulet; the bridge has six arches. From hence the road led along the sea-beach until we came to a rocky promontory, the ascent of which reminded us of the ladder of the Tyrians, though it is neither so high nor so picturesque; on reaching the summit, we saw below us on the other side the nahr El-Kelb, or River of the Dog, running beautifully through a deep chasm in the mountains, and a very good bridge over it, which Maundrell describes as being a bow-shot from the sea. The banks are planted with vines and mulberries. There is a Roman inscription on a tablet carved out of

the rock on the side of the road we descended; this was copied by Maundrell, 120 years ago, and appears to record the construction of the road by the Emperor Antoninus. Near the bridge is also another inscription in the Arabic language. We passed the night at the mouth of the river, and at daylight the following morning proceeded along the sea-shore. In an hour's time we ascended a rocky point of a small bay inhabited by fishermen. At the foot of this promontory, close to the sea, are the remains of a chapel cut out of the rock, which we were informed was the sepulchre of St. George. The old fishermen, whose cottage is situated on the promontory above the chapel, were so superstitious as to believe, and endeavoured to persuade us, that the water of the sea near this spot is a cure for all distempers, and that numerous people came hither for the purpose of being healed by it. We had here a good view of the grand convents of Harissa Soummaar, romantically situated on the summit of the mountain. The valley at the end of this bay is cultivated and studded with cottages. Proceeding along the sea-beach we passed a Roman arch constructed with large stones over the bed of a torrent; from hence the road led over rugged rocks, till we came to a handsome bridge of a single arch, over the nahr Ibrahim, the ancient Adonis, which, like the nahr El-Kelb, proceeds from a deep chasm between the mountains, but the level land is more extensive than that near nahr El-Kelb. We now proceeded by the sea-coast to Gebail. On our way we crossed over off of those *natural bridges*, over a torrent now dry. This is one of many places where the water meeting with inclined beds, has undermined the intermediate earth, and formed caverns, or natural arches. We reached Gebail, or Gibyie, at two in the afternoon, and stopped at the convent of Maronites, a poor miserable set of people who make a merit of never eating meat, &c. At Gebail, without the town, there are many Roman ruins, and a bridge with several granite columns; within the town,

the castle and some other modern edifices are constructed upon ancient foundations. The Roman name of Gebail is marked in the map as Byblus, but in Ezekiel, xxvii. 9, it is called Gebal, and is mentioned as furnishing the fleets of Tyre with caulkers.

October 28.—We went from Gebail to Tripoli, which we did not reach till dusk, though we started at daylight. We saw nothing of interest except the remains of a Roman temple, and we passed over a very rugged and bad road until we reached Batroun, the ancient Botrys. Here the road turned to the right through a fine valley between the mountains, in which we noticed an old picturesque castle standing on a high rock; it is called Temseida, and was probably constructed to defend this pass. The hills on the south of the vale are covered with shrubs, and by the roadside are plantations of mulberries, vines, &c. A small river, which we occasionally crossed by bridges, takes its winding course through the valley. Leaving it, we passed to the north over the mountains by rugged paths, bordered by the myrtle and other wild shrubs, until we again came down upon the coast. At sun-set we reached Tripoli, and not being aware that there was an

our quarters in the convent with Padra Hermenigildo. This is the best town we have seen in Syria, the houses being all well built of stone, and neatly constructed within. It is seated at the foot of the mountains, at some distance from the sea-shore, and is surrounded by luxuriant gardens, producing innumerable oranges and lemons. The town is commanded by two old castles on the heights, built in the time of the crusades; the port is near an hour's distance, on a low point of the sea-coast, it is but an indifferent one, being an open anchorage, only little sheltered by the Pigeon Islands. Three cities formerly stood here, one subject to Aradus, a second to Tyre, and the third to Sidon; hence the origin of the name Tripoli. There are square towers, apparently of the time

of the crusades, all the way from the port towards Tripoli. On the second day of our arrival we received a message from the English consul, expressive of his regret that we had not come to his house; we immediately waited on him, and explained the circumstance to his satisfaction. He was a fine old man, nearly eighty years of age, and remembered Bruce, who stayed some days at his house; we were delighted with the affable and sensible conversation of this veteran.

On Thursday, at four in the morning, we left Tripoli, for the purpose of visiting the cedars of Lebanon and Baalbec. Signor Giuseppe Mazolière, the son of a French merchant, accompanied us, at the request of the padre of the convent. The ascent from Tripoli is gradual; the first object of interest is the aqueduct and bridge over the nahr Kavidas, or Abouli river. These structures are overgrown with bushes and weeds, and the river runs picturesquely under them in two channels. At first the road is good, and passes through cultivated plains, groves of olives, and beautiful valleys watered by branches of the river. Afterwards it becomes very rugged, steep, and irregular, and continues so the whole way to the village of Eden, passing of

the mountain. Eden is delightfully situated by the side of a rich and highly cultivated valley; it contains between four and five hundred families, who, on the approach of winter, descend to another village only an hour's distance from Tripoli; the families were in the act of removing to their winter habitations when we arrived; and on our return from Baalbec, all those who had not previously quitted their summer quarters descended with us. They have an Arab catholic bishop, a church, and several priests; there is another Christian village, lower down in the vale. We arrived at Eden about two o'clock, which, including stoppages, makes it ten hours from Tripoli. Here Signor Mazolière's relations received us most hospitably. The wine was delightful;

that of Lebanon has always been esteemed.\*

Early on Friday morning, we set out by moonlight for the cedars, and arrived a little after daybreak. The ascent from Eden to the cedars is not considerable, the distance, allowing for the windings of the road, which is very rugged and hilly, may be about five miles. On the right, higher up the mountain, is a larger and deeper vale than that of Eden, with the village of Beshiri in the bottom; this valley is very rich and picturesque. It is surrounded by lofty mountains, and is watered by a winding stream. It reminded us of the vale of the Dive in Savoy, and its "Pont de Chèvres." The famous cedars of Lebanon are situated on a small eminence, in a valley at the foot of the highest part of the mountain. The land on the mountain's side has a sterile aspect, and the trees are the more remarkable as they stand altogether in one clump, and are the only trees to be seen in this part of Lebanon. There may be about fifty of them, but their present appearance ill corresponds with the character given of them in scripture. There was not one of them at all remarkable for its dimensions or beauty; the largest amongst them is formed by the junction of four or five trunks into one tree; according to Maundrell this is 12 yards in girth; but we are much more inclined to agree with Volney than with Maundrell, in the description which they have respectively given of the cedars of Lebanon. Numerous names carved on the trunk of the larger trees, some with dates as far back as 1610, record the visits of individuals to this interesting spot, which is nearly surrounded by the barren chain of Lebanon, in the form of an amphitheatre of about thirty miles circuit, the opening being towards the sea. We thought the *tout-ensemble* more resembled the Apennines at the back of Genoa, than any other mountain scenery we had ever seen. Mount Lebanon and its cedars are frequently alluded to in scripture.

\* "The scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon." *Iliad*, xiv. v. 7.

The words, "All the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon," Ezekiel, xxxi. v. 16, would seem to imply that the boasted cedars were always near the place in which the few remaining ones now are, as they are not more than five miles distant from the modern village of Eden. In the 2nd Chronicles, ii. 8, the words, "Send me also cedar-trees, fir-trees, and algum-trees, out of Lebanon," clearly prove that formerly other kinds of wood grew on this mountain, none of which are now to be found here, unless the walnut tree of the present day, which is in very high perfection at Eden, is the algum-tree of the ancients. By the first book of Kings, chap. vi. and vii., it appears that much cedar was used in the construction of Solomon's temple. With respect to the village of Eden it appears to stand where of old was the garden of God, so called throughout the whole of the xxxi. chap. of Ezekiel, particularly in the 8th and 9th verse; but by reference to Genesis ii. verse 8, the position of the garden of Eden, where Adam and Eve were placed, seems very uncertain, for from the 10th to the 14th verses you observe, "A river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted and became into four heads:" the river of Ethiopia (the Nile) appears to be one of the four, and the Euphrates another. Maundrell gives no extracts from scripture concerning Lebanon; probably because he thought it would be useless, as it is mentioned in so many different places. Volney is also silent on the subject, I mean as far as respects quotations. Eden is called Aden by the natives at this day.

We hired a guide to conduct us across Lebanon into the valley of Bekaa Mathbaalis, in which Baalbec is situated. Leaving the cedars about an hour after sun-rise, we ascended to the crest of Lebanon, where we had an extensive view over the hills at its S. E. foot into the valley, with Baalbec in the distance. We beheld also to the westward a considerable extent of sea. Altogether it was a fine view, but scarcely deserving the commendations

which Volney bestows on it. Lebanon, in the Syriac language, signifies white, which this mountain is, both in summer and winter; in the former season, on account of the natural colour of the barren rock, and in the latter by reason of the snow.

The valley of Baalbee, or of the Kasmia, or Bekaa Mathoalis, has an excessively rich soil, but is very little cultivated, and has no trees except in the immediate neighbourhood of Baalbee itself, and those are chiefly the fig and walnut. The valley is bounded on the N. W. side by Lebanon, and on its S. E. by Anti-Lebanon; its breadth may be about ten miles, while its length from N. E. to S. W. extends as far as the eye can reach. The Kasmia has its source to the north of Baalbee, and running through the plain, discharges itself into the sea a little to the north of Tyre. How deplorable that so luxuriant a spot, with so fine a soil, should lay waste and desolate! and what ideas of former wealth and magnificence do the splendid ruins of Baalbee call to the mind. The inhabitants of the mountain are nearly all of the church of Rome; but those of the Bekaa Mathoalis are a particular sect of Mahomedans, differing from the Turks in general; they are more hostile to the Christians than any other of the natives of Syria.

In descending from the summit of Lebanon the road was excessively steep and rugged; we dismounted and walked our horses down it; the sides of the mountain abound in red-legged partridges, and other game. At the S. E. foot of this part of Lebanon, is the source of a fine clear rivulet, which finally unites with the Kasmia. From hence we proceeded over some rugged hills covered with various shrubs; among which a species of oak, the myrtle, and the almond-tree, were remarkable. Mr. Mazolière told us they have a tradition that there were formerly gardens here, and the almond and pear-trees seem to confirm it. Crossing these hills, you come, near the plain, to the first village, after leaving the cedars. Late in the evening we arrived at Yead, a village about

an hour's distance from Baalbee; the horses had been without any food for fifteen hours. We blamed our guide much for this, as we would have brought fodder with us from Aden, had we known how uninhabited the country was through which we had to pass. When we heard of the distance to Baalbee from the cedars, we threatened to return to Tripoli. But the guide, intent only on his own interest, and fearing to lose his money for the trip, declared there were several villages in the way where we could refresh the horses.

*Saturday, November 1.*—Early this morning we arrived at Baalbee, and employed the whole day in visiting the antiquities. Yesterday had been excessively fine, the sky being perfectly clear; but this evening they collected much on Lebanon and on the tops of the other hills, and the natives announced to us the approach of bad weather. We measured every part of the ruins; but as Wood and Dawkins, as well as Volney, have given correct descriptions, it would be superfluous for me to enter into minute detail. The imposing grandeur of one part of the building, of which six pillars are standing, particularly struck us. It is the remnant of a colonnade standing. Their beauty and elegance are surprising. Their diameter is 7 ft., and we estimated their altitude at between 50 and 60 ft., exclusive of the epistylia which is 20 ft. deep, and composed of immense blocks of stone, in two layers of 10 ft. each in depth, the whole of which is most elaborately ornamented with rich carved work in various devices. We imagine these pillars to have been the remains of an avenue of twenty columns on each side, forming an approach to the temple. The space originally included by them was 104 paces long, by 58 broad. We were much pleased with the architecture and sculpture of every part of the ruins, although they have been much disfigured by having been formerly converted into a fortress.\* Remarkably large stones have been used in the construction of the various edifices, and in the S. W. part of the elevated walls on

which they stand, we measured a single stone of 66 ft. in length, and 12 in breadth and thickness. In the construction of the pyramids and temples in Egypt, we never noticed a single stone of more than 30 ft. in length, and these were most of calcareous or sand stone, excepting some few of granite. The whole of these buildings, together with the walls, are of coarse marble, excessively hard. The inhabitants of Baalbec, although much prejudiced against Christians, treated us civilly, and seemed less curious and inquisitive than the natives living near any of the other objects of interest which we had visited. We left Baalbec on Sunday at mid-day, but the afternoon turning out very rainy, we stopped for the night at a small village beyond the opposite side of the plain. We observed that considerable quantities of snow had fallen on the mountains, which may give some idea of the great height of Lebanon; indeed, when we crossed the mountain the preceding Friday, we found several patches of last year's snow, and we were told that it remains in some places, near the summit, throughout the year.

*November 3.*—Monday, the morning was foggy but calm; and the sun breaking out at times, we hoped the haze would clear away and that we should have fine weather. We accordingly proceeded on our return to Tripoli, but had not gone far when we met some peasants returning to their village, after having made an ineffectual attempt to cross Lebanon, where they said that much snow had fallen. In fact, an exceedingly cold N. E. wind began to blow with violence, accompanied by such heavy showers of sleet, snow, and rain, that we were obliged to take shelter in a cave at the foot of the mountain. We found here many peasants, who had made ineffectual attempts to cross; but as we had a difficulty in getting room for our horses, the cave being small and nearly filled before we arrived, we removed to a larger, though more exposed one, being little more than a cleft of the rock, where we got ourselves and our horses also under a roof, and made a large fire for the night. The

next morning being fine, we began the ascent. The peasants with their cattle were unwilling to make the first trial, as they knew it would be difficult to find the road on account of the depth of snow; and they were aware also that the second party could profit by the mistakes of the first. We therefore led the van and met with no difficulty until we came nearly to the top; when, losing the road, the snow being very deep, and the sides of the mountain steep, our horses all fell with us, and were partly buried under the snow. We were obliged to dismount, and had considerable trouble in reaching the summit. The cold was excessive; and having on loose linen Turkish breeches, and shoes without any stockings, we felt it the more severely. In descending the opposite side, the snow was also very deep, and we found it advisable to push on lest we should be caught in a fog, which the appearance of the weather seemed to threaten. Shortly after we began to descend, it became thick and lazy, but we reached Eden in safety about two in the afternoon. We were informed at Eden that the bishop had publicly offered up prayers for our safety. We were told that people are prohibited from crossing Lebanon after the first of November; but I much doubt the truth of this. None of us received any injury from the weather, except Mr. Mazolière's servant, whose legs were much chapped and cracked by the cold. The poor fellow had never been among the snow before.

On *Wednesday, November 5*, the weather was fine, and we returned to Tripoli; the natives of Aden with their wives, children, and baggage, descending at the same time. The first part of the descent was in some places so steep and difficult, that we observed the peasants held on by the tails of their horses to prevent them from falling. On our arrival, we learnt that on the coast they also had experienced very bad weather. Wet weather detained us at Tripoli, where we were treated with the greatest kindness by the Padre Hermenegildo, until the afternoon of the 9th of November,

when we set out and proceeded as far as the nahr El-Bered, or Cold River ; where we passed the night in a klan, a place appropriated to the use of travellers, which Maundrell very well describes in the first and second pages of his book. The map places a village here named Orthosa, the site of the ancient Orthosia ; but there is nothing except the klan now to be seen. There is a difficulty, in some instances, in distinguishing Roman buildings from these klans, as both the Romans and the Turks alike employed the arch.

The next day we went as far as Tortosa, nearly opposite the island of Ruad, where stood the famous city of Aradus. There are Roman remains at each of these places. The walls of Tortosa are constructed on the ancient foundation cut in the rock ; and the remains of the castle within the gates are ancient. There are some old sepulchral caves by the road side. They serve to show that the Romans, as well as the Egyptians, had burial-places of this description. But the climate, so different here from what it is in Egypt, has destroyed all remains of stucco or painting, if ever they were thus decorated, which we have reason to believe they were, as Mr. Banks told us he saw a Roman cave with fresco painting in it near Saïda. The island of Ruad, according to Maundrell, is the Arvad, Arpad, or Arphad of scripture. Arvad was one of the places which supplied the fleets of Tyre with seamen.\*

*November 11.*—To-day we went as far as the nahr El-Mulk, which we crossed by a bridge, and stopped for the night at a village about half an hour's distance from the river, the huts of which appeared to be temporary habitations, being constructed of reeds and straw. There are Roman ruins at the mouth of the nahr El-Mulk. We had hitherto been in the habit of sleeping in the open air, when we arrived at an Arab village ; but now, the month of November being far advanced, we disliked the idea of

doing so, and accordingly asked for shelter, which was refused, unless each of us, we were four in number, would consent to sleep in a separate habitation. This we knew was the place where Monsr. Boutin, the French traveller, was killed ; and not being pleased with the proposition, we bivouacked in the open air as usual, the weather being fine and clear. In the night a man came to endeavour to persuade us not to lie where we were, saying that the wolves would destroy us. We, however, had more apprehension of the two-legged wolves stealing some of our things, and told our informer we had our fire-arms ready, and should keep a good look-out for those or any other mischievous animals. In the morning our bread and part of a ham which Padre Hermenigildo had given us were missing ; but we suspected that, as far as related to the latter article, the dogs, with which all Arab villages abound, were the thieves, for pork is an abomination to the Turks.

*November 12.*—Just as we were starting, we found out that a hut close to which we had slept was empty and uninhabited. It appeared to have done duty as a barn ; and the people, if they had had any civility, might have offered it to us. In the afternoon we reached Latachia. Two hours from where we slept is Jebilee, the ancient Gabala, where are Roman ruins, the principal of which is the remains of a fine theatre at the north side of the town. The whole journey from Tripoli, with one exception in the neighbourhood of Markab, a village inclosed in ancient fortifications, and seated on the top of a square mountain, near which the coast is rocky, is along a vast rich plain at the foot of the Ansannar mountains. These hills are of no considerable height, and are said to be inhabited by Pagan tribes. The plain is watered by many rivers, and there are also several channels of torrents now dry. Most of the rivers are pretty, their banks being covered with myrtle, oleander, wild vine, fig, &c. Though the soil is rich, it is very partially cultivated and thinly peopled.

\* Ezekiel, xxvii. v. 8.

The principal produce near Jebilee is cotton, which the natives were gathering in as we passed. The city of Latachia was founded by Seleucus Nicator, under the name of Laodicea, in honour of his mother. He also built three other cities in this neighbourhood, viz. Seleucia, now Suadeah; Antioch; and Apameia, now Famiah. Latachia is seated on the N.W. side of Cape Ziaret, an elevated projection of the coast. In the neighbourhood are gardens planted with olives, figs, &c. in the manner of all the towns of Syria. The port, which is half an hour's distance from the town, is very small, but better sheltered than any we have seen on this coast. There is a fine old castle at the point of a bed of rocks projecting into the sea. The Marina is built upon foundations of ancient columns. There are, in the town of Latachia, an old gate-way and other antiquities. There are also sepulchral caves in the neighbourhood, but as they have no paintings, we did not think it worth while to visit them. Mount Lebanon was in sight the whole way from Tripoli, and was the only mountain on which we could see snow. Mount Cassius was before us. The Christian natives of Latachia and of all the pashalic of Aleppo to the north of Latachia are mostly of the Greek church; they speak the Arabic language. We lodged at the house of the English agent, Signor Moses Elias, a very excellent man. We were detained here till the 15th, by the intrigues of the Arab conductor, who affected to be unwell, and who had previously at Acre, Bayruth, and other places, tried all in his power to oblige us to send him and the horses back to Jaffa. This occasioned us a good deal of trouble and inconvenience.

*November 16.*—The road was along a fine plain, until we came near the village of Candele; when crossing some hills we descended into the valley of that name. The village is seated amongst the sand hills to the west of the vale, and we had some difficulty in finding it. The next day we were continually passing over hills richly wooded, with numerous narrow intri-

cate roads, amongst which we lost our way several times. The night had set in, without our finding the village of Lourdee, whither we were bound; and we were on the point of giving up the search, and bivouacking in the wood, when luckily the barking of some dogs indicated to us the vicinity of the place, which is in an elevated situation and immediately by the side of the highest pinnacle of Mount Cassius.

*November 18.*—We descended the north side of these mountains, the scenery still continuing wild and woody. This day, also, we lost our way several times. In the afternoon we reached the banks of the Orontes, at the place where the picturesque part of the river commences, and immediately below the spot which is marked upon the chart as the site of the "city and groves of Daphne." Mr. Barker has visited the spot; and from him we learn that there are still to be seen the grand sources of water which composed the celebrated fountain. He states that, in some instances, the water boils up in a column as thick as a man's body; and *jets-d'eau* of that thickness, and upwards of 50 feet high, might be formed here. We now followed the banks of the river, and were astonished at the beauty of the scenery, far surpassing anything we had expected to see in Syria, and, indeed, anything we had witnessed even in Switzerland. The river, from the time we began to trace its banks, ran between two high hills, winding and turning incessantly; at times the road led along precipices, looking down perpendicularly on the river. The luxuriant variety of foliage was prodigious; and the rich green myrtle, which was very plentiful, contrasted with the dark-red gravel of the road, made us imagine we were riding through pleasure-grounds. The laurel, laurustinus, bay-tree, fig-tree, wild vine, plane-tree, English sycamore, arbutus, both common and andrachne, dwarf oak, &c., were scattered in all directions. At times the road was overhung with rocks covered with ivy; the mouths of several caverns gave a wildness to the scene; and the perpen-



dicular cliffs, upwards of 300 feet high, jutting into the river, forming points round which the waters ran in a most romantic manner. On one occasion the road wound round a deep bay, so that, on perceiving ourselves immediately opposite the spot we had so recently passed, it appeared as if we had crossed the river. We descended at times into plains cultivated with mulberry plantations and vines, and prettily studded with picturesque cottages. The occasional shallows of the river, roaring over its rocky bed, completed the beauty of this delightful scene, which continued for several miles. In the plain of Suadeah the river becomes of a greater breadth, and runs in as straight a line as a canal. By the time we entered the plain, night had closed in, and we had difficulty in finding Suadeah. There is no bridge; but a peasant at last showed us a place where the river was just fordable. Suadeah is a straggling village, consisting of unconnected cottages, and situated in a plain chiefly inclosed with mulberry and lemon plantations. We put up at a house appropriated for the use of travellers, and found it the best halting place we had yet met with. The *soubash* of the village, a sort of petty governor, was in the house, and treated us with much civility, ordering us a good supper, feeding our horses, and refusing to let us pay a single para. All he asked for was a little gunpowder. Unfortunately we had given nearly our whole stock to young Mazoliere at Tripoli, but we gave him all that we could spare. Whatever may be the generally received character of the Turks, it is certain that we have always met with the greatest civility and attention from them.

**November 19.**—In the morning, being pressed for time, and understanding that the ruins of the ancient Seleucia, which are near the sea, and half an hour's distance from Suadeah, possess no particular interest, we pursued our journey towards Antioch. It rained heavily; and after we had been on the road about three hours, being still two hours' distance from

Antioch, we perceived some cottages; and, being thoroughly wet through, we requested shelter. In the two first cottages we found only women; and, as their husbands were absent, they did not dare to receive us. At the third, the men were willing to admit us, but the women would not hear of it, and expressed their refusal in a violent and ill-natured manner. During the time we were thus soliciting shelter, even that of a cow-house, the rain was pouring in torrents, and we made a pitiable appearance, being perfectly soaked through. Seeing that our entreaty availed, we gave them the *katak-harak*, the Arab expression of thanks, and tried another cottage, where we were admitted without the least hesitation. These cottages consist of a single long room; the cattle occupy one end, and the family the other. The inhabitants have extensive plantations of young mulberries for the silk-worms, and looms for manufacturing their produce. The occupants of the hut, who consisted of the proprietor, his mother, wife, brother, and children, were of that tribe of Mahomedans which Volney designates as Turkomans: they were extremely kind, placing us near a large fire, giving us good beds and coverlets, and making us share with them their humble supper of doura and wheat boiled. It rained during the whole night; and we were detained till noon on the following day, when we proceeded to Antioch, after giving our host eleven piastres, and his wife a double gold Napoleon, as an ornament, besides paying for the horses, corn, &c. The women in this country ornament themselves with pieces of money, varying in value, according to their circumstances; the poorer class with paras, and the higher orders with sequins and gold roublees. We gave the gold coin, not merely to reward our host and his wife for their kindness, but to vex the fair ladies in the other cottage, and make them ashamed of themselves. We also thought that a few extra piastres thus laid out might benefit other travellers.

Antioch is beautifully situated on

the left bank of the Orontes, at the foot of a hill. There is a handsome bridge over the river, and some of the heights are picturesque. The present town is a miserable one, and does not occupy more than one-eighth of the space inclosed within the old walls, which have a fine, venerable appearance, having square towers every hundred yards, with occasional watch turrets: these are the works of the Roman and Greek emperors. Antioch is said to have once contained between eight and nine hundred thousand inhabitants. The plain on which it stands is considerably elevated above that of Suadeah. We were annoyed at not having been able to visit the ruins of the city and groves of Daphne, but it was impossible to do so without a guide, and there was no procuring one. The houses of Antioch, Suadeah, Lourdée, and their neighbourhood, unlike those in most of the towns of Syria, are roofed and tiled, and without terraces. In the side of the hill at the back of Antioch, there are many epulchral caves. This town is celebrated in the Acts of the Apostles.

*November 21.*—To-day we went as far as Gesir Adid, four hours' distance, near a bridge over the Orontes. Our road was across a barren plain, bounded to the north by mountains, at the foot of which is the lake of Aggi Dengis. Rain prevented our leaving this place till noon of the 22nd, when we reached Bourkee, the site of a Roman town of considerable size, and where the ancient sepulchral caves cut in the side of the mountains, serve the present natives for habitations. We took up our abode in a deserted and ruinous water-mill.

*November 23.*—We travelled over some rocky hills into the plain of Alaks, supposed to be that in which Aurelian conquered Zenobia. We passed many sites of ancient towns, castles, tanks, temples, &c., all of the lower empire, and very uninteresting. On one occasion we counted the vestiges of eleven towns, in a rich plain, with a fine loamy soil; all of them now desolate and uninhabited. So much for the Turkish government, and its

encouragement of agriculture, the arts, &c. ! The eastern part, however, of the plain of Alaks, which is nearest Aleppo, has a few villages, the inhabitants of which we saw in considerable numbers, engaged in collecting their cotton. We stopped at Tourneen, the easternmost of these villages.

*November 25.*—About 3, P. M. we arrived at Aleppo, passing through an open country, with a thin surface of soil, well tilled in most parts, but monotonous and destitute of trees, as, indeed, is the case all the way from Antioch. We had been recommended by our friend and adviser Sheikh Ibrahim to take the route to the northward of Aggi Dengis, as it would conduct us to the mountains and ruins of St. Simon, which latter, however, are of the date of the lower empire, and, as we have since learnt, totally uninteresting. We have reason to rejoice in having taken the route we did, as the Kurds who inhabit the mountains were in rebellion against the pasha, who had sent a military force to quell them shortly before our arrival. We have since heard that the chiefs escaped; but an example was made by the death of about twenty of the prisoners. Some of those executed are supposed to have been innocent; and the pasha is said to have been much affected on hearing this, and recalled his troops, saying, that as the chiefs had escaped, and the natives had submitted, he did not wish any further severity to be shown.

On arriving at the house of Mr. Barker, the consul-general, we found Mr. Bankes there. He was on his way to revisit Egypt and Nubia; and intended to penetrate from the second cataract into Abyssinia. We mutually gave each other all the information we possessed; Mr. Bankes on Asia Minor and Greece; and we on Egypt and Nubia.

*December 22.*—We have been detained at Aleppo nearly a month, waiting for the arrival of the caravan which brings kali from Sukne to this place, a journey of five days. Palmyra is seven days' journey from Aleppo. The kindness we have experienced in Mr. Barker's hospitable mansion

merits our sincere gratitude. I fear we shall be a little spoiled when we turn out for Palmyra; for here, independent of the society of Mr. Barker and his amiable family, we have had every comfort and luxury we could imagine. Our amusements have been most agreeably varied; sometimes we went out shooting in the gardens near Aleppo, which abound in woodcocks, &c. We coursed the gazelle and hare alternately, the greyhounds in this country being very swift and strong. One day we were indulged with a hawking scene. The cheapness and abundance of game are astonishing; woodcocks, partridges, wild-geese, ducks, teal, the bustard, wild turkey, joli notes, &c. We thought the flesh of the gazelle well-flavoured, although Bruce abuses it. The white species is supposed to be the best. We have frequently had the porcupine at table; it forms a delicious dish, somewhat resembling in appearance and taste both the pig and the hare. The porcupines inhabit holes in the rocks, and they are so quick of hearing that it is very difficult to shoot them, as they never quit their holes till dark, and even then with the greatest circumspection. The people wait patiently in the cold for hours, near the holes, till the animal makes its appearance. They commit much mischief in the gardens near the city. We had thought of visiting Bagdad, for the purpose of seeing the ruins of Babylon; but as Mr. Massick, the Dutch consul here, had recently received a letter from a friend, stating that there is nothing whatever to be seen there, we gave up the idea. Mr. Barker has resided nineteen years as consul-general in this place, and we find his advice and assistance of the greatest use. As we came into this country with only one hundred and fifty pounds, which Mr. Salt supplied us on our bills, we had made up our minds to return to Cairo, to replenish our funds for Asia Minor, Greece, &c.; but Mr. Barker, divining that some such motive was the cause of our intended return to Egypt, most kindly anticipated our wishes on this point, and insisted on supplying us

with whatever money or letters of credit we wanted. This will prevent the necessity of our going to Egypt again, and will assist us much. We are anxious to complete our travels in the Mahomedan countries, and again to enjoy the comforts of Switzerland and Italy. There is a great sameness in all Turkish towns; and the absence of inns, theatres, museums, picture-galleries, libraries, promenades, evening parties, and the ever-handly and comfortable café, is a privation which an European must always feel. A firman from the Grand Signior is on its way to us from Constantinople, Mr Barker having written for it on our arrival here. It will be useful in Asia Minor.

*December 21.*—The caravan from Sukne arrived this day, and we shall soon be off. We are to send the outlines of our tour to Lord Belmore for his guidance; but this we defer till we get to Palmyra. His lordship very kindly offered us a passage in his brig to any parts which might lie in his way, should we be able to embark with him from Syria; but there is no chance of this.

*December 22.*—We were to have set off this evening for Palmyra, by way of Sukne; when, accidentally meeting a merchant from Bagdad, a friend of Mr. Barker, he strongly dissuaded us from the measure, and urged us to go by the way of Hamah or Homs, as the Annasee Arabs are in the neighbourhood of Palmyra. We had understood that the cold had driven them all to the southward, towards the banks of the Euphrates; but as it appears there yet remain two tribes of them, Homs will be the best place to start from.

We accordingly prepared to depart in two or three days for Hamah, which place, as well as Homs, is distant only four days' journey from Palmyra, which we had sanguine expectations of being able to reach from either one or the other of these towns. However, we had two other strings to our bow; either to push on to Cariateen, which is only one day from Tadmor, and thence to steal to that city before the Arabs were aware of our intention; or to take

Turkish post-horses and an escort from Damascus, and go in spite of the Arabs. This last plan, however, would have been a very expensive one. Our constrained residence of six weeks at Aleppo made us fully acquainted with the city and its environs. It is pleasantly situated in a hollow surrounded by sloping hills, which are, however, uninteresting, having no trees, and the land not being inclosed. The houses are built of stone; the streets narrow and ill-paved, except the bazars, which are all roofed over with arches of the same construction as the houses, and are lighted from above. Thus you can walk all over the town on the terraces of the houses; the arches connecting the streets one with the other. We visited houses half a mile distant in this manner. The Franks and Christians have their sepa-

rate quarters here, as in all Turkish towns. The city, the walls of which resemble those of Antioch, is surrounded with gardens, watered by small rivulets drawn from the main stream which supplies the town. We visited some Turkish houses, and were much struck with the beautiful ceilings of the apartments, which are decorated by Persian artists. They are curiously gilt, and painted. The decorations in carve-work, on the doors and window-frames, are also extremely curious. The society of Aleppo is good: the men and women make separate parties to the baths, where they have coffee and refreshments, and pass the evening. We greatly admired the neat and cleanly appearance of the butchers' shops, which are equal to those of London.

## CHAPTER V.

Departure for Hamah—Letters\* of Introduction—Caravan from Mecca—Hamah—Khan—Georgian Slaves—Negotiations with the Arabs—Interview with them—Homs—Departure for Palmyra—Arab Camp—Interview with the Arab Chiefs—Arab Feast—Fine View of Palmyra—Disappointment on reaching the Ruins—Description of them—Return to the Arab Camp—Reach Homs—Expenses of our Journey—Traits of the Arabs—Their character for Dishonesty not deserved—Damascus—Sketch of intended Route.

*January 3.*—We started for Hamah; our kind and estimable host, and his brother, accompanied us on horseback for two hours outside the town. Such had been Mr. Barker's solicitude in our behalf, that he furnished us with letters to Selim, the governor's secretary at Hamah, and to Scander, the secretary to the mutesellim of Homs; he likewise gave us a letter of recommendation to Hadgi Hassan, an elderly Turk at Homs, who has great dealings with the Arabs. All these people were requested to render us every assistance in their power to enable us to reach Palmyra. He gave us, besides, other letters to the Saraffs of the pasha of Damascus, urging them to assist us in getting horses, should we be obliged to travel post. Also, letters to Acre, Cyprus, and Smyrna; to Sir Robert and Lady Liston, and to several other persons at Constantinople. He lent us

Maundrell's Travels in Syria, and a good map of Asia Minor and Greece; and, not contented with doing us all these good offices, furnished us, as I have before stated, with all the money we wanted.

At sun-set we stopped at the khan Tounnan, a spacious lodging, but filled to excess with the caravans for Damascus and Latachia. On the following morning we proceeded at daylight in their company; our road lay over naked plains partly cultivated. About three in the afternoon we stopped at Sermein. There are several villages in this quarter, and a few clumps of olives; otherwise the country is destitute of wood. Mount Cassius, whose summit was already covered with snow, was in sight on our right.

*January 5.*—We proceeded at sunrise, intending to go with the Latachia caravan as far as Shogher, and thence

follow up the banks of the Orontes to Hamah; but being late, and seeing a caravan on our left, we branched out in that direction, joined them, and finding that they were in the straight road to Hamah, and bound to that place and Damascus, we continued with them. About ten, we passed the ruins of a square Turkish fortress, inclosing a village. Many of these places, on the skirts of the desert, are walled in, probably to afford them protection against the Arabs. Shortly afterwards, we met a very extensive caravan, being part of the hadj or pilgrimage to Mecca, on their return from Damascus—they had the green flag, the prophet's banner, flying. There were but few camels, the animals being mostly horses and mules, and having all bells attached to them, which made a merry ringing noise.\* There were several tackterwans, the only species of vehicle in the East. We had seen one of them in the great Morocco hadj, which arrived at Cairo in September last; it resembled a sedan chair, supported before and behind by horses, instead of men: but of those which we saw to-day, one was a species of tent-bed, placed cross-way on the back of a mule; and another resembled two children's cradles, fitted like panniers on the back of a camel. These tackterwans are inclosed with curtains, and are generally used by women or sick people. Nearly the whole of this, and the next day, we continued to pass divisions of the hadj: all the animals were laden with some private venture of the pilgrims, who always join commerce with religion in these expeditions. They have among themselves an old adage "Beware of thy neighbour if he has made a hadj; but if he has made two, quickly prepare to leave thy house." The keenness with which all the peasants, near the khans, bargain for everything they sell, seems to agree with this. We saw to-day some few Roman ruins, and sarcophagi, formed of the stone of the country, apparently of the date of the lower empire. At 2 p.m. we stopped

for the night at Marah, and slept in a very good khan. The next morning, Lebanon, now a mass of snow, lay before us; and Mount Cassius was shut in by the northern extremity of the Ansarian mountains. We passed several sites of ancient towns, tanks, sarcophagi, &c., everything much dilapidated, and little interesting, except as proving that the neighbourhood was more thickly peopled in former times than it is at present. The country was a succession of open plains, without a single tree, and inhabited by numerous gazelles, partridges, vipers, bastards, &c. We passed the night at Khan Shekune, situated near an artificial hill, several of which we had seen during the day. They resembled those on Salisbury Plain, and other parts of England. We found the khan good, but very full of people, in consequence of the return of the hadj.

*January 7.*—Our road was still through open plains, partially cultivated, and running parallel with the range of the Ansarian mountains. Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon were before us. About 3 p.m. we arrived at Hamah. The road for the last hour was pretty, descending into a vale, through which the Orontes takes a winding course. One of its banks is cultivated, wooded, and here and there laid out in gardens; the other consists in most parts of perpendicular chalky cliffs. Here are immense wheels turned by the stream to raise the water for the irrigation of the soil. Hamah is the Epiphania of the Greeks and Romans, though it is, no doubt, the site of the ancient Hamath, mentioned in various parts of scripture; together with Damascus, Lebanon, and other contiguous places, it took its name from the sons of Canaan, fourth son of Ham, the son of Noah, which proves its very high antiquity. Hamah is delightfully situated in a hollow, between and on the sides of two hills, near the west bank of the Orontes; but in itself it presents nothing worthy of notice at this day. We took up our quarters in a khan. These buildings in the towns differ considerably from those on the road side. Like

\* In that day there shall be upon the bells of the horses, "Holiness unto the Lord." Zech. xiv. v. 20.

them, they surround an open square, but are differently constructed, being intended for travellers and merchants to lodge in during the time they remain in the towns to dispose of their merchandise, or settle any private affairs they may have to transact; whereas the khans on the roadside are only intended to afford a night's lodging and security to the traveller and his beasts. In these latter the squares are formed in open piazzas, in which men and animals are lodged indiscriminately, there being no division into apartments, cells, or any detached chamber whatever; and for their use no payment is required. The khans in the towns, instead of having open piazzas, are furnished all round with two stories of small apartments, each chamber, or rather cell, being about 12 ft. square, with a door (the key of which is given you), and an iron-barred window with wooden shutters, but no glass. I suspect they were originally intended as a gratuitous lodging for travellers, the same as those on the high-roads and in the villages; but as they have only one small entrance, and are thereby the most secure places in the towns, the lower rooms are generally filled with merchandise of the different resident proprietors. In front of these are arched piazzas for the horses, mules, &c.; and also a balcony, or terrace, with wooden railing, fronting the upper row of cells, which are totally unfurnished. You must provide for yourself a mat to lie on, cooking utensils, fuel, &c. There is a porter who generally rents the khan, and in the daytime attends the gate, which is locked at night; he makes his profit by the fees from travellers, and also by a rent for the merchandise. We paid two piastres (1s. 5d.) for admittance, or as it is termed, for the key of our room; four paras (one penny English) a day for the lodging, and one para a day for each horse. Our provisions we always got from the market, and we cooked them in our own room. Our principal meat was mutton. The Turks do not eat much beef, and therefore it is never good. While at Hamah we

received by a messenger, express from Aleppo, a letter from Mr. Barker, inclosing the firman from the grand Signior, for which Mr. Barker had written to Sir Robert Liston. This firman empowers us to go with four servants through Syria, Cyprus, the islands of the Archipelago, Smyrna, Adana, Karaman, Karahissar, Kiutaya, to Broussa, and thence to Constantinople. We are to be treated in the most friendly manner; to be afforded every assistance, security, and protection, according to the imperial capitulations; and to be furnished with all necessary escorts whenever occasion may require.

While we were at this place, there arrived one evening four shabby-looking, ill-dressed Turks, attired somewhat like soldiers, and an elderly fellow better clad, though no better looking than the others. These people brought with them eleven Georgian girls, the remnant of between forty and fifty, as we were informed, whom they had stolen or kidnapped from their parents on the confines of Georgia. They were brought to be sold as slaves or mistresses to such wealthy Turks as could afford to pay high sums for them. The poor girls were lodged in the cells contiguous to ours. They were mostly between fifteen and twenty years of age; two were younger, being about twelve. All were exceedingly pretty, with black sparkling eyes, rosy cheeks, long black hair, and very fair complexions, contradicting the account which Volney gives of the Georgian and Circassian women, where he says, "that their fame for beauty arises more from the fancy of travellers, heightened by the difficulty they have always found to get a sight of them, than from any real charms they possess." The prices which were demanded and obtained for these girls is the best proof of the estimation in which they are held by the Turks. We were present at the purchase of one girl by a rich Turk; fourteen purses, each purse being 500 piastres, or about 18*l.*, were demanded. He offered ten; but they would not abate one para. The poor girl, who was about fifteen,

was standing up all the while, hearing the disputes about her purchase. They were all taken out four different times, and conducted through the town to the rich Turkish houses, to be viewed and bid for, the same as any other merchandise; and on two occasions considerable parties of the principal inhabitants came to our khan, and examined the unhappy creatures at the door of their cells; they being obliged to stand up in a row, while their several merits were discussed by the rival bidders. Several of the purchasers were upwards of fifty years of age; while the friendless objects of their choice were only fifteen. The food given to these unfortunates was of a character with the rest of their treatment, consisting only of a loaf of bread and a small piece of cheese twice a day; and although oranges were only two paras (a halfpenny) each, we never saw one given to them. Whenever the owners went abroad they locked their charge up in the cells and carried away the key. On their return from one of their tours through the town, we heard some bitter lamenting in the cell next to ours, and found that it proceeded from one of the young girls, who was about to be sold, and was bewailing her separation from her sister and companions. These poor girls are carried from town to town on horseback. In this manner they had been brought from Georgia, being exposed for sale at all the principal towns as they came along. They were now destined for Damascus, where it was thought a good mart would be found for them. They set out on their melancholy journey two days before we started. Bruce has given some account of the Georgian and Circassian women. I think he comes much nearer the truth than Volney does.

Nothing else worthy of mention occurred while we were at Hamah, excepting our negotiations with the Arabs regarding our journey to Palmyra. Shortly after we arrived, our Maltese interpreter, when taking our letter of introduction to Selim, the governor's secretary, met at his house a man named Pierre, of Dar-el-Camar,

in the employ of Lady Hester Stanhope, by whom he had been sent, as he said, to fetch two horses which had been presented to Lady Hester by the governors of Homs and Hamah. He was also charged with a present of one hundred piastres to Narsah, the chief of the Annasee Arabs. This man, who returned with our interpreter, told us that he had accompanied Lady Hester to Palmyra and was acquainted with the Arab chiefs, and that it was he who made the bargain for Mr. Bankes, who was obliged to pay 1200 piastres, besides being sent back once by Narsah, and kept in confinement by Sneikh Hamed, his younger brother, at Palmyra, who extorted another 200 piastres from him. Selim, as well as Scander, being both absent at Damascus, we were at some difficulty how to proceed, but resolved to await the return of the former, as Pierre expected he would be back in a few days. We had much conversation with this man regarding the Arabs, and about the prices which travellers had at different times paid for visiting Palmyra; for, although we had made up our minds to go *coûte qui coûte*, we determined to fight as hard a battle as we could, and pretended to be very indifferent about it. We soon saw that if this man assisted us, he would at least make us pay as much money as he could, for he talked of two, three, four, and even six hundred piastres as nothing. We, however, told him that four hundred was the utmost we would pay; and that we knew Sir William Chatterton and Mr. Leslie had visited Palmyra, by Cariateen, at an expense of only one hundred piastres, while the Arabs were making extravagant demands of Mr. Bankes. Pierre, on hearing this, observed, "that if Sir William Chatterton and Mr. Leslie had gone for that sum, they had *stolen* to Tadmor." Perceiving that he was not inclined to make a moderate bargain for us, we were undetermined what course to pursue, as we made no doubt that he would at all events give information to the Arabs of our arrival and intention. In the meantime, a Christian, who lives at Homs, came to us, asserting,

that there was no difficulty in getting to Palmyra, and that he was acquainted with two others of his own creed at Homs, who with himself would engage to conduct us upon asses, at a moderate price, and without any danger from the Arabs. We did not place very implicit confidence in his account, particularly as we knew that our deceased friend, Sheikh Ibrahim, had been robbed and stripped in his first attempt, and we had Mr. Banks' fate also before us; but as time was passing away, and we were doing nothing, we decided on going with him to Homs, leaving Pierre and everybody else, to whom we spoke on the subject, to suppose that we had given up all idea of going to Palmyra, in consequence of the expense attending it, and had decided on pursuing our journey to Damascus and Jerusalem.

We had intended to have set out on the morning of the 16th. It however turned out very wet that day, and we did not accompany the man, as we had no idea of getting wet through on such an uncertain excursion; but we promised him to follow as soon as it cleared up. During the afternoon Pierre visited us, and appeared to be much surprised that we had not set out for Damascus. We told him that we were prevented from quitting Hamah by the rain. He made no further observation, but shortly after retired, and in about half an hour returned with five Arabs, whom he said he had brought to us that we might make a bargain with them for going to Palmyra. The chief of these was Sheikh Salce, the nephew of Mahannah. He was a lad about fourteen or fifteen years of age, very dirty and ill-dressed, with a sheep-skin cloak. He sat down in our room with great composure, as did his four companions, three of whom were blacks. While smoking their pipes, they examined everything in our apartment with great attention; but we had purposely hid whatever was likely to attract notice, or give an idea of wealth. Their first demand was 3000 piastres, at which we burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. They

then came down to 2000, but we remained fixed at 400. At last they lowered their demand to 800. The lad now made signs that we should be robbed. We showed all we meant to take with us; and said it was not worth fifty piastres, which indeed was true enough. He then made signs that we should have our throats cut. We told him that neither he, Mahannah, nor any of his tribe, would dare touch a Frank, furnished as we were with the imperial firman, which he knew we had. They do not care, however, much for the Grand Signior. It was not a little remarkable to hear such threats from a boy only fourteen years of age. At last they quitted us, saying they must have 800. After some deliberation, we sent to say that we would give them 600, including the hire of the camels; *but no part of the money to be paid until our safe return to Hamah.* After much prevarication, during which they endeavoured to make us give them a further sum for the camels, they at length consented to our terms, "for the love," as they said, "of the Malaka" or queen, for such they were pleased to call Lady Hester Stanhope, who had herself given 500*l.* for this trip. Had we paid them as much, no doubt they would have called us two kings; for, like the Nubians, money is their idol. The next morning we sent to the Aga to have the treaty ratified in writing. They now demanded 300 piastres in advance. We positively refused to pay a para until our safe return; and, finally, the Aga declined being responsible unless Mahannah or Narsah sent a written document to say we might pass safely. Thus the affair remained till the morning of the 19th, the Arabs still endeavouring to prevail on us to give them three, two, or even 100 piastres in advance; but as the smallest sum paid beforehand would have placed us in some measure in their power, and rendered our journey uncertain, we persisted in refusing.

*January 19.* — No message from Mahannah having arrived, we left Hamah at dawn of day, and arrived at Homs in about eight hours, the



road still leading through rich plains destitute of wood. About half-way we crossed the Orontes, now diminished in breadth to a paltry stream. The river here winds through a chasm. There is a bridge of thirteen arches; and the water is kept up for the purpose of turning a mill. A cascade which it forms, the khan, the neighbouring village of Rastan, and a few trees on the bank of the rivulet, altogether make rather a pretty scene. Rastan stands on an eminence near the bridge, and the ancient Arethusia adjoins it, presenting an object of more interest than we had lately been accustomed to, though none of the buildings remain perfect. Part of the walls, the line of the streets, and the pedestals of some columns, being alone remarkable. We put up at a khan in Homs; and Pierre, who had followed us from Hamah, arrived soon after us.

*January 20.*—We had some conversation with the Christian we had seen at Hamah; but it appeared evident he was undertaking a task that he was unable to execute. In the evening one of the Arabs who had visited us with Sheikh Salee, came with a letter from Sheikh Narsah, who, he said, was encamped one day's journey from Palmyra. The letter stated, "that Narsah had heard of our arrival in Hamah, and of our wish to visit Tadmor; that he expected by the 24th that the Fidon and Isbaah Arabs under Sheikh Haleel, who were at war with the Annasees, would have removed from the neighbourhood of Palmyra; and that, at the expiration of that time, he would come to Homs with three camels to conduct us." This story we afterwards had reason to believe was a fiction, to persuade us of the absolute necessity of his protection. In the mean time he desired we would give the bearer twenty piastres. Upon this we made great difficulties; for, as our departure was not yet completely settled, it might very likely be money thrown away; and we thought that if we showed an easy compliance in giving small sums, we might soon receive a demand for large ones. In short, finding how tardily

affairs were going on, we resolved to set out the next morning on foot, calling on Narsah on our way. To this plan the Arab consented, and everything was agreed on; he swearing by the most sacred oaths that all should go on well, and that we should have an ass to carry our bread, water, and sheep-skin coats.

*January 21.*—This morning the man came again, saying, he could not take us, as he feared Narsah would cut off his head for having undertaken the business without express orders. Therefore, after much discussion, this last arrangement also terminated unfavourably, and the Arab set off a second time for the camp of Mahannah, to bring the camels as soon as possible, and apprise his chief that we had removed to Homs. In the afternoon it came on to blow hard, with continued squalls of snow, sleet, and rain; and we were not sorry that our walking trip was put off. The bad weather continued without intermission night and day till the 24th, on the evening of which day the man returned from Mahannah with the three camels; we could not, however, arrange for starting till the 26th, as the motsellim (governor) could not ratify the bargain, being busily engaged in taking an inventory of the effects of the pasha, who had shortly before been beheaded. This pasha had been appointed to the command of the hadj, and had set off from Constantinople. While he was on his return from Mecca, a khat-sherriffe was despatched from the capital, ordering his head to be cut off and sent immediately to Constantinople; and the sentence was carried into execution before he reached Damascus. We hear that he was accused of intriguing with the Russians against the state. We paid 300 piastres into the hands of Hadji Hassan, as part payment to the Arab sheikhs, but it was agreed that they should not themselves receive any portion of it till our safe return to Homs. Sheikh Narsah's order was, that we should pay all before starting; but we persisted in refusing, and moreover, we made the Arabs consent, before wit-

nesses, that no further demands beyond the 600 piastres were to be made upon us on any pretence whatever. The motsellin, who, like all the Turks, had a great and unnecessary dread of these people, observed, "Why will you trust yourselves amongst the Arabs? suppose they should destroy you!"

*January 26.*—At one P.M., after nineteen days' negotiation at Hamah and Homs, we started with our three camels and as many conductors, with two skin bottles, in which they had poured the melted butter bought with Lady Hester's present. We proved to them before departing that we had not a para in our pockets, thus preventing any temptation to pilfer. All our baggage consisted of a sheep-skin coat, the woolly side inwards, and the other side coloured red with ochre, and greased to keep out the rain. We rode for five hours, our guides nearly the whole time singing a favourite Arab song. On arriving at a Bedouin camp, we had some scruples about entering a tent, expecting they would have had many objections against receiving us. Instead of which, to our surprise, we were welcomed by both men and women; the latter smiling, said, we were Frangi (Franks), and retired to their part of the tent to prepare supper.

*January 27.*—Having been regaled with a substantial breakfast, we proceeded at eight A.M. and rode till four in the afternoon, when we stopped at another Arab camp, where we were again well received.

*January 28.*—We started at dawn of day, and saw many dwarf trees, of which the country had hitherto been destitute. It now resembled a heath covered by a plentiful stock of aromatic shrubs, with occasional hill and dale. We followed no particular road or track; but our general direction appeared to be easterly. This morning we had a striking instance of the value the Arab sets on his time, and of his impatience to accomplish a journey when once he has undertaken it. Suddenly one of our party quitting us, hastened on in advance, and

was soon out of sight. On coming up with him we found he had collected brushwood and made a blazing fire; presently some butter was melted and sweetened with honey. In this we dipped our bread, and what with the Arab's voracious mode of eating, and these time-saving measures, our breakfast did not detain us above ten minutes. The same hurry was subsequently shewn on our wanting to drink some water from a small crevice in the rock close to us. We were prohibited and told there was plenty before us; but, as we knew that the camps were hours in advance, we were not to be controlled, and dismounting, quenched our thirst. The soil was excessively rich; but all appearance of cultivation had ceased when we had ridden a few hours from Homs. The scarcity of water is doubtless the cause of this. We could not help laughing at our principal guide, who with a rusty old match-lock and *no powder*, pretended to be very vigilant in reconnoitring from all the heights for *harami* (robbers), while we knew that he and his companions were of the most timid nature, and that they were well aware that we were going with the sanction, and under the protection of their own chiefs, who commanded the whole country. At noon we saw a wild boar, so large that at first we thought it was an ass. About four in the afternoon we opened the valley in which Mahannal's camp was pitched. The Arabs were obliged to inquire before they could find out the direction of the camp; and as they had been absent from it only a few days, some idea may be formed of the difficulty of tracking the tribes in the desert.

As we approached, we beheld a very animated and busy scene. The girls were singing, and the children busied in running down the young partridges with dogs; the birds being as yet only able to fly a short distance at a time. Presently we heard a hue and cry from all quarters, and soon perceived a large wild boar, with his bristles erect, beset by all the dogs; everybody running eagerly to the pur-

suit. He was found behind one of the tents. They chased him all through the camp; and two Arabs on horse-back, with spears, joined in the pursuit. The animal, however, kept both men and dogs at bay, and finally got off with only one wound.

We now approached the sheikh's tent and found Mahannah and his two sons, Sheikhs Narsah and Hamed, together with about thirty Arab chiefs of various camps, seated round an immense fire. Sheikh Narsah was leaning on a camel's saddle, their usual cushion. He did not rise to receive us, although we afterwards observed that he and the whole circle rose whenever a strange sheikh arrived. We attributed this cool reception to the low estimation he held us in, in consequence of the unusually small sum we were to pay for visiting Palmyra, and from the plainness of our dress and appearance. Mahannah was a short, crooked-backed, mean-looking old man, between seventy and eighty years of age, dressed in a coarse robe. His son, Narsah, to whom he had, in consequence of his age, resigned the reins of government, was good-looking, about thirty years of age, with very dignified and engaging manners. He had the Koran open in his hand when we arrived, to give us, we supposed, an idea of his learning. He was well dressed, with a red pelisse and an enormous white turban. We observed much whispering going forward between Narsah and every stranger that arrived; and our guides were separately questioned in the same manner, to learn, as we conjectured, whether we had much money or not. Narsah alone addressed us. He inquired why the English wished so much to see Palmyra, and whether we were not going to search for gold? We told him he should have half of any we might find there.

As the evening advanced, the Arab guests increased to the number of fifty. Their mode of saluting their chiefs is by kissing either cheek alternately, not the hand as in Nubia. Narsah questioned us about Buonaparte and the occupation of France by

the allied troops. I suspect his knowledge of these matters proceeded from his correspondence with Lady Hester Stanhope. On our inquiring after Sheikh Hamedy, a handsome young man, apparently between twenty and twenty-five years of age, with evident confusion in his countenance, acknowledged himself as that person; at the same time remarking that we had probably heard a bad account of him, but that the reports to his prejudice were not correct. It was this man who confined Mr. Banks for a day, and obliged him to pay 200 piastres exclusive of the 1200 which he gave to Narsah for visiting Palmyra.

Some of the partridges which the children had caught, were now brought in. They roasted them on the fire, and part was given to us; Sheikh Hamedy *throwing* a leg and a wing to each of us. They afterwards gave us some honey and butter, together with bread to dip into it\*. Narsah desired one of his men to mix the two ingredients for us, as we were awkward at it. The Arab having stirred the mixture up well with his fingers, showed his dexterity in consuming as well as in mixing, and recompensed himself for his trouble by eating half of it. At sunset, and again at eight o'clock, the whole assembly were summoned to prayers; a man standing outside the tent, and calling them to their devotions, in the same manner as is done from the minarets of the mosques of Turkish towns. Each man rubbed his face over with sand, a heap of which was placed in front of the tent for that purpose, to serve as a substitute for water in their religious ablutions. We could not but admire the decorous solemnity with which they all joined in worship, standing in a row, and bowing down and kissing the ground together. An immense platter of roast mutton was then brought in for supper, with pillow of rice. The Arabs fed apart, while a separate portion was brought for Narsah and us. We observed the elderly men gave their half-gnawed bones to those around

\* "Butter and honey shall he eat." Isa. vii. 5.

them, and we were told that they have an adage commending the custom. A black slave was perpetually pounding coffee from the moment we entered the tent till we went to sleep, and as he began in the morning at day-light, and was constantly employed, it would seem that the consumption of this article must be considerable. Late at night Narsah began to address the whole circle of sheikhs, who, we found, had been convened in order that they might hear his request that some portions of grazing land, called "The Cottons," might be delivered up to him. Being tired with the length of his discourse, we removed to a corner of the tent and fell asleep. We heard afterwards that his harangue lasted till three in the morning.

On the following day we wished to proceed, according to the promise to let us depart before sun-rise, which Narsah had given us the preceding evening, swearing by his head, and lifting up his hand at the same time. But as the chief had sat up so late he did not make his appearance till about ten o'clock, when, instead of letting us depart, he desired we would accompany him to a small vale contiguous to his tent. We found the Arabs assembling from all quarters, and following us in great numbers. We were quite at a loss to know the meaning of this; at first we thought it was intended to show off the numbers of his people. Presently, however, we came to a tent, and found an immense feast of mutton and camel's flesh prepared for the whole assembly. We were conducted to a smaller tent apart, and had our share sent to us. We were in doubt what object the sheikh had in thus separating us; whether it was meant as an accommodation to us, that we might eat more comfortably and freely by ourselves than in the midst of a concourse of people; or whether he thought we were not fit society for him. Our dress was certainly of a much meaner description than that of any of the sheikhs: and as throughout the East a stranger is generally estimated according to the dress he wears, it is probable that our homely appearance

had some weight with Narsah on this occasion. We found the meat both savoury and tender, being a portion of the hump, which is considered the best part. There was little fat, and the grain was remarkably coarse; however, we made a hearty breakfast. The feast was conducted with much order and decorum. The sheikhs fed apart in a double row, with several immense platters placed at equal distances between them, and a rope line was drawn round to keep the people from pressing in. Narsah was at the head of the row, with a small select circle, amongst whom he placed us after we had breakfasted, having perceived us amongst the spectators. When the sheikhs had finished, the people were regaled with the remains; independent of which, portions were distributed to the different tents of the camp. This latter arrangement was for the women and children. Several camels must have been cooked, judging from the immense quantities of meat we saw. This feast was no doubt intended to give weight to the proceedings of the former evening. We were asked whether Christians did not eat pigs' flesh; and, answering in the affirmative, were questioned if we did not also drink sow's milk, as they do that of camels: this, however, we stoutly denied. Mahannah made many signs for money, both for himself and Sheikh Alli, a very handsome little boy about five years of age, the son of Narsah. The Arab sign for money is rubbing the fore finger and thumb together. About eleven we set out. Our camels were changed for dromedaries of a heavy sort, which set off with us at full trot up hill and down dale, each of us having his Arab conductor mounted behind him. We had now an addition to our party; as one of Narsah's men, who was called a guard, accompanied us, mounted on a white dromedary, decorated with tassels, and armed with another old matchlock gun. We rode till four o'clock in the afternoon. We found the pace of the animals on level ground and up hill good enough, but in descending we were dreadfully jolted.

*January 30.*—At dawn we resumed our journey. Our new guard had endeavoured to make us start at midnight, but we would not submit to this, as the nights were very cold and frosty. We trotted this day at the same rate as on the preceding, and were jolted and bruised almost beyond endurance. At two in the afternoon we arrived at the object of our journey; our *useful* guard having previously lighted the match of his gun, and gone through the ceremony of loading, *but without ammunition.*

On opening the ruins of Palmyra, from the Valley of the Tombs, we were much struck with the picturesque effect of the whole mass, presenting altogether the most imposing sight of the kind we had ever seen, and rendered doubly interesting by our having travelled through a wilderness destitute of a single building. The ruins stand on a sandy plain, on the skirts of the desert; their snow-white appearance, contrasted with the yellow sand, produced a very striking effect. Great, however, was our disappointment when, on a minute examination, we found that there was not a single column, pediment, architrave, portal, or frieze worthy of admiration. None of the columns exceeded, in diameter, 4 ft., or in height 40. Those of the boasted avenue were little more than 30 ft. high; the *eristylum* is in no instance ornamented with carved-work, excepting now and then an ill-executed cornice. The plates of Wood and Dawkins are certainly well executed, but they have done more than justice to the originals. Taken as a *tout-ensemble*, these ruins are certainly remarkable, by reason of their extent (being nearly a mile and a half in length); and they are, moreover, less encumbered by modern fabrics; for except the Arab village of Tadmor, which occupies the peristyle court of the Temple of the Sun, and the Turkish burying-place, there is nothing to obstruct the antiquary. But when examined in detail they excite little interest; and we judged Palmyra to be hardly worthy of the time, expense, anxiety, and fatiguing journey which

we had undergone to visit it. The projecting pedestals in the centre of the columns of the great avenue have a very unsightly appearance; there is also a great sameness in the architecture, all the capitals being Corinthian, excepting those which surround the Temple of the Sun. These last are fluted, and when decorated with their brazen Ionic capitals, were doubtless very handsome. The sculpture, as well of the capitals of the columns, as of the other ornamental parts of the door-ways and buildings, is very coarse and bad. Although the designs, as given in the work of Wood and Dawkins, are generally correct, we found that the execution of the sculpture is far inferior to what might have been expected, judging from their engravings. The three arches of the avenue at the end nearest the Temple of the Sun, so beautiful on paper, are excessively insignificant in reality; and the decorated frieze is very badly wrought: even the devices are not striking. These arches are not to be compared to the common portals of Thebes, although the Egyptians were unacquainted with the arch. Everything here is built of a very perishable stone; it does not deserve the name of marble; it is greatly inferior even to that of Baalbec; and we are inclined to think the ruins of the latter place are much more worthy the traveller's notice than those of Palmyra. We suspect that it is the difficulty of getting to Tadmor, and the fact that few travellers have been there, that has given rise to the great renown of these ruins. We give the preference to Baalbec, not only for the general superiority of the sculpture, but also for the extraordinary massive structure of the buildings; and while the columns of Baalbec, nearly 60 ft. in height, and 7 in diameter, supporting a most rich and beautifully wrought *epistylum* 20 ft. high, are formed of only *three* pieces of stone, the smallest columns of Palmyra,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in diameter and 30 ft. high, are formed of six, seven, and even eight pieces; those, however, surrounding the peristyle court of the Temple of the Sun, are

about 40 ft. high, and 4 ft. in diameter, and are formed of only three or four stones; and in the centre of the avenue are four granite columns, about 30 ft. high, each formed of a single stone; only one of these is still standing. We found the tombs very interesting; their construction is different from that of any we had elsewhere seen. They consist of a number of square towers, three, four, and five stories high, and are situated without the walls of the ancient city. The most perfect are on the sides of the valley which leads to Homs and Hamah. These tombs are not ornamented on the exterior, with the exception of a few figures in basso-relievo over the door, and a tablet bearing a Greek inscription. There are generally five sepulchral chambers one over the other; and on each side are eight recesses, each divided into four or five parts, for the reception of corpses; the lower chamber, in some instances, fronts an excavation in the side of the hill contiguous to it. Some of these lower apartments are very handsome, the sides being ornamented with sculpture and fluted Corinthian pilasters, though the walls were of plain white stucco, without any figures or emblematical representation. The ceiling, on which the paint is still very perfect, is ornamented, like that of the peristyle court of the Temple of the Sun at Baalbec, with the heads of different heathen deities, disposed in diamond-shaped divisions. We were much interested by the remains of some mummies and mummy cloths, which appear to have been preserved very much after the manner of the Egyptians, only that the gum had lost all that odour resembling frankincense, which we noticed in Egypt. We found a hand in tolerable preservation; but these sepulchres are not in any way so interesting as the Egyptian burying-places. You here look in vain for those beautiful paintings, &c., which so well portray the manners and customs of the ancients. Over the inside of the door-way, we saw a tablet in basso-relievo, of seven or eight standing figures dressed in long robes, with

their hands on their breasts; we supposed them to represent priests. We also noticed a sarcophagus, with the sides ornamented much in the same manner. The marble folding doors of some of the grander tombs, which are situated in the town, are still erect, but much dilapidated. They are carved in panels, but are ill-executed and unpolished. The lines of the streets and the foundations of the houses are distinguishable in some places. We agree with Mr. Banks, that many of the small square rows of columns which Wood and Dawkins suppose to have inclosed temples, were no other than the open courts of private edifices, inclosing fountains. Mr. Banks was led to this conclusion from there being one of only four columns, which never could have inclosed a temple or solid building within it: moreover, similar remains at Pompeii unquestionably belonged to private edifices. On the right hand, as you pass down the great avenue of columns, there is a door-way standing: within are the remains of the building it belonged to, having a Hebrew inscription on the architrave, which is interesting on three accounts; first, as the foundation of Tadmor was by Solomon; secondly, as Zenobia is said by some to have been of the Jewish religion; and thirdly, as Bishop Riddle states that in his time 2000 Jews dwelt at Tadmor. This inscription was discovered by Mr. Banks. There is at Palmyra a tepid spring of mineral water, having a strong sulphureous taste and smell; a subterraneous aqueduct supplied the town. There is a great quantity of salt in the desert adjoining Tadmor, which forms a lucrative branch of commerce to the natives.

*January 31.*—Having finished our examination of the ruins, we started on our return at 2 P.M., and continued till ten at night. After dark the Arabs implored us not to sing, for fear the robbers should hear us, and appeared to be as fearful in their own desert, as it was possible for a stranger to have been.

*February 1.*—We moved at sun-rise, and did not reach Mahannah's camp

until dark ; we were conducted back by a different road, and met with two parties of his people on horseback, one of seven, and the other of twelve, most of them armed with spears ; we also met a small party on dromedaries richly caparisoned, sent, as we thought, on purpose to show his importance. They asked us in passing, how much we had paid for visiting Palmyra, taking it as a thing of course that we were obliged to give money. Our change of road naturally gave some mystery to our proceeding. On our arrival at the camp, old Mahannah came out of his tent and began feeling the saddles ; and took from the poor Arabs all the salt which they had purchased at Palmyra. We were pretty well received by the chiefs ; Narsah had on the *old* robe this time, and his father the new one. We soon found out the meaning of this, as Narsah urged our interpreter to request us to give him a new dress ; but the latter said it was a thing impossible, as we had made our bargain for six hundred piastres, and would give nothing besides. We obtained a promise that everything should be in readiness for us to depart early in the morning, and Narsah told us he should write a letter to the *King of England*, which we were to take with us. He sent one to his *dear friend* Lady Hester, with whom they all seem to be enchanted. They call her "El Malaka," (the queen ;) some say she is "Bint-el Sultan" (daughter of the king,) and others favour her with the appellation of the Virgin Mary.

*February 2.* — We were detained until 9 A.M., and had much difficulty in procuring a draught of water before starting ; but we absolutely refused to move without it. In consequence of this detention we were benighted before we had completed our day's journey, and had a bitterly cold bivouac in the open air, the Arabs being afraid even to light a fire. We, however, managed to lay down between two of our camels, which, from their kneeling posture, kept some of the cold air off ; sleeping was out of the question, as it was freezing hard, with a strong, cutting wind.

On the 3rd, at dawn, we were on route ; we saw twenty-three white gazelles,

and witnessed the removal of an Arab camp ; the movables were all placed on the camels' backs ; the women, with the children slung over their shoulders, and the flocks followed, presenting altogether an interesting sight. At a small encampment we breakfasted off a thick mess of lentiles and bread,\* highly seasoned with pepper, and very good. Towards noon we passed a valley, furrowed up in all directions, by the wild boars ; † the soil had the appearance of having been literally ploughed up. In the evening we reached Homs ; we were highly satisfied with our conductors, and therefore gave them each twenty piastres, as voluntary backsheesh. One of these men had already received twenty for carrying the message to Narsah, as before mentioned. We also sent a turban of the value of twenty piastres to the sheikh of Tadmor, for his civility to us, and gave 100 piastres to Pierre ; so that our whole expenses in visiting Palmyra amounted to 800 piastres, 200 of which consisted of voluntary gifts.

The behaviour of these Arabs to each other, whatever may be their conduct to strangers, presents an agreeable picture of domestic harmony and comfort, and is in unison with all the ideas the poets have given of the peaceful contentment of the pastoral life ; in fact, they are a nation of shepherds, and I question much if, in our most polished circles, more real dignity of deportment and urbanity of manners are to be met with than in the humble tent of the Arab. It appeared to us that all that was good amongst them was centred in the lower orders ; the chiefs monopolising to themselves all that cunning and roguery which render them contemptible in the eyes of a stranger. An Arab, on arriving in a strange camp, goes to the first tent that comes in his way ; he does not wait to be asked in, but without any ceremony makes his camel lie down, unloads it at the entrance, and, entering the tent with the simple salutation

\* "Then Jacob gave Esau bread, and pottage of lentiles." Genesis xxv. 34.

† "The boar out of the wood doth waste it." Psalm lxxx. 13.

of salaam alicam (peace be between us), seats himself by the fire, no matter whether the host be at home or not. Should he be present, he immediately puts fresh wood on the fire, and begins to burn and pound coffee, generally offering his pipe to his guests in the mean time. His wife, or wives, after spreading mats, if they have any, for the strangers to sit on, retire to their part of the tent, which is divided in the middle by their sack of corn, and whatever other effects they have, and prepare the dinner or supper, according to the time of the day, without any order being given by the master, but as a matter of course; in the mean time the host chats with his guests, generally about their sheep, which are their principal concern. The coffee being ready, he pours out a cupful for each of his guests, and helps himself last. The meal generally consists of camels', goats', or sheeps' milk, boiled wheat and milk, lentil soup, or melted butter, and bread to dip into it; as soon as the meal is ready, the landlord pours out water for all his guests in turn, who therewith wash the right hand.\* The ablu-  
tion finished, every one commences; the host retires, not eating with his guests, but welcoming them with frequent exclamations of coula, coula, (eat it all, eat it all). The repast ended, the attentive master again brings the water for washing the hands, and then eats of what remains. On two occasions, when we arrived at a camp late at night, and halting before a tent, found the owner, with his wife and children, just retired to rest, having arranged their carpets, &c. for the night, it was astonishing to see the good humour with which they all arose again and kindled a fire, the wife at once beginning to knead the dough and prepare our supper, our Arab guides making no apologies, but taking it all as a matter of course. Surely this was a striking instance of Arab hospitality. It was a pleasing sight to see them bring in their flocks at night: the sheep always slept close to the tents of their owners; several Arabs, together with

numerous dogs, remaining outside as guards. The lambs (for it was the lambing season) were placed inside the tents, in a small spot fenced round, to screen them from the inclemency of the night air. The first care in the morning was to let them out to their dams, when it was interesting to observe the numerous ewes recognise their offspring by the smell alone; the lambs not being gifted with the sagacity of their mothers, were willing to suck from the first ewe they met with.

The Arab having few wants is unacquainted with many cares, and is thus ignorant of the greater part of the troubles and difficulties which are experienced in more civilised society. Each man has a tent of his own, and is thus possessed of a freehold, and has nothing to do with rents or taxes; and the shrubs of the wilderness provide him with food for his flocks, and fuel for his fires. The labour of tilling and reaping is unknown to him, but much judgment and foresight is necessary in his periodical migrations with his flocks, which must be regulated and timed with due regard to the seasons, so that they may consume the herbage while they are advancing, and at the same time leave the land to itself sufficiently long to recover its verdure before they return. They contrive to be near their southern boundary in the winter, and at their northern limits in the summer. They are frequently obliged to pitch their tents at six or eight hours' distance from the wells, and then it is that their camels are of incalculable utility to them. Their behaviour to us was the same as towards each other; and I suspect that their character for robbing and pilfering arises from the conduct of some few of the worst part of the community, who infest the high-roads, rather than from any dishonesty in the generality of these people. The dread which the Turks have of the Arabs appeared to us quite unaccountable, as during the whole of our stay among them we did not see more than half a dozen old matchlock guns, and about eighteen spears. Narsah was

\* "Except they wash, they eat not." Mark vii. 4.



imprisoned in Damascus a short time for some tricks he had been playing there. The pasha wished to cut off his head, but a strong remonstrance from the merchants of Aleppo and Bagdad, setting forth the disastrous consequences which would attend the execution of this man, by rousing the vengeance of the Arabs, procured his release; and, instead of losing his head, he was dismissed with a present of a robe and some backsheelis.

Requiring a little rest on our return from Tadmor, we remained at Homs till the 7th February, on which day we set out and travelled for about seven hours, passing over rich plains, and rounding the point of a mountain which we took to be the end of Anti-Lebanon. The next day we proceeded for nine hours through a mountainous country. On the 9th, after journeying for seven hours, we stopped at a khan in a plain, around which the mountains were barren, uninteresting, and partly covered with snow.

*February 10.*—Leaving this place we again entered a hilly country, when, on arriving at the brow of a descent, the extensive and beautiful plain of Damascus opened on our view, with the town surrounded by woods, amidst which were several villages. The land was highly cultivated; to the eastward the plain extends as far as the eye can reach; in other directions it is bounded by hills, Lebanon rising conspicuous above them all. In about two hours we reached the plain, and in five more arrived at the convent of the Terra Sancta in Damascus. For the last three hours of our journey, the road was extremely beautiful, passing through rich olive groves, and gardens inclosed by walls of sun-burnt brick, and surrounded and irrigated by streams of

water, partly natural and partly conducted by art.

*February 17.*—Not having slept on a bed, or with our clothes off, since we left Aleppo, thirty-eight days ago, we now fully appreciated the luxury of good beds. Our time since the 10th has been occupied in writing letters, and in visiting different parts of the town, such as the place of the Vision of St. Paul outside the eastern gate; the place where he was let down the wall in a basket; the house of Ananias; the street called Straight, &c., alluded to in the Acts of the Apostles. The Turkish name for Damascus is Shum, or Shem, and the friars of the convent think it was originally founded by Shem, the son of Noah; the earliest information we have of this place is in the time of Abraham.\*

We purpose proceeding to the Holy Land in a few days by Pannias, near to which place is the source of the Jordan; thence crossing the bridge of Jacob, we shall go to Nazareth, Tiberias, Nablous, Jericho, and Jerusalem. In consequence of a letter from Mr. Barker, we have received great assistance from Monsieur Chabocceau, physician to the pasha of this place, and through his good offices have got another firman for the pashalic, and a letter to the governor of Jerusalem, from whom we hope to get guides to conduct us to Mount Sinai. Whether we succeed or not in getting to Mount Sinai, we shall return by Jerusalem to Acre, and then embark for Cyprus, whence we shall proceed to the coast of Asia Minor, beginning by Tarsus, which will conduct us to Smyrna, the site of Troy, and finally to Constantinople.

\* Genesis xiv. 15

## CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Damascus—Source of the Jordan—Singular Lake—Paniás—Abundance of Game—Safot—Its elevated situation—Vermin—Tiberias—Ancient Baths—Lake of Tiberias—Om Keis—Ruins around Tiberias—Bysan—Its Theatre and other Ruins—Ford of the Jordan—The Valley of Adjeloun—The Callah-el-Hubbat—Souf—Remarkable Ruins at Djerash—Agreement with the Benesuckher Arabs to escort us to Kerek—(I proar at Katty—Description of Djerash—Troubles with our Escort—Szalt—Disturbance at quitting Szalt—Escape from the Arabs—Difficulty in fording the Jordan—Nablous—Jerusalem—Visit of the Pilgrims to the Jordan—Future Route—Adventure at the “Tombs of the Kings.”

On the 23d Feb. we quitted Damascus, and passing over a slight eminence entered a plain, through which runs a fine stream, but being destitute of wood, it has less beauty than the country around Damascus, though the soil is rich. About four in the afternoon, we stopped at the khan of the village of Sasa. Hitherto we had followed the road from Damascus to Jacob's Bridge, at that part of the Jordan which lies between the lakes Houle and Tiberias.

*February 24.*—We passed to the westward for Paniás. The first part of the road led through a fine plain, watered by a pretty, winding rivulet, with numerous tributary streams, and many old ruined mills; we then began to ascend over very rugged and rocky ground, quite void of vegetation; in some places there were traces of an ancient paved way, probably the Roman road leading from Damascus to Cæsarea Philippi; as we ascended we had the highest part of Djebail Sheikh (Anti-Lebanon), on our right; we found the snow, occasionally, of considerable depth, and it was with difficulty we got our horses through it. The road now became gradually less stony, and we saw flocks of goats browsing on a rich herbage, in places from which the stones had been cleared away and piled up in great heaps. The shrubs gradually increased in number, size, and beauty, and we presently descended into a very rich little plain immediately at the foot of Djebail Sheikh. There is a conspicuous tomb in this valley, and a rivulet, which appears to take its source at the foot of the mountains, passes along the

western side of the plain in a southerly direction, its course then turns more to the westward, and rushing in a very picturesque manner, through a deep chasm, overhung by shrubs of various descriptions, joins the Jordan at Paniás; it is marked in Arrow-smith's chart as the real source of the Jordan, but the fountains at Paniás, which are by far the most copious, though not the most distant from the Dead Sea, where the river terminates, are generally considered to be the source; an opinion in which both of us agree. From this plain we ascended up the southern side of Djebail Sheikh, and after passing a very small village about one o'clock, we saw on our left, close to us, a very picturesque lake, of little more than a mile in circumference, apparently perfectly circular, and surrounded by sloping hills richly wooded. The singularity of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply or discharge; its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid; a great many wild-fowl were swimming in it. This lake has been remarked only by Burekhardt and Seetzen, other travellers who have gone from Damascus to Paniás having taken the route by Raschia and Hasbeya; Arrow-smith's map notices it by the name of the Birket-el Ram, on the authority of Seetzen. Josephus mentions it under the name of “Phiala” (a cup), in allusion to its shape. It was supposed by the ancients to be the real source of the Jordan; Josephus states, that they threw straw into the lake, which came out at the *apparent source* at Paniás. A short distance from Phiala, we crossed a stream which

discharges itself into the larger one which we first met with; the latter we followed for a considerable distance, and then mounting up the hill to the S. W. saw the town of Panias, the great Saracenic castle near it, the plain of the Jordan as far as the lake Houle, and the mountains on the other side of the plain, forming altogether a fine *coup d'œil*. As we descended towards Panias the country became extremely beautiful; great quantities of wild flowers, and a variety of shrubs just budding, combined with the rich verdure of the grass, corn, and beans, showed us all at once the beauties of spring, and conducted us into a climate quite different from that of Damascus, or of the country which we had passed through since we left that city. About 5 P. M. we entered Panias, crossing a causeway constructed over the rivulet, which as before stated flows from the foot of Djebail Sheikh. The river here rushes over the rocks in a very picturesque manner, its banks are covered with shrubs, and there are the ruins of ancient walls, but whether Saracenic or not I cannot say. The present town of Panias is small, the ground it stands on is of a triangular form, inclosed by the Jordan on one side, the rivulet on the other, and the mountain at the back. The situation being thus compressed, it is evident that the ancient Panias, afterwards Cæsarea Philippi, could not have been of great extent. Josephus, in his "Jewish Antiquities," mentions a temple built by Herod, but we could discover no trace of it. The apparent source of the Jordan is in a cave at the foot of a precipice, in the sides of which are several niches with Greek inscriptions.

The neighbourhood of Panias is very beautiful, richly wooded, and abounds in game; we devoted a part of the morning of the 25th to shooting, but had poor sport, though we saw plenty of partridges, wild ducks, snipe, &c. Having been directed to follow the Jordan to the lake Houle, we left Panias at 11 o'clock, and took that route. The beautifully wooded country did not continue for more than two miles, and we then entered into open rich plains. We

found the ground very marshy: after wandering about to find fords over the numerous streams which water the plain, we crossed the Jordan itself; but the country on the other side was as full of marshes and swamps as that we had left, and in several places we nearly lost the horses; at last we succeeded in reaching the road to Safot, which runs at the foot of the hills on the other side of the plain, and to have reached which, we ought, in the first instance, to have passed round the north end of the valley. In consequence of the loss of time in these bogs, we got no further on our journey this evening than a village by the side of a hill, near the N. W. end of lake Houle; the banks of which are low, the hills not approaching it in any part.

February 26.—We ascended from this point to Safot. The plain which we had quitted was literally covered with wild geese, ducks, widgeon, snipe, and water-fowl of every description. There is a village at the foot of the steep ascent to Safot, in which are a few Roman ruins. As we ascended, the lakes of Houle and Tiberias opened to us with much grandeur, and part of the plain of the Jordan being also visible, added to the beauty of the scene. The country in the mountains is, for the most part, cultivated. Safot is beautifully situated; the castle stands by itself on a small hill, at the foot of which is the town, which looks like four distinct villages. The approach is very fine, and the country abounds in olives, vines, and almond trees, which are now in blossom. The lake of Tiberias is visible from some parts of Safot, which, from its elevated situation, Maundrell thinks is the city alluded to by our Saviour.\* Its ancient name appears in Arrowsmith's map as Japhet. We were detained here by rainy weather, until the afternoon of the 28th, when we started for Tiberias, but only reached an old ruined khan, about two miles to the north of the village of Madjdala by the lake's side. Here we were dreadfully bitten by a

\* "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid." Matt. v. 14.

species of vermin, which attacks both men and camels in this country; it was red, and soft like a maggot. In the morning we found ourselves studded all over with deep crimson spots, from which it would appear that there is much venom in the bite of this disgusting animal. A traveller in these countries, however much the thought may shock him at first, must make up his mind to be constantly covered with lice and fleas; we kill every day from ten to twenty of these gentry, which are always to be found on every mat or cushion used in the country. These nauseous visitors seldom get into the head, but crawl about your shirt and clothes. Every native you see is covered with them, and if you ask why they have such a plentiful store, while we are comparatively so little attacked, they tell you "it is the curse of God on them." The other day I cut my foot, and our Arab Seys (who has accompanied us all the way from Yaffa), and is a very cleanly person, washing himself constantly, tore off a small piece of the sleeve of his shirt to apply to the wound; the piece was about three inches long, by two wide, and before using it, I killed on it three lice and two fleas! This will speak more strongly than all I can say on the subject. Bugs are also very plentiful; in Egypt our rooms were full of them.

*March 1.*—The greater part of our road this day was a descent, passing through a beautiful and wild country covered with shrubs of various descriptions, and occasionally crossing valleys and rivulets. About four miles from Safot there is a picturesque cliff, the sides of which are perforated with a great number of caves, at present inhabited by goatherds; we supposed them to be ancient sepulchres, as indeed did other travellers who, from their ruined appearance, have not thought them worthy of examination; but Mr. Bankes, who leaves nothing unexplored, inspected them, and pronounced them to be only natural cavities. About eight o'clock we reached Tiberias, having travelled for two hours along the side of the lake. More pains appear to have been taken to

construct the road where it was very rocky, than in most parts of Syria which we had visited. The modern town of Tiberias is very small; it stands close to the lake of Gennesaret, and is walled round with towers equidistant from each other. At the northern extremity are the remains of the ancient town, which are distinguishable by walls and other ruined buildings, as well as by fragments of column, some of which are of beautiful red granite. South of the town are the famous hot baths of Tiberius; they consist of three mineral springs. We had no thermometer, but we found the water too hot to admit of the hand being kept in it for more than fifty seconds; we endeavoured to boil an egg in it, but without success, even though we removed the shell. Over the spring is a Turkish bath close to the lake's side, which is much resorted to, particularly by the Jews, who have also a great veneration for a Roman sepulchre, excavated in the cliff near the spot, which they say is the "Tomb of Jacob." Beyond the baths a wall runs from the lake to the mountain's side, which rather perplexed us when we were taking the measurement of the ancient walls of Tiberias; but we are now convinced that the walls of the town did not extend so far to the south, and that this wall was part of the fortifications of Vespasian's camp; indeed, Josephus places the camp in this position. The lake of Tiberias is a fine sheet of water, but the land about it has no striking features, and the scenery is altogether devoid of beauty; but it is interesting from the frequent allusions to it in the Gospels. We were lodged, as Frank travellers usually are, in the small catholic church, which is under the charge of an Arab priest; this they tell you was the house of St. Peter; but after we had been there a few days, we observed that one of the stones of the building had part of an Arabic inscription upon it, inverted, which proves it to be of much more modern origin; Dr. Clarke, however, seems to believe the assertion of the natives. We found the church so full of fleas,

that we preferred a small open court in front of it for our lodging. The natives have a saying, that "the king of the fleas has his court in Tabaria." We here lived on fish, which is most excellent; there is not much variety, but the best sort, and it is the most common, is a species of bream, equal to the finest perch. It is remarkable that there is not, at present, a single boat of any description on the lake; the fish are caught by the casting-net from the beach, a method which must yield a very small quantity compared to what would be obtained with boats. I imagine this to be the reason why fish is so dear, being sold at the same price per pound as meat. It was on this lake that the miraculous draught of fishes took place.\* There is a current throughout the whole breadth of the lake; the passage of the Jordan through it is observable by the smoothness of the surface.

*March 2.*—To-day, Mr. Banks arrived after having made a complete tour of the Hauran, and passed round the lake of Tiberias. He proposed that we should join him in a journey, which he contemplates making beyond the Jordan, and round the Dead Sea to Jerusalem; he had expressed a wish to this effect at Aleppo, and had left a letter for us at Damascus to the same purport. We have accordingly resolved to accompany him; we had totally abandoned all idea of making the tour of the Dead Sea, as a hopeless undertaking, notwithstanding we had our poor friend Burekhardt's notes to aid and assist us; Mr. Banks was, however, resolved to make the attempt alone if we could not have joined him. While he made a short visit to Safot, which he had not yet seen, we determined to inspect Om Keis (the ancient Gadara), in the country of the Gadarenes.

*March 4.*—We quitted Tiberias at eleven, and following the shore of the lake till we came to the site of the ancient Tarichea; forded the Jordan close to the ruins of a Roman bridge, a few hundred yards from the end of

the lake; and thence we passed by the village of Semmack (the Arabic for fish) at the south end of the lake, and turning to the southward, in about half an hour crossed the river Yarmack or Hieromax, a very pretty stream, tributary to the Jordan. There is here a small ancient town, but it contains nothing of interest; the map marks it "Amatha." From this point we ascended the mountains by a very steep road, and before sunset arrived at Om Keis. The natives inhabit the ancient sepulchres. We were very kindly received by the sheikh. The tomb in which we lodged was capable of containing between twenty and thirty people; it was of an oblong form, and the cattle, &c., occupied one end, while the proprietor and his family lived in the other. The walls of the ancient Gadara are easily discernible; within them the pavement of the city is still very perfect; and the traces of the chariot wheels are visible on the stones. We found the remains of a row of columns which lined the main street on either side; two theatres, in tolerable preservation, are within the walls; and without, to the northward, is the Necropolis; the sepulchres, which are all under ground, are hewn out of the rock; the doors are very massive, being cut out of immense blocks of stone; some of these are now standing, and actually turn on their hinges. The hinge is nothing but a part of the stone left projecting at each end, and let into a socket cut in the rock; the face of the doors are cut in the shape of panels. From this place we had a fine view of the lake of Tiberias.

*March 5.*—In the morning we descended to the N. E. into the plain of the Yarmack, to visit the thermal springs there; they are not so hot as those of Tiberias. One of them is inclosed by palm-trees, in a very picturesque manner; it is of great depth, and its surface is covered with a species of red moss, somewhat resembling sponge before it has been purified: this the natives told us they apply to their camels when suffering under certain cutaneous disorders. Here are

\* Luke, v. 4—9.

the ruins of a Roman bath. We found several sick persons at these springs who had come to use the waters. From this point we followed the Yarmack until we came near the place where we had crossed it the preceding evening, and returned by dusk to Tiberias. Mr. Banks having rejoined us, we employed ourselves from the 6th to the 10th in measuring the circuit of the ancient city, and in making researches in the neighbourhood. Mr. Banks had discovered a curious ancient fortification, situated to the west of Magdala. On the north side of the entrance of a ravine there is a high perpendicular cliff which, from its projecting situation and steep sides, forms a natural barrier on two sides of a triangle, the other side being defended by a wall of rough masonry, with numerous projecting turrets. Mr. Banks made a plan of it; we were two days in taking the measurements. The natives call it Callah-el-Hammam, (Castle of the Pigeons,) but we are not aware that any ancient authors mention it, or give a clue to its origin. It may possibly be the ancient "Jotapata" where Josephus was taken, and which he states to have been demolished by Vespasian. It is certainly of very ancient date—prior, Mr. Banks thinks, to the time of the Romans. The village of Erbed, in which there are a few Roman ruins, stands in a plain at the foot of the Mount Beatitude, on the opposite side of the ravine. There are some curious old convents in the side of the cliff, on the left in going from the village of Majdil (the ancient Magdala) to the Callah-el-Hammam. These convents are very singularly constructed, being excavated several stories high in the perpendicular cliff, with galleries, &c. About two miles south of Majdil are the ruins of six Roman baths; the springs are mineral, but only of a luke-warm temperature. The baths are circular, from 15 ft. to 20 ft. in diameter, inclosed with a wall about 12 ft. high within, and 6 ft. without; at present there is no apparent means of ingress or egress. Their position is very picturesque, being close to the lake, and overgrown with

shrubs, weeds, and wild flowers; the water is perfectly clear, and about 6 ft. or 7 ft. deep, with pebbles at the bottom; there are also fish sporting about in them; the spring discharges itself into the lake, subterraneously, through the wall. We swam to the Scorpion rock mentioned by Josephus, but saw no scorpions on it.

*March 10.*—In the forenoon we left Tiberias, and observed, in following the borders of the lake, one of the circular towers, with part of the wall of the ancient town on that side. We left the hot baths about noon. Drawing towards the southern extremity of the lake, we saw, on our right, at the foot of the hills, an extensive aqueduct; at the entrance are traces of the walls of Tarichea, which appears to have been situated on two eminences, one on the right of our road, and the other bordering on the lower end of the lake, by the Jordan; this latter appears to have been artificially surrounded by water on the other sides. The Jordan winds extremely here, but has little current. The ruins of the Roman bridge which we saw in going to Om Keis, had ten arches: from this point the road continues through rather a naked country, with occasional views of the river. About 3 o'clock we came to a khan near a bridge; and, an hour's ride beyond this, we observed, by the roadside, a Roman mile-stone, but there were only two or three letters distinctly visible on it. Farther on, the pavement of the ancient road is perceivable, and about two miles from Byzan we saw a sarcophagus, on the brow of a slight eminence on the right of the road; here we crossed a small stream, and ascended to Byzan about dusk. During the latter part of this day's journey we remarked a great number of Arab camps. Byzan is supposed to be the Bethshan of Scripture, afterwards called Scythopolis, the largest city of the Decapolis, and the only one that side of the Jordan. It was to the wall of Bethshan that the body of Saul was fastened after he was slain.\*

*March 11.*—This day we employe-

\* 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

ourselves in inspecting the ruins. The most interesting is the theatre, the walls of which can be distinctly traced, although every part of it is completely filled with weeds. It measures across the front about 180 ft., and is remarkable as having those oval recesses half way up the theatre, mentioned by Vitruvius as being constructed to contain the brass sounding tubes. We had never seen these in any other ancient theatre, and we were, at the time, quite at a loss to conjecture to what use they were applied. There are seven of these cells, and Vitruvius mentions, that even in his day very few theatres had them. We were very careful to take a correct plan of this theatre, attending to every minute particular.

We found twenty-four skulls and numerous bones in one of the most concealed vomitories; in one of the skulls a viper was basking, with his body twisted through the sockets of the eyes, presenting a good subject for a moralist. At this place the tombs lie to the N. E. of the Acropolis, without the walls; the sarcophagi remain in some of them; we here found niches of a triangular shape, for the lamps; some of the doors were still hanging on the ancient hinges of stone, and in remarkable preservation. Two streams run through the ruins of the city, almost insulating the Acropolis; there is a fine Roman bridge over the one to the S. W.; beyond it may be seen the paved way which led to the ancient Ptolemais, now Acre. The plains extend in this direction to the sea-coast, without any intervening mountains. On the other side, a little below where the streams unite, the walls of the town cross the rivulet in a singular manner; a high arch in the centre, with a smaller one on each end, appear to have formed a bridge, and the wall of the city was continued along its edge. It would seem as if there had been a grating across the centre arch; the outer part of the two smaller arches was walled up. On the hill near this bridge the ruins of one of the gates of the city are very distinguishable, and amongst the remains are prostrate

columns of Corinthian architecture. The Acropolis is a high circular hill, on the top of which are the traces of the walls which encompassed it. The people are a fanatical set.

*March 12.*—At eight o'clock in the morning we left Bysan. Near the town are the ruins of many subterranean granaries. Taking guides from an Arab camp to show us the proper place for fording the Jordan, we reached its banks in one hour and twenty minutes. They are very prettily wooded, although the more distant parts of the plains are quit: destitute of trees. Near the ford, about half a mile to the south, is a tomb called "Sheikh Daoud," standing on a round hill resembling a barrow. The stream of the Jordan is here much swifter than in the part near the lake of Tiberias. The water at the ford reached above the bellies of the horses. The breadth of the river we found to be 140 feet. We bathed here. From the Jordan we turned to the right of the path to see Tabathat Falakil, which we reached in about half an hour. Here the ruins of a modern village stand on a hill, bearing E.S.E. from the Acropolis of Bysan; and in a plain to the west of it are the ruins of a square building, with a semicircular end, which appears to have been surrounded by columns. On the east and south sides of the hill are considerable ruins of some ancient city which must have been of great extent. The situation is beautiful, being on the side of a ravine, with a picturesque stream running at the bottom. As this place appears to be as ancient as Scythopolis, and full two-thirds of its size, it seems unaccountable that history should not mention a town so near "the principal city of the Decapolis" as this is. We searched for inscriptions, but in vain. The ruins of a fine temple are situated near the water-side, and amongst the columns are found the three orders of architecture, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The river passing to the south falls into the Jordan. Crossing the rivulet, and following a path to the southward, we entered a small plain very thickly

covered with herbage, particularly the mustard plant, which reached as high as our horses' heads. To the eastward we observed several excavations in the side of the hills. These are probably the Necropolis, for there are several tombs in this direction, resembling those at Bysan and Om Keis. Finding no path, we re-crossed the rivulet, and proceeding to the north rejoined the track from the Jordan, which we had originally quitted to visit Tabathat Fahkil; from this point we began to ascend, passing occasionally over hill and vale, well wooded, the country gradually increasing in beauty. On our left we saw the spot where Elijah was fed by the ravens.\* There are many villages in this direction.

*March 13.*—We slept at Hallawye. In the morning we continued our route, and passed through some most beautiful woodland scenery, with the gall oak, wild olive, arbutus, &c. &c., in great luxuriance, and a variety of wild flowers, such as the cyclamen, crimson anemone, &c., on a rich soil. We arrived, in three hours, at a village called Cafringee, situated at the southern extremity of the valley of Adjeloun.† There are sufficient fragments amongst the rubbish and buildings of Cafringee to show that there was once a Roman town or some large edifice on the spot. We remained here about an hour, and then sending our baggage forward to the village of Adjeloun, proceeded, in company with the principal sheikh of the neighbourhood, to the Callah-el-Rubbat, which is situated, to the N.N.W., on an eminence, at an hour's distance. About half way up the hill we were shown a great cave, the most extensive one we had seen in Syria; this is, probably, the "cave of Makkedah," in which the five kings were discovered, and afterwards buried.‡ The Callah-el-Rubbat commands, by its elevated

situation, a most extensive view of the plain of the Jordan, the lakes Asphaltes and Tiberias, and a vast tract of country in every direction. Indeed, for several days we had this castle constantly in view from every quarter. Unfortunately, the weather was too hazy to admit of our profiting much by our lofty situation. We fully examined every part of the castle; it is entirely of Turkish architecture, and has an Arabic inscription in one of the centre stones. The building is constructed out of the rock, which has been excavated to form the moat round it; there are some tanks near the castle.

On descending to the village of Adjeloun, we found, in the court of an old mosque, a Roman mile-stone, and in the building itself, several fragments of Roman sculpture. The next day, half an hour after quitting Adjeloun, we passed through the village of Eugen; here are some Roman tombs, and two sarcophagi cut in the rock. From Eugen the road led through a narrow and picturesque valley with a fine view of the Callah-el-Rubbat behind us. This vale opened into a plain, whence the road passes through a woody, uneven country, extremely beautiful. We here observed several arbutus of great beauty and unusual dimensions; the trunk of one was about 6 ft. in circumference. In some instances the Valonia oak and arbutus andrachne were growing grafted together, probably from the acorn or berry of the one having dropped into some crack, in the stem of the other, and there taken root. The Roman road is discernible as you advance into a plain near Souf. We saw, likewise, three Roman mile-stones near to each other. Souf is a small village, situated on the side of a hill, about two hours and a half from Adjeloun; in the vale below it is the source of a stream which runs through the valley. At the fountain is an imperfect Greek inscription, and in the ruins of a church in the village are a mile-stone, and an altar having a Greek inscription. At 3 p.m. we went with three armed natives of Souf to Djerash. We took the shortest

\* "And the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening; and he drank of the brook." 1 Kings, xvii. 6.

† "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon: and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon." Joshua, x. 12.

‡ Joshua, x. 17—27.



road over the hills; and after taking a general view of the ruins, returned to Souf by a valley lying to the N.E. This latter road is very beautifully wooded, and runs by the side of a picturesque stream, the banks of which are covered with the oleander. We found the natives of Souf a rude set, constantly annoying us with stories about dytchmaan, or enemies, alluding to the Salhaan Arabs, who are encamped near Djerash; this was evidently done with a view to induce us to have a strong escort every time we went to Djerash; for which service they asked two piastres per man each trip. In consequence of all this, when we went again, on the 15th, to Djerash, we took with us the sheikh and ten of his people. We took measures of one of the temples; our escort annoying us all the time with absurd remarks on the importance of their protecting us against the Arabs. During the day two of these said Arabs arrived on horseback, armed with pikes; but they were very quiet. We returned to Souf rather early in the afternoon.

*March 16.*—It rained hard, and the natives of Souf refused to attend us any more to Djerash, going over again the old story of their terror of the dytchmaan. In the afternoon Mr. Bankes' interpreter, and the soldier who attended him as a guard, arrived with a young prince of the Benesuekher Arabs, named Ebyn Fayes, and ten of his tribe. The prince was attended by his mace-bearer; the mace was of iron, hollow, and about two feet long. All the party were well mounted and armed, and as they galloped down the hill, firing their pistols and manœuvring with their spears, they formed a curious and interesting sight. Mr. Bankes had dispatched the interpreter and soldier from Adjeloun to the Benesuekher camp, to obtain a guard to conduct us to the several places which we wished to visit, lying east of the Jordan and Dead Sea; he laid a list of the places which Burekhardt had visited, and a note of his route by Kerek and Wady Mousa, and intended to pass from the latter to the south end of the Dead Sea, and by Hebron

to Jerusalem. The interpreter, however, could only make a bargain with these people to escort us as far as Kerek, as they said they were at war with the tribes beyond that place, and could go no further. As the places beyond Kerek were the most beset with difficulties, there seemed to be little hope of performing the whole of the journey under their protection; we, however, kept them for the present, hoping if we reached Kerek with them, to pursue our journey by other means; especially as the natives of Kerek are mostly Christians, and are in the habit of making their pilgrimage to Jerusalem by the route we were anxious to take. Volney was told by the Arabs, "that there are to the S. E. of the lake Asphaltas, within three days' journey, upwards of 300 ruined towns absolutely deserted; several having large edifices with columns." This was the country of the Nabathæans, the most potent, says Josephus, of the Arabs and of the Idumæans, who, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, were almost as numerous as the Jews. Our lamented friend, Sheikh Ibrahim, states in his notes, that three days south from Kerek, in the Wady Mousa, are the ruins of Petra, the capital of the ancient Arabia Petrea. Here, to use his own expression, are wonderfully fine temples cut out of the rock, and more than 200 sepulchres. Since the death of poor Burekhardt, no European has seen this place, or indeed the others to the S. E. of the Dead Sea. Hebron is the ancient Kiriath Arba, and is said to be of higher antiquity than Memphis; to see the site of such a place, excites no ordinary degree of interest. Abraun or Hebron, is the place where Abraham died. The terms agreed on with the Arabs were, that they should conduct us safe to Kerek for 1000 piastres; most unfortunately, Mr. Bankes paid the whole of the money beforehand, and to this ill-advised step we owe all the tricks they afterwards played us.

*March 17.*—We quitted Souf with our Arab guard, and passed the day in taking further measurements at Djerash. It was here that the Arabs

induced Mr. Banks to pay *all* the money in advance, and immediately commenced a regular train of impositions and falsehoods, which in the end compelled us to leave them and to abandon the journey. In dealings with these people not a single para should ever be paid them in advance; it should be stipulated *that they are to receive nothing till they have completed their contract*. They are a cunning set, and behave well when they are kept in check in this manner; but if paid anything before hand, they continually tease you for more, and when once they have received the whole of the money they consider that you are completely in their power, and that they may do as they like with you; since Lady Hester Stanhope *spoiled the market*, by overpaying them when she went to Palmyra, few people, going to that place, have succeeded so well with them as we did; and this was certainly owing to our persisting in not paying a single para till their part of the agreement was fulfilled. In the evening we reached Katty, a village lying in a beautiful situation, to the W. N. W. of Djerash, at about an hour's distance. The Arabs here demanded money to buy provisions for themselves; we were obliged to give them 30 piastres a day.

*March 18.*—This morning we again went to Djerash, and measured the walls of the town, and the principal temple. Some of the Salhaan Arabs appearing in the distance, our Benesuckher friends galloped off to parley with them, and, as usual, we were again teased about the dytchmaan. We went this night, by the desire of our conductors, to a small camp of the Salhaans, although they had been continually calling them their enemies; it lay one hour and a half to the S. E. of Djerash. On the way they tried to persuade Mr. Banks to give a horse to the Salhaans; this request was made in a valley about half an hour distant from the camp, and was propounded in a very *mysterious* manner; on his refusing they at first stopped, and said they would not go on, but finally conducted us to the camp, say-

ing that they would give up one of their own horses, and even went through the ceremony of parading their present before the tent we were in. We never ascertained the fact, but fully believe that it was a mere attempt to rob us of one of our horses.

*March 19.*—We went in the morning to examine a place called Reashy, but found nothing there of interest. The Benesuckher Arabs refused to go to Djerash, excusing themselves by saying they feared the Salhaans; we were very anxious to finish the plan of Djerash, nothing having ever been published regarding these antiquities; indeed, they were unknown to Europeans until Mr. Seetzen discovered them in 1806. I believe Mr. Banks, Sir W. Chatterton, Mr. Leslie, Sheikh Ibrahim, and Mr. Buckingham, are the only Europeans who have seen them. The Arabs were now told that Mr. Banks would give up the researches he had intended to make on the banks of the Zerka, and go to Djerash instead. We accordingly set out in that direction with three of the Arabs, the remainder proceeding with our baggage from the Salhaan camp to Katty. In our way we ascended to Nebi Hood, a village situated on the summit of a hill, S. S. E. of Djerash; the village is at present deserted; we found a Greek inscription on an altar in the court-yard of one of the houses. We were about to proceed to Djerash, when one of our three Arabs who had advanced a little in front, returned to inform us that six Salhaans were waiting near Djerash to intercept us. We accordingly returned to join some more of the Benesuckher party, after having first reconnoitred for ourselves. We soon met the remainder of our escort on their way to Katty, and therefore proceeded with them all, and had a parley with the six Salhaans, who, after some conversation, in which they said that "they wanted heads, not money," told the Benesuckhers that we had *their* permission to remain at Djerash till the afternoon of this day. Their being able to bring only six armed men to intercept us, was no great proof of their force; and our Benesuckher friends

now joined us in laughing at them. We endeavoured to finish our task at Djerash this day, but though we were at work till dark (Irby and myself measuring, and Mr. Banks drawing, copying inscriptions, &c.), we could not complete our work. In the course of the day Mr. Banks was robbed of his cap by an armed Arab, who, having concealed himself amongst the ruins of the great theatre, stole on him unperceived, while he was drawing. We passed the night at Katty; just as we arrived a grand quarrel arose between the Benesuekchers and the villagers; the scene of action was on the house tops. It is a custom of the country, that for one night travellers are provided with provisions gratis; and there is in every Turkish village a room to lodge them in. Europeans on departing generally make a present to the servants, at least equivalent to what has been consumed. I mentioned before, that we had given the Arabs thirty piastres a day for their food; these cunning fellows, however, wanted to force the villagers to feed them, although they had been there before the night of the 17th, and as the poor people had to feed the horses gratis, as well as the men, it came very hard on them. We paid for everything we got; and we assured the villagers that the Benesuekchers were provided with money to pay for all they had. This was the subject-matter of the quarrel,—battle there was none; for although there was much appearance of anger and rage, and the greatest noise and confusion imaginable, men, women, and children, being all mixed together pell-mell, nevertheless, every one was cautious to avoid coming to blows, and the affray ended to the advantage of the poor natives, the Benesuekchers retreating from the village.

*March 20.*—We went in the morning to Djerash to finish our operations; a very singular circumstance here took place. Mr. Banks' soldier from Damascus, whom he had always found very useful and attached, had within the last two or three days very much altered his manner and conduct, and

exhibited strong proofs of fear, both in words and actions; on our way to Djerash he told us frequently that the Arabs would strip us of everything, and while Mr. Banks was taking a copy of an inscription near the north gate of the city, the soldier very slowly, without making any further observations, walked off, and was never seen by us again. On the preceding evening he said he had received information of some Damascus troops having arrived at a town a few hours' distant, and asked permission to depart in the night to procure their protection for us; however, he did not then go, as the villagers persuaded him to the contrary; we, of course, imagined that this was his object in setting off, and, that finding the report false, he had returned to Damascus. Two spy-glasses were found missing, which Mr. Banks had brought with him, for presents; we did not, however, suspect the soldier of any roguery in this respect, although he certainly took the interpreter's gun, leaving his own, which was worse. The theft, however, we afterwards heard was proved against him; the Arabs denied having taken the telescopes. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before we had completed our operations at Djerash. It has been a splendid city, built on two sides of a valley, with a fine stream running through it; the situation is beautiful. The town was principally composed of two main streets, crossing each other in the centre at right angles, as at Antioch. The streets were lined with a double row of columns, some of which are Ionic and some Corinthian. The pavement is exceedingly good, and there is an elevated space on each side for foot passengers; the marks of the chariot wheels are visible in many parts of the streets. Djerash, supposed to be either Pella or Gerasa, but in some respects answering to neither, can boast of more public edifices than any other city we have seen. There are two theatres, two grand temples,—one, as appears by a Greek inscription, dedicated to the sun, like that at Palmyra, and not unlike that edifice, being constructed in the centre of an

immense double peristyle court. The columns of the temple are five feet in diameter, and of a proportionate height; the capitals are Corinthian, and well executed. One singularity in this edifice is a chamber under ground, below the principal hall of the temple, with a bath in the centre. Five or six smaller temples are scattered about the town; and a magnificent Ionic oval space, of 309 feet long, adds greatly to the beauty of the ruins. The scene of the larger theatre is singularly perfect; there are two grand baths, and two bridges crossing the valley and river. The temples, and both the theatres, are built of marble, but not of a very fine sort. Three hundred yards from the south-west gate is the circus, or stadium, and near it the triumphal arch. The cemetery surrounds the city, but the sarcophagi are not very highly finished; upwards of two hundred and thirty columns are now standing in the city. To the north-east, about 200 yards from the walls, are a very large reservoir for water, and a picturesque tomb fronted by four Corinthian columns; near which is an aqueduct. There are numerous inscriptions in all directions, chiefly of the time of Antoninus Pius; most of them are much mutilated. The Greek inscription, before alluded to, was on the propyleum of the Temple of the Sun, which must have been a grand piece of architecture. The city has three entrances, with richly ornamented gateways; and the remains of the wall, with its occasional towers, are in wonderful preservation. On the whole, we considered Djerash to be a much finer mass of ruins than Palmyra.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, having completed our operations, we set out in a south-west direction for Szalt. In an hour and twenty minutes we crossed the Zerka, a small stream winding prettily in a narrow valley; there are the ruins of a small building on the front of the hills near the ford. Ascending from the rivulet, we passed the sites of some small towns, possessing nothing of interest; and at five in the evening we arrived at a camp of the Salhaans, where we passed the night.

*March 21.*—This morning we proceeded, but coming to a cross-road, the Benesuckhers said they could not reach Szalt that day, but would conduct us to a camp of their own; although we knew that Szalt could be only a few hours distant. We positively insisted upon their escorting us to Szalt, which, after much altercation, they said they would do, if we would give two hundred piastres to each of the sheikhs of Szalt, Heshbon, and Kerek, and also to themselves five days' advance of the thirty piastres a day. All this we positively refused, excepting the thirty for to-day; and, after further discussion, the Benesuckhers endeavouring by their threats to frighten us into a compliance with their demands, the dispute ended by our going to Szalt, accompanied by the prime minister (as we termed him) of the young prince, the chief of the party. The minister is a very great rogue; he is not an Arab born: we thought he had much the appearance of a Levantine, of European extraction.

It was he who put every bad idea into the minds of the prince, and the rest of the Arabs, who were mostly very young men, and not so well versed as himself in the art of cheating. We did not succeed in getting to Szalt, until the interpreter, and the Arab Seys who took care of our horses, frightened by the threats and gesticulations of our escort, had given the Arabs sixty piastres, of which we told them they must themselves be the losers. The prince and his party now quitted us for their own camp, as they said they could not enter Szalt, being at war with the inhabitants. We crossed over some small hills into a spacious valley called Bayga, in which are the ruins of a large square cyclopean building, perhaps a fortress: on quitting which, we ascended to the westward over some rugged rocks, and thence descended into some picturesque valleys most beautifully wooded. From these valleys we traversed some more barren soil, and again descending, passed on the left some vineyards, inclosed with stone walls; whence turning to the right, we had the first view of Szalt, not

ten minutes distant from us. The castle is situated on the top of a hill, on the sides of which is the village, nearly surrounded by a valley and by high hills, forming a very picturesque object. The neighbourhood abounds in vineyards and olives. We found the finest raisins here that we had seen in Syria. The inhabitants of Szalt are numerous, and more than one-third of them are Christians. We arrived wet through. The people showed us great attention, drying our clothes before the fire. We first went to the travellers' room, but were soon after conducted to the house of a Christian. The weather continued bad the whole of the next day, but on the 23rd became fairer. In consequence of the treachery of the Arabs, we wished to be quit of them, and, if possible, to get the natives of Szalt to conduct us to Kerek. The *prime minister* made some extravagant demands; however, he was paid up to the day, and told that his services and those of his comrades were no longer wanted. He now tried all he could to induce us to consent to go to their camp, but this would have been a very imprudent course to have taken. Finding that he could not, either by good or bad words, prevail on us to go, he went off in a huff, saying, that his companions would take care that we did not stir from Szalt until we consented to his scheme. To show how little we feared these threats, we took a walk of two hours, and returned in the evening. Some of the Mahomedan natives of Szalt insulted us on our return. We wished next day to go to Amana, but the son of the sheikh of the town told us his father was gone to the Arabs, and that nothing could be done till his return.

*March 21.*—This morning the sheikh's son and five other guards accompanied us to visit some places in the neighbourhood. The first was a village called Athan, situated two hours distant to the N.N.W. There is a ruined village here. We saw no remains of antiquity; but in ascending from it, we observed some sarcophagi cut out of the rock. We afterwards went to a place called Gilhad Gilhood,

said by the natives to be the birth-place of the prophet Elijah. There here two old tombs; one of them has been used as a Christian chapel; also some sarcophagi cut out of the rock, and other antique remains. We visited, in all, five ruined villages, which serve at least to show that the country lying five or six miles to the north of Szalt, was once more populous than it is at present. Szalt has been thought to be the ancient Amathus, but we are more inclined to believe it to be Machærus, where John the Baptist was beheaded. The country in general is extremely beautiful and woody. On our return to the town we found a black messenger from the Benesuckher prince, inviting us to go to his camp and adjust our differences; but we had determined, if the natives of Szalt refused to conduct us to Kerek, to cross the Jordan on the following day, and proceed to Jerusalem, where we could adopt other measures for carrying our plans into execution.

*March 29.*—In the morning, at nine o'clock, we quitted Szalt, in the middle of a great dispute amongst the natives, whether they should or should not deliver us up to the Arabs. The tops of all the houses were covered with women and children to see the result of the fray. On quitting the house, our interpreter was missing, and after some delay, we found him concealed behind the door, crying bitterly. The first person we met was the *prime minister*, whom we had not seen since the 23rd. He was in company with the black, and another Benesuckher Arab; and mounting their horses they immediately joined us, and endeavoured all in their power to persuade us to go the wrong road; in which they were joined by all the Turkish natives of the place, who kept bawling to us that we were going wrong. Fortunately, when walking out one day, we had made inquiries, and had discovered the right road to Jerusalem; which, in spite of all their remonstrances, we accordingly took. The plan of the *prime minister* was, doubtless, to lead us to the Arabs' camp, and there detain us until they had got what they

wanted. As we ascended the hill, followed by the Arabs, we soon got a view of the Dead Sea, the neighbourhood of Jericho, and the plain of the Jordan. We had given out that our intention was to pass through Jericho on our way to Jerusalem; but having deviated from the right path shortly after we began to descend, we thought of passing on to Byzan. One of the Arabs quitted us on the brow of the hill; and when they saw that we had ceased to keep the road to Jericho, the black man went also. Both departed, no doubt, to give information to the prince and his party of the track we had taken. A little after mid-day, when we had nearly descended to the plain, to the minister's surprise and vexation, we turned short off to the ford of the Jordan, which we saw in the distance, and quitted him, notwithstanding his numerous remonstrances. Indeed had we continued long in the track we were going, we should soon have been amongst some of the Bene-sueker camps, as we had shortly before passed five or six small camps, but of what tribe we did not know. We now pushed straight for the Jordan, and reached its banks about two o'clock. At the foot of the mountains we observed some singular, and certainly very ancient tombs, composed of great rough stones, resembling what is called "Kitt's Cotty House," in Kent. They were built of two long stones, for sides, with one at each end, and a small door in front, mostly facing to the north. This door was cut in the stone. All were of rough stones apparently not hewn, but found in huge flakes, such as are still seen about the spot: over the whole was laid an immense flat piece projecting both at the sides and ends. What rendered these tombs more remarkable was, that the interior was not long enough for a corpse, being only 5 ft.: both the front and back stones being considerably within the ends of the side ones. There were about twenty-seven of these tombs, very irregularly situated. The plain, about half way from the foot of the mountains, is tolerably level, but barren; it then be-

comes very rugged, consisting of hills, vales, and deep chasms, in a dry saltish soil, of a very white appearance. This continues to within a quarter of a mile of the river's bank; whence the rest is a rich, flat plain to the margin of the river, which is at the bottom of a deep ravine, beautifully wooded, and so overgrown, that the stream is not seen till you are close to it. The Calah-el-Rubbat bore N.E. half N. from the ford. Hereabouts it would be interesting to search for the twelve stones erected by the Israelites to commemorate their passing the river.\* The water was too high for us to make the search; and, indeed, we were not sufficiently at our ease, with the idea of the Arabs being in chase of us. We were detained till nearly three o'clock before we could cross the river, which we were surprised to find very much swollen. An Arab, on horseback, arrived shortly after us, and as he had no baggage, was well mounted, and likely to be acquainted with the ford, we requested him to cross first, that we might profit by his example: but, like the peasants on Mount Lebanon, he refused to lead the way. We therefore crossed one at a time, the others, from an eminence on the banks, directing his progress. The stream was exceedingly rapid, and so deep, that we were obliged to swim our horses, which, as they had our fire-arms and our baggage, as well as ourselves on their backs, was no easy task. We all got completely wet through, and our papers, pocket-books, &c., were totally spoiled. From the river we pursued a direction W.N.W. for two hours, into a rich valley: there was no road or track. On the right we passed a great cave with an artificial door. A labourer misinformed us, and directed us up the dry course of a torrent in search of a village. After vainly wandering about till dark, we came to the termination of the valley, and saw no signs of any path or habitation. Heavy rain came on, with thunder and lightning,

\* "And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood; and they are there unto this day." Joshua, iv. 9.

and we were glad to take shelter for the night in a cave used occasionally by the shepherds.

*March 26.*—At day-light we were forced to retrace our steps, and return to the valley we had left, which we found was called Wady Zeit (Oil Valley); in it is a village called Agrarba, which we did not see. On entering Wady Zeit, the peasants all came out, armed with six muskets and their instruments of agriculture. Seeing a mounted party, issuing out of an uninhabited valley, so early in the morning, they had mistaken us for Bedouins. We obtained a guide for Nablous. From these people we learnt that the Arabs had crossed the Jordan the preceding evening in chase of us, and not being able to get any information, had returned to the other side of the river. We, therefore, owe our escape to the circumstance of having lost our way. We observed that this rich valley ends abruptly at the foot of the hills to the westward. We followed the principal road, which led us out by a ravine, to the S. W., and continuing in this track till about 11 o'clock, we crossed over the hills to the westward. About half an hour after mid-day we reached the village of Bait Forage, situated by the side of a rich extensive plain, having six other villages on its borders, many olive-yards, and much corn. We were glad to get some breakfast here, after a twenty-eight hours' fast, with the exception of a few dirty raisins, which we found in the bottom of one of our hourges. We remained till 2 o'clock, and then proceeded for Nablous, about two hours distant. In twenty minutes we arrived at a ruined village, called Kaffer Baiter, around which are several old Roman tombs and tanks. In one of the tombs, the mouth of which was closed with rubbish, we found some dead bodies concealed. Thence we went to Nablous, the road leading us by Jacob's Well, a short distance from which, a valley, in a southern direction, unites with that in which stand Bait Forage and the six other villages. Maundrell says, these rich valleys are supposed to be "the portion of land

given by Jacob to his son Joseph." Nablous is the ancient Sychem. We went to the summit of Mount Gerizim, and found the ruins of a large town, with a tank, near a conspicuous tomb.

On the 28th of *March* we quitted Nablous, and reached Jerusalem the next day. For an excellent description of Nablous, and also of all the objects of interest at Jerusalem, I must refer the reader to Maundrell. We took his book in our pockets, and visited every place which he mentions, most of them three different times. Once by ourselves, once as ciceroni to Lord Belmore and his family, and once with Mr. Legh, the gentleman who has published his *Journey in Nubia*. . . We have been to Bethlehem and St. John's, visited the Holy Sepulchre at the Greek Easter, and saw the celebrated trick of the holy fire, &c.

*May 1.*—After staying for more than a month at Jerusalem, we started for the Jordan with all the pilgrims, escorted by the governor and a body of troops. The sight was most impressive. The immense number of Christians, from all quarters, the various costumes of the Greeks, the Copts from Egypt, the Abyssinians from Ethiopia: some of the pilgrims on camels, with double cradles on their backs; some on mules, also with cradles; some on horses; some on asses; in all amounting to about 5000, presented a most curious and interesting scene, winding amongst the hills, in a line as far as the eye could reach, and sometimes through different openings in the mountains, appearing in two or three divisions. In the evening we arrived at the camp near Jericho. We could trace no remains of the Hippodrome which Josephus places here.

*May 2.*—At two this morning we started by torch-light for the Jordan, which we reached at 7 A.M. Here we found the pilgrims bathing in the river, men, women, and children, all mixed together. They immersed their clothes in the river, gathered boughs off the trees, and filled bottles with the water to take home, in commemoration of their pilgrimage. We went, attended by two Arabs, to the Dead Sea, and

bathed in it; the water was bitter and buoyant. Those of our party who could not swim, floated on the surface like corks; on dipping the head in, the eyes smarted dreadfully, and we were much surprised to observe, on coming out of the lake, that the water did not evaporate from the body, as is the case on emerging from fresh water, but adhered to the skin, and was greasy to the touch. At night we returned to Jerusalem.

We propose starting to-morrow with two Arabs to make the tour of the Dead Sea, and search for the sites of the cities that are known to have stood that direction. Our party will consist of Messrs. Legh and Bankes, with their attendants, and Captain Irby and myself. We have plenty of arms, and shall muster altogether eleven persons, including two Arabs. The trip will probably take us about three weeks. We have all dressed ourselves as Arabs of the desert, to excite less observation.

Lord and Lady Belmore and their party have been here about three weeks. They came from Cairo by land, having taken the same route as we did. Their party is very strong, and they had the brother of a famous Arab chief to protect them. They are all now attiring themselves as Arabs, and are going to visit Baalbec, Damaseus, &c., after which they embark in his lordship's yacht for Europe. The friars of the convent had a serious dispute in the Holy Sepulchre the day before yesterday. They were performing one of their ceremonies, when the Greeks attacked them, wounding several of them. There has been much disputing before the governor in consequence, and a Tartar has been sent with their complaints to Constantinople. In Maundrell's time there was a similar fray between the Greeks and Latins, and the jealousy has existed ever since. A rather singular adventure befel us while at Jerusalem. There is amongst the sepulchres, which travellers have designated as "the Tombs of the Kings," an excavated vault with an oblong portico. The only visible entrance to this vault is at one end of the

portico, while from its construction there is every reason to suppose that a corresponding entrance would be found at the other end, which is now filled with rubbish. Mr. Bankes was so thoroughly convinced of this, that when at Constantinople he used every exertion, but in vain, to procure a firman authorising him to excavate and ascertain the fact. We now endeavoured to obtain permission from the governor of Jerusalem to dig there, but without success. As we could not procure legal authority, we determined on prosecuting the undertaking secretly in the night, and accordingly purchased privately some pickaxes and other implements. Late in the evening we quitted the town, singly, and from different gates, to avoid suspicion; and assembling at the rendezvous after dark, found that we mustered a party of ten persons, viz., Messrs. Bankes and Legh, Captain Corry, and ourselves, together with five servants, including two of Lord Belmore's sailors, whom his lordship had allowed to join us. We divided our party into two watches, and worked hard four hours at a time during the whole night, digging and clearing away the rubbish. We were obliged to station one of the servants as a sentinel near the road side, to apprise us of the approach of any one. In the morning we had removed the rubbish to a depth of about 10 ft., when we came to an immense block of stone, apparently in the very spot where we expected to find the entrance to the tomb. As we were unable to move this mass, we returned to the city, pretty well fatigued, having been obliged, for want of spades, to clear away the rubbish with our hands. The next day Captain Corry, Mr. Bankes, and Mahomet his janissary, acting on the suggestion of Lord Belmore, succeeded in breaking the stone by heating it, and then pouring cold vinegar on it; but, unfortunately, shortly after this was done, our proceedings were discovered by some Turks, and reported to the governor, who put a very effectual stop to our researches, by ordering the whole of the portico to be walled in.



## CHAPTER VII.

## A TOUR TO PETRA AND THE DEAD SEA.

Difficulties attending our proposed Visit to Petra—Our Party—Our assumed Names and Costumes—Departure from Jerusalem—The Mountain of the Franks—The Labyrinth—Tekoa—Hebron—Its Governor—Difficulty in obtaining a Guide—Jellaheen Arabs—Plain of the Dead Sea—Salt Hills—Singular Trees and Plants—Favourable Reception by the Ghormays—Beautiful Geological Specimens—Stopped by Arabs—The Castle of Kerek—Description of Kerek—Christian Church—Reception at Kerek—Sheikh Yousouf—His openness of Character—Departure from Kerek—The Wakabees—Mahannah—Mote—Ruins at Bettrass—The Wady-el-Ahsa—Ruined Temple—Gharundel—Volcanic Mountains—Shobek—Abon Raschid—His Dispute with the Sheikh of Wady Mousa, who refuses to permit our Advance—Noble conduct of Abon Raschid—View of Wady Mousa—Conferences of the Rival Chiefs—Preparations for Hostilities—Reinforcement from Kerek—Hindi—Failure of Negotiations—The Enemy suddenly withdraw their opposition.

GREAT were the obstacles which presented themselves, and innumerable the difficulties which we had to surmount before we could commence our journey to Petra. It had for some time been the wish of Mr. Banks to undertake this tour, as the only two Europeans who had ever been either at Kerek or Wady Mousa (Valley of Moses or Petra) were both dead, viz., Sheikh Ibrahim and Mr. Seetzen. Both these indefatigable travellers performed this journey alone and in disguise, and were consequently obliged to conceal their papers, and make all their observations by stealth, which must necessarily have rendered their remarks very brief and cursory, compared to what they would have been had the writers been unrestrained. Seetzen travelled as an Arab, calling himself Moosa, but never got so far as Petra.

Although we are of opinion that Mr. Banks could not have succeeded in accomplishing this journey without his junction with Mr. Legh and ourselves, still he has the merit of being the first person travelling as a European, who ever thought of extending his researches in that direction; and from his profound knowledge of ancient history, as well as his skill in drawing, he was by far the best calculated to go on such an expedition. When Mr. Banks applied at Constantinople to have Kerek and Wady Mousa inserted in his firman, the Turkish Government returned for answer, "that they knew of no such places within the

Grand Seigneur's dominions;" but as he and Mr. Frere, the British minister, pressed the point very much, they at length referred him to the Pasha of Damascus, who, equally averse to have anything to do with the business, passed him on to the governor of Jerusalem. This latter tried all he could to dissuade us from the undertaking, though Mr. Legh gave him a handsome spy-glass to induce him to assist us. He advised us to apply to Mahommed Aga, the governor of Yaffa. The communication between Egypt and Mousa being usually through Gaza, which is under Mahommed Aga's government, it was supposed that he would have the greatest influence over the Arabs about Wady Mousa, inasmuch as he possessed the means of punishing them for any violence they might commit, either by stopping their supplies from Egypt, or by making prisoners of such of their people as came within his reach. The governor of Yaffa, however, not only evaded the affair altogether, but in order to put a stop to our journey, ordered us to return the horses which he had lent us. A second visit to the governor of Jerusalem seemed to promise as little as the preceding. We all four called on him. On this occasion, a former mottsellim, who had been twenty years in office, and was sitting with the governor, pledged his word to us that the Arabs are a most savage and treacherous race; and to prove it, added, that they think Franks' blood a good medicine for their women when sick, and

that they would make use of ours for this purpose. All that we could procure from the governor was a promise to write to the Sheikh of Kerek to apprise him of our coming. When we went with the Greek pilgrims to Jericho and the Jordan, the governor sent a man to us, whom he thought fit to call the Sheikh of Kerek, congratulating us on the obstacles to our going to that place having been overcome. This man, however, was no sheikh, and we suspect the motive of the motsellim for sending the *counterfeit*, was to obtain another present. Finding that there was no getting any of the public authorities to render us any assistance, we determined to proceed, trusting to our numbers and force, and to try our fortune with the Sheikh of Hebron. Each of the party procured a Bedouin Arab dress of the most ordinary description, and we all bought horses for the journey, except Mr. Bankes, who was already provided. Our party consisted of Mr. Legh, attended by an interpreter, a Tartar from Constantinople, and a seyes (hostler); Mr. Bankes, who had with him a soldier of the Pashia of Egypt, and ourselves with a Christian Arab servant. We had for our guides an Arab named Mahomed, who lived near Jericho, and a native of Hebron. We took the precaution of having as little baggage as possible with us, and sent the greater part to Acre with one of Mr. Legh's servants. We assumed Eastern names for the journey: Mr. Legh was called Osman; Mr. Bankes, Hallel; Captain Irby, Abdallah; and I, in remembrance of Collins' beautiful Eclogue of the Camel Driver, chose the name of Hassan. Our dress consisted of a frock and drawers of very coarse linen; the frock being fastened round the waist by a red leathern girdle, about 4 in. broad. The head-dress was a handkerchief of mixed silk and cotton, coloured with broad stripes of alternate red, green, and yellow. This was doubled into a triangular form and thrown over the head, to which it was attached by a double girdle of brown worsted rope. One corner of the handkerchief hangs down over the back of the neck the

other two cover the ears, and come down over the shoulders. When the weather is cold, the Arabs tuck up these corners under the chin, and cover the whole face with the exception of the eyes. Over all we had the woollen abba, which we had long worn, and which we procured at Yaffa. As regards arms, we had amongst us six muskets, one blunderbuss, five braces of pistols, and two sabres. Our money, consisting of small gold coins, was concealed in leathern belts round our waists next the skin.

In the evening of the 6th of May, we left Jerusalem two hours before dark, our party consisting of eleven persons, all mounted. We slept at Bethlehem.

*May 7.*—At 8 A.M. we proceeded to "Solomon's Pools," and thence down the valley towards the Mountain of the Franks, which we ascended. We found it hollow on the top, with walls round it, and four towers, all much in ruins. This post is said to have been maintained by the Franks forty years after the fall of Jerusalem. Though the place is too small ever to have contained one half the number of men which would have been requisite to make any stand in such a country; and the ruins, though they may be those of a place once defended by Franks, appear to have had an earlier origin, as the architecture seems to be Roman. From the Mount of the Franks we could see part of the Dead Sea, and Kerek on the other side of it. We took the following bearings by compass: Abou Jane, a village on the right, between Bethlehem and the Frank Mountain, West.—Bethlehem, N.W.—St. Elias, N.N.W.

We now proceeded to see the labyrinth. On approaching it, we left our horses at the ruins of a village called Hariatoon, and proceeded on foot, by the side of the cliffs on the southern side of a deep and picturesque ravine, to the mouth of the cave, which is entered by a long, winding, narrow passage, with small natural chambers or cavities on either side. We soon came to a large chamber, with natural arches of a great height; from this

chamber there were numerous passages leading in all directions, occasionally joined by others at right angles, and forming a perfect labyrinth, which our guides assured us had never been thoroughly explored, the people being afraid of losing themselves. The passages were generally four feet high, by three feet wide, and were all on the same level. We saw but few petrifications; nevertheless, the grotto was perfectly clear, and the air pure and good. In the large chamber we found some broken pottery, by which it would seem that this place had once been inhabited, probably it had served for a place of concealment. We observed a few English names written with charcoal. We now returned to the horses, and proceeded to the southward, to visit the ruins of Tekoa. They stand on a slight eminence, commanding several bursts of the Dead Sea, and cover a considerable extent. This place was built by King Rehoboam.\* We could not find the remains of any distinct temple or public edifice, though there are a few fragments of columns. From Tekoa we passed through a plain of cultivated land, and thence all the way to Hebron, through a much prettier country than that near Jerusalem, the sides of the hills being richly studded with shrubs and dwarf trees in full verdure. The prickly oak, arbutus, and Scotch fir, were most abundant. About five o'clock we passed a village called Sipheer, by the side of a well-cultivated valley. There are about nine Roman sepulchral caves near this village. From this point we crossed a rugged road into another plain, where are the ruins of a small convent, called by the Jews "the House of Abraham." We now ascended considerably, and passing between numerous vineyards, with a watch-tower in each, (some of which appeared to be very ancient,) we reached Hebron at dusk. It appears by sacred history, that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt."† Josephus makes it not only older than Zoan, or Tanais, but also

than Memphis. Here Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac died.\* We had this day passed many camps of Arabs; towards evening some of them invited us to pass the night in their tents. The Sheikh of Hebron received us very kindly. We were lodged in a small prayer-room attached to the khan; it was furnished with mats and carpets for us, and we were presently served with a beverage we never before saw in the East,—"warm rice milk with sugar." It was handed round before coffee, and in the usual small cups. The Turks of Hebron having little intercourse with Europeans, are extremely jealous of Franks, not one of whom is allowed to live in the town, and I believe very few travellers have ever visited it; in consequence we found it impossible to gain admission into the mosque, in which is said to be the "tomb of Abraham." The lower part of this building is very curious, evidently antique, being formed of great stones, some of which are upwards of twenty-five feet in length; it has sixteen pilasters on each side, and eight at either end, without capitals, excepting a sort of ornamental summit which extends along the whole building, and is a species of cornice. Above this is a continuation of modern masonry. The approach to the entrance of the edifice is by a long flight of steps between it and other ruined buildings which stand on its S.E. side. I imagine that the outside walls only inclose the court which surrounds the mosque, and are not part of the mosque itself. The town of Hebron is not of large dimensions, though its population is great. The country all round it is cultivated to a considerable extent. The streets are winding, and the houses unusually high. We visited a manufactory of glass lamps, which are exported to Egypt. We were told by the governor of Hebron, that there is a regular party of pilgrims who set out from hence every year, without any escort, depending entirely on their own strength. They arrange so as to fall in with the great Damascus hadj, near to, or at Mecca, which is at the distance of thirty days.

\* "He built even Bethlehem, and Etam, and Tekoa," 2 Chron. xi. 6.

† Numbers, xiii. 22.

\* Genesis, xxiii. 2; xlix. 31.

From a merchant of Cairo we ascertained the existence of vast ruins at Abdi, in the Desert to the south, about three days' distance.

The first evening the governor of Hebron made no difficulty about our going to Wady Mousa, and Kerek, saying, "it was an easy matter, and he would undertake it." On the seventh, however, difficulties began. We visited, after dinner, the house of the Jewish priest. There are one hundred Jewish houses in Hebron; we found their quarters excessively clean, and neatly white-washed; that of the priest was particularly so; it had a very nice divan, and commanded a fine view of the country. The Jews were very civil, and offered us letters to the places we were going to. On our return to the khan, from visiting the synagogue, Mr. Bankes presented a watch to the governor, who took it without making any remark at the time, but soon retired; shortly after a messenger arrived to say, that the motsellim was not content with his present, and had given it to the Jewish priest. Soon, however, another person made his appearance, saying, they wished to arrange the bargain for paying the guides, &c. Three hundred and fifty piastres were offered, but immediately rejected, as three thousand would have been at the first offer. After a second visit to the Jew's house, where we again found the governor, four hundred piastres were paid down, and we were to proceed the following morning. After supper, the governor called at the khan; he appeared to be shuffling a good deal, altering the order in which the different places were to be visited; but as he did not make any material change, *still placing Wady Mousa before Kerek*, we did not much care about it. He looked at all the firmans, boyourdees, &c., but did not appear to pay as much respect as is usual to the firman of the Grand Seigneur. On observing Mr. Legh's Constantinople Tartar, he said, but in a good-humoured way, that a few years ago, if a Tartar had come to Hebron, he would have had his head cut off, but that it was not so now. We requested to proceed on our journey

early in the morning, but he said that arrangements could not be made for our departure till an hour after sunrise; and soon afterwards left us.

May 8. — The governor did not make his appearance till after eight o'clock, bringing with him the three men who were to be our conductors, and the Jewish priest. He was shortly after followed by his brother, who had previously inquired in an indirect manner, why he had not received a present as well as his kinsman. Lastly came all the law officers, and heads of authorities. These, together with the motsellim, advised us to go to Kerek direct, and not to Wady Mousa. The governor, however, told the guides that there were 400 piastres for them if they chose to take us; but these people, who had, in all probability, previously received instructions to the purpose, declined conducting us. Finally, seeing there was no dealing with such people, we mounted our horses and left the town. In justice to the governor, it should be mentioned that he not only returned the 400 piastres but the watch also. When we had got outside the town we held a consultation together, and finding it impossible to proceed alone, without a guide to shew us the road, we sent into the town to say we would consent to visit Kerek, first, in the mean time we retired to a neighbouring olive-yard. Our messenger returned with word from the governor, "that he would have nothing at all to do with our concerns." A man on horseback offered to show us the road, and we accordingly proceeded with him, but had scarcely advanced half an hour, when two men came galloping and hallooing after us; upon which we stopped in a corn field, whilst we sent Mr. Bankes' soldier, Mahommed, with them into the town, as the governor wished to communicate with us; this was about mid-day. Towards two o'clock, Mahommed the Arab, who had accompanied us from Jerusalem, quitted us. About three o'clock Mahommed the soldier returned with one of the Jews, the sheikh having consented to send us to Kerek, with a

letter to Sheikh Yousouf. He likewise sent as a guide one of the Jellaheen Arabs. In return for this the motsellim demanded 300 piastres, or the watch and 200. The watch and 150 were given, as the former was of more value than they imagined. Two roublees (five piastres and a half) were given to the Jew, and he begged one for the governor's brother. A roublee is less than two shillings value.

We now proceeded. The country was *ugly* enough, but tolerably well cultivated with corn. We passed several ruined sites. One of them, which they called Ilagee, stands on a hill, and has a large square building, which appeared partly perfect. We saw another on our right, and a column which was too far off to be visited. We afterwards passed two Roman excavated tombs, with porticoes in front, not very interesting. There are two ruined sites near them, to one of which they probably belonged. About five o'clock we reached a well, where we gave our horses water, as the camp where we were to sleep was ill-provided. They called this well "Al-baid;" there are two pools. One is small with green water, the other a fountain in the rock. There is an ancient site N.W. of it, with a wall of large construction, and some good masonry. There are slanting passages cut in the rock, leading to caves which have probably served for tombs.

We reached a Jellaheen camp of thirty tents about dusk. It was situated on the summit of a hill, an unusual position, as they generally pitch their camps in valleys. The harems, or parts of each tent allotted to the women, were covered in front, and they all appeared carefully veiled. We found these people extremely poor in appearance, though they had plenty of sheep, goats, and camels. The camp was placed in a desert country, the cultivated land having ceased about the well Al-baid. We had *mu'zon* for supper, but were obliged to find our own coffee. An Arab journeyman tailor arrived, and was employed making coats of sheep-skins, which he dyed red with ochre, or some such substance.

These people said that in years of scarcity they retired to Egypt. Our course from Ilabron to this camp was in a south-easterly direction.

*May 9.*—We wished to make a bargain with the Jellaheens to conduct us to Wady Mousa. But nothing would induce them to consent. After much bargaining, they agreed to take us to Kerek, if we would give seventy-five piastres to the chief, and fifty to the five guides, who were to accompany us with muskets. Though these people had for a long time refused to accept this sum, they all, when it was agreed to, began fighting who should go. After we had descended from the camp, we offered 500 piastres if they would conduct us to Wady Mousa; but nothing could induce them to consent. They said they would not go if we would give them 5000 piastres! observing, that money was of no use to a man if he lost his life, and that the people of Wady Mousa were a treacherous and cruel race, and always attacked strangers by firing at them from rocky eminences, which concealing the hostile party gave the others no chance. Seeing that all our endeavours were fruitless, we ceased to press the subject. We left the camp about eight, and at nine we arrived at a well where we watered our horses. We remained here about half an hour and then proceeded, when our conductors began their tricks, by saying they would go no further unless we gave them 500 piastres, the sum which we had offered if they would conduct us to Wady Mousa. After much altercation, seeing that nothing would bring them to reason, we said we would go alone, which they defied us to do. We, however, left them, taking a course in the desert about S.E. by the compass, and trusting to our good fortune to meet with some Arabs or tents in our way. We had proceeded in this manner till eleven o'clock, when one of the guides appeared in the rear, waving his turban, and making all possible signs for us to stop. In about half an hour two of them joined us. We were greatly rejoiced to see these people return, but affected to be quite indif-

ferent about it, to prevent further roguery. We now proceeded a little more to the south, and about mid-day had, from a slight eminence to the left of the road, a fine view of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, together with the back-water and plain at the end of it. The lake Asphaltes appeared not to be nearly so long as is usually supposed, or as all the ancient authors have made it out to be. We now began a continued descent into a deep, barren valley, and did not get to the bottom till near five o'clock, passing with considerable difficulty over a path so rugged, barren, and full of great stones, that we were obliged to lead our horses. At last we reached the ruins of an old Turkish fort, standing on a single rock to the left of the road; to the right there is a pool of green water, fit only for horses, but of which we were glad to drink, although an old man was stripped and washing himself in the middle of it at the time. Beyond the fort, on the same side of the road, the cliff is excavated at a considerable height with loop-holes, possibly meant for a post whence a sentinel might see all passengers, and apprise those in the castle of their approach. It would appear that this was a sort of "barrier," where duties were levied on the passers-by; they call the place El Zowar. From hence we passed through a pretty, gravelly ravine, with bushes of the acacia, and a tree bearing a small stone fruit, resembling in taste a dried apple; the Arabs call it "doom," though it is a very different tree from the doom palm. About six we entered the great plain at the end of the Dead Sea; for about a quarter of an hour we passed a few bushes, but afterwards found the soil sandy and perfectly barren. On our right we had a continued hill of a sandy soil, running in a S.E. and N.W. direction towards the middle of the plain. At dark we stopped for the night in a ravine at the side of this hill, much against the wishes of our guides, who strongly urged the want of water, and the dread of the dytchmaan, as inducements to make us proceed. We collected a quantity of

wood which the Dead Sea had thrown up at high-water mark, and endeavoured to make a fire in order to bake bread, as we had flour. The wood was, however, so impregnated with salt, that all our efforts to light it were unavailing, and we contented ourselves with drinking the flour and water mixed, which, though not very palatable, served to appease our hunger. All night our guides, not being able through fear to sleep themselves, endeavoured to prevent us from sleeping by alarms of the dytchmaan. On the 10th, at the very dawn of day, we proceeded across the plain; for the first half hour we had still the sand hill on our right. We found, beside the saline appearance left by the retiring of the waters, several large fragments of clear rock-salt lying on the ground, and, on examining the hill, we found it composed partly of salt and partly of hardened sand. In many instances the salt was hanging from cliffs in clear perpendicular points, like icicles; and we observed numerous strata of that material of considerable thickness, having very little sand mixed with it. Strabo mentions, "that to the southward of the Dead Sea there are towns and cities built entirely of salt;" and although such an account seems strange, yet when we contemplated the scene before us, it did not appear very improbable. The torrents, during the rainy season, had brought down immense masses of salt, and we observed that the strata were generally in perpendicular lines. Leaving this hill, the plain opens considerably to the south, and is bounded at the distance of about eight miles by a sandy cliff, from 60 to 80 feet in height, which runs directly across and closes the valley of El-Ghor, thus forming a margin for the uttermost limits of the Dead Sea to the southward. We were told that the plain on the top of this range of cliffs continues the whole way to Mecca. It appeared to us that the mountains to the westward of the Dead Sea gradually decreased their height to the southward, while those to the eastward continued to preserve the same altitude

as far as the eye could reach, and appeared to be of a reddish colour, resembling granite. Leaving the salt hill, our track led for an hour and a half across the barren flats of the back-water, now left dry by the effects of evaporation. We passed six drains into that part more contiguous to the sea, where the water still remains; some were wet and still draining, others were dry. These had a strong marshy smell, similar to that usually arising from the muddy flats in salt water harbours, but by no means more unpleasant. I imagine this to have given rise to the reports of the ancients, as to the disagreeable smell of the waters of the Dead Sea. The water on the main body of the lake is perfectly free from any smell whatever. We now entered into a very prettily wooded country, with high rushes and marshes; leaving these, the variety of bushes and wild plants became very great, some of the latter were rare and of remarkable appearance. Occasionally we met with specimens such as none of our party had ever seen before; a botanist would have had a fine treat in this delightful spot. Amongst the trees which we knew, were various species of the acacia, and in some instances we met with the dwarf mimosa; we saw also the doom mentioned before, the tamarisk, and the plant which we saw in Nubia, and which Norden calls "the oschar." There was one curious tree which we observed in great numbers, and which bore a fruit in bunches, resembling in appearance the currant, with the colour of the plum; it has a pleasant though strong aromatic taste, resembling mustard, and, if taken in any quantity, produces a similar irritability in the nose and eyes. The leaves of this tree have the same pungent flavour as the fruit, though not so strong. We think it probable that this is the tree our Saviour alluded to in the parable of the mustard seed, and not the mustard plant, which is to be found in the north; for although in our journey from Byzan to Adjeloun we met with the mustard plant growing wild, as high as our horses' heads, still, being

an annual, it did not deserve the appellation of a tree; whereas the other is really such, and birds might easily, and actually do, take shelter under its shadow. We passed the wild cotton plant amongst an infinity of others that we neither knew how to name or describe. In about half an hour we arrived at the little river, which is marked in the map, and improperly placed as the Futlet; the people told us it was the "Nahr-el-Hussan," or horse river; there was plenty of corn cultivated in the open grounds, between the bushes. Our guide, told us not to talk, lest we should be discovered by the natives: but this was what we wanted, in order to get something to eat, the flour and water of the preceding night not having been very satisfying. We soon met some of the natives taking in the harvest; they were a wild-looking people, and wore leathern aprons reaching to the shoulders, a dress we had never before seen; they addressed us with great civility, and on our telling them we were soldiers of the Aga of Jaffa, going to Kerek, they said they wished that more would come amongst them, as they were much oppressed by the Bedouin Arabs, whom they described as a bad set of people, caring neither for God nor the saints. They took us to their bivouac in the thicket, saying that their village was some way off, and that they were only remaining here to take in the harvest. They gave us some doorn, dried and pounded into a sort of coarse meal and mixed with butter; we found it exceedingly good; about half an hour afterwards they brought us bread, butter, and milk. We were annoyed here with large horse-flies, which were in great numbers, and some of our animals were streaming with blood from their bite. We were told at Kerek, that these flies were "a plague sent by the Almighty at the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah." These people are called Ghorneys, and differ materially, both in manner and appearance, from the Arabs, as well as from the natives of the towns; they adhere to one place of abode, and cultivate the land in its

vicinity. They do not live in tents like the Arabs, but build huts of reeds, rushes, and canes; they construct their buildings contiguous to each other and form their villages in the shape of a square, with only one entrance for the cattle, which are thereby prevented from straggling, and are kept more collected for protection during the night. These people treated us very hospitably, which they would naturally do, taking us to be soldiers of so powerful a ruler as Mahommed Aga; but we never heard any other than a bad character of them ever after. Before we left them, they threshed out, with great sticks, some corn for our horses. The women commenced the labour, but as they could not work *and hide their faces* at the same time, the men dismissed them and did the work themselves. When about to take our leave, we offered them a handsome reward for what we had had, but they absolutely refused, and held out for a good quarter of an hour, notwithstanding all our entreaties; at last we threw the money amongst them, when a most furious battle took place about the mode of sharing it. We could not refrain from laughing most heartily at so odd a scene, and at eleven left them fighting and beating each other most furiously. We now crossed the Houssan; our horses, smarting from the bites of the unmerciful flies, quietly laid down in the middle of the stream, leaving us no alternative but to dismount and walk out. We proceeded along the foot of the mountains which bound the east side of the plains, and continued doing so till near five in the afternoon, our track being rugged and barren in the extreme, with innumerable fragments of red and grey granite; grey, red, and black porphyry; serpentine stone; beautiful black basalt, breccia, and many other kinds of stone scattered in every direction, all fragments from the neighbouring mountains. It may be presumed that from this neighbourhood the ancients procured materials for the numerous handsome columns which one finds in Syria, and which now adorn the Turkish baths, mosques, &c. Our two com-

panions made a collection of all the specimens they met with; some of these were beautiful, and well adapted for vases or other ornaments. We found that the chain of mountains under which we were passing was chiefly composed of sand-stone and bad marble. At five, we had reached the tongue of land which lies between the south end of the Dead Sea and its back-water, and from hence we began to ascend the hills on our right. At six we stopped in a beautiful shady ravine, watered by the river "El-Dara," whose banks are covered in profusion with the palm, acacia, aspine, and oleander, in full flower and beauty, perfuming the whole place, and rendering it a most delightful spot, particularly when contrasted with the desert appearance of the neighbourhood. I will here insert the relative distances of the principal objects we passed this day. Two hours and a half from the western cliff of the Ghor to Rahk, the first salt-water drain; half an hour to Szafye, or Ahsa, the Nahr-el-Hussan; three hours from Saphy to the Honey river, Nahr-el-Assel; from thence two hours to Mare; and two more to El-Dara, where we passed the night.

*May 7.*—This morning, shortly after the rising of the sun, we began to ascend the mountain; the road was very rugged and stony, with hardly a vestige of vegetation. The rocks were of a dark-coloured sand-stone. On our left there was a deep ravine. Three men shouted from a height, and asked where we were going to?—they had only one musket. About eight o'clock we reached a commanding point, where the road turns in its ascent; here we had an excellent bird's-eye view of the south end of the Dead Sea and the back-water. The time which we expended in taking a sketch of it, enabled the men who had hailed us to come up; two were blacks; they accosted us very roughly, and examined us attentively. They were armed; but still we were as strong as they were. Mr. Bankes, Captain Irby, and I, had only our Christian Arab servant with us,—Mr. Legh and his party having



gone on before: the strangers remained with us. As soon as the sketch was finished we began to ascend to join the rest of our party, and in our way were surprised by seeing five other men armed with muskets, peeping from behind a rock at some distance from the road; after hesitating a moment, they came forward, and questioned us as to where we were from, the place of our destination, &c. By this time we had joined Mr. Legh and the rest of the party; and having satisfied the curiosity of these people, we proceeded on our journey.

Our road now was on a sort of terrace carped out on the side of a romantic ravine. Vast fragments, each as large as an ordinarily sized house, which had been detached from the sides of the precipices, were lying below in confused heaps; some were only just cracked off, and not yet fallen. About a quarter of an hour after meeting the strangers, we came to a small pool of water, under an olive tree; here some of the same men we had left behind came up with us again, and called out loudly to us to come and eat bread with them; but as we did not like their appearance or conduct, the rest being visible in the distance, running to join their comrades, we continued our route. As we advanced, we found ourselves among corn fields with cattle grazing in the valley on our left, through which the river Souf Saffa runs towards the Dead Sea. We observed the ancient mill-courses, but the river itself was hid by the richness of the vegetation on its banks; the purple oleander was in full blossom. The castle of Kerek now opened on our view, but not any part of the town, as it lay behind the castle. The ruins of the castle on this side, that is the N.W., present two principal features; a great mass at the south angle of the town, and, more towards the north, a great building called the Seraglio of Meleh-e-daher. Between these two is the only gate of entrance on this western side. It is merely a plain, narrow arch, with an Arabic inscription over it, erected at the mouth of a natural cavern, or passage

in the rock, which leads with a winding course *through* a high ridge of the natural rock, and has thus been made to serve as the principal avenue to the fortress. The entrance thus formed has a very singular effect. High as the town is placed, it is commanded on every side. In our approach we descended a little into the narrow valley at the foot of the castle hill, where runs a stream with a narrow line of gardens on its banks, in which we observed olives, pomegranates, figs, and vegetables. The ascent from hence is steep and toilsome: we all dismounted. Entering at the cavern <sup>gate</sup> already described, we found ourselves within the walls, with the seraglio on our left hand; the houses do not come very close upon that part of the fortification, though there are ruins and foundations everywhere, seeming to announce a greater population formerly. There are also the remains of a mosque with pointed arches, and an octagonal minaret, with a band of black stone carried round it: the whole is much in ruins. Over the door-way is a pointed horse-shoe arch, like that at the khan at Bysan; and amongst the ornaments is the cup repeated several times. The houses are of one story, terrace roofed, and so constructed that the roof at the back is, in many of them, not above the level of the ground; in many instances you may pass over the houses, even on horseback, without being aware of it; some have a little court before them. The principal chamber in the best buildings has two arches thrown across it, on which rest the rafters, not squared, and very smoky. A small hole in the centre serves as a vent for the smoke; and immediately under it, in the centre of the room, is a circular hearth with a rim raised round it. In the recesses between the opening of the arches are raised platforms which serve as shelves; there are also receptacles for corn, with bung-holes, in the manner of casks, for taking it out. The walls are daubed with rude paintings in red and black: we observed particularly an attempt to represent a

horseman, and, in another instance, a kneeling camel, with a man mounting it. There is not a vestige of antique work in the castle; but, considered as Mahommedan architecture, it is good, especially at the south end, where the rock has been cut down in order to detach the ridge from the hill to which it was by nature joined. Two sides are left standing across this artificial ravine in the manner of walls. The most remarkable thing that we observed was a Christian church within the circuit of this part of the castle; it is very ill constructed with small stones; and some pillars are laid horizontally into the masonry, forming quite a contrast to the Mahommedan work, which is of large, well cut stones, laid in regular courses. This church has small narrow windows, and a circular end and arched front, resembling that at Tiberias, which is called the house of St. Peter, but which is evidently posterior to the first Mahommedan conquest, as there is an Arabic inscription built upside down into the present walls. It is probable, therefore, that both are the works of crusaders; and as Godfrey de Boulogne took Kerek, and called it Mons Regalis, it is probable he or some of his successors may have built this church. There are remains of paintings of large groups of figures on the stuccoed walls; one seems to have represented a king in armour; another the martyrdom of some saint; and there is an imperfect inscription with letters of the Gothic form. The castle seems to be more ancient than the church. We found a few remnants of antiquity; a small column of deep-coloured red granite, well polished but ill shaped; another of grey granite; and not far from it, close to a well, a great wing sculptured in basso-relievo, bearing much resemblance to those which we had seen attached to the globe in Egyptian buildings. We could form no conjecture what it originally had been; there was no trace of a globe; possibly it was the wing of a Roman eagle; its length was 7 ft., and its breadth 4. Near the mosque are three capitals, re-

sembling no regular order of architecture, but similar to some which we saw at Hamah. We found two Greek inscriptions, but neither of them interesting. The place is well supplied with water by numerous cisterns. Sheikh Yousouf was absent at a camp about half a day distant, passing the honey-moon with a young Arab wife he had just married; but we were very well received by Abdel Khader, his son. Few questions were asked, and we excited less attention than might have been expected. There was a merchant from Damascus present, and another from Hebron. The women here do not keep out of sight, nor cover their faces at all; the utmost they ever conceal is the point of the chin. We sat and conversed familiarly with several of them. We and our horses were well fed for nothing. Amongst our company was a man who represented himself as a great traveller; he had been to Tripoli, Aleppo, Mardin, and Cyprus; he had never been to Constantinople, and said he had no desire to go there, because he had heard that a man could not beat out his pipe without burning the house down; and that justice was so strictly administered, that persons ran the risk of having their heads cut off while they were talking in the streets. It was also an instance of the liberty of speech in these remote corners, in our traveller saying, "that people respected the sultan because it was their interest to do so, on account of commerce, &c.; but as to the pashas, they were no better than themselves, and that it was a degradation to stand in a humiliating posture with the head stooped, and the hands hidden, before one of them; when here, a man might roll at his ease in his own house, and stand or lie in whatever posture he pleased." Indeed, few of the people in the place appeared to know even the name of the present sultan. We were invited to dine one day at a Turk's house, and were treated to a boiled sheep, without bread, or anything but the meat itself; this custom we first observed at Szalt, and to our

great annoyance found that it was the same on the east side of the Dead Sea, &c.; not only amongst the Arabs, but in the towns and villages.

It appears that the Wahabees made an attempt on Kerek, and were encamped for several days on the heights south of the town; one of them was sent in to parley; and the inhabitants boast of having killed about forty of them, from the loop-holes of the castle, with their muskets.

*May 13.*—Towards the evening, Sheikh Yousouf arrived without his bride; he was a fine looking old man, apparently nearly sixty years of age; he had lost his front teeth, and his beard was white. Upon being told the motive of our travelling in these mountains, he asked rather roughly “whether this was the country of our fathers;” but we soon found him to be a plain, blunt honest old man, of very few words. Only one man in the town could read, and he was the Greek priest. He read to Yousouf the letter from Sheikh Eysah of Hebron, without which we have reason to think we should have had a much colder reception. It appears that the governor of Jerusalem deceived us, and never wrote to Kerek at all. We got the Greek priest to assist us in arranging the business with Yousouf, and as we had for once to deal with an honest man, we had not much trouble; for, in fact, the negotiations the next morning were hardly closed, before the horses were ordered to be in readiness. Four hundred piastres were paid down as the price of a safe conduct through several places, specified in a list, as far as Wady Mousa, to the south, and Szalt, to the north; but the old man could not undertake to free us from some incidental tributes on the road. Yousouf pledged himself to accompany us through the whole journey.

During our stay at Kerek, we saw the dowry of a young woman going to be married paid at the sheikh's house; it amounted to about one hundred piastres, in white Constantinople money. This I believe was only what she was to wear as her head ornament, as the ladies here decorate their foreheads

with dollars and different kinds of money; sometimes the coins hang down to both ears, and must be a great weight. The amount of a dowry is, in some instances, as high as four purses!

There are about as many Christian inhabitants in Kerek as Turks; the former boast of being the strongest and bravest, and are able to produce four hundred men bearing arms; they are on very good terms with the Turks, and appear to enjoy equal freedom with them. It was said, that at the time of the French invasion in 1799, there was a project for disarming the Christians and driving them out, which the present sheikh prevented. We saw, and were recognised by several of the suspicious people we had met on our road the day of our arrival; they asked us why we did not stop to eat with them? but their suspicious conduct, and the manner in which they first came upon us, looked as if they meant no good.

*May 14.*—In the afternoon we set out from Kerek to the southward; we descended into the ravine which surrounds the place, having the main body of the castle close on our right hand, the base of which is here a slanting casing of the rocks as at Homs, Aleppo, &c. Hence we passed up the side of a narrow ravine to its very end. On each side there are caverns and wrought tombs. In one of these, which had externally all the appearance of a natural grotto, we observed places for sarcophagi; it is probable that the whole is the burying-place of the ancient town. In this ravine is a spring of water, with a small Turkish building.

Here we were joined by an Arab from Djebel, who had been forced away by the Wahabees, and had lived and served with them. Almost all his fellow-townsmen had been put to death. He had been upwards of a month at Dareyah, their capital, which he described as being larger than Kerek. The houses, he said, are all built with mud, and the fortifications are formed of mud and palm trees; there are cannon on the walls, and an immense

treasure buried and concealed. He said that the Wahabees greatly prefer silver to gold, for which no reason was given. He confirmed the story of their horses being fed, at times, entirely on camel's milk. He was mounted on one of these horses, a light leggy animal, very different in appearance from those of the Arabs; he seemed to think the Wahabee sect very general, and said, jokingly, that Sheikh Yousouf was one, which the other denied with apparent horror.

We ascended into a country of downs, with verdure so close as to appear almost turf, and with corn fields at intervals; there were not many rocks, though the surface was sprinkled over with stones. In an hour and a half we reached a camp belonging to the people of Kerek, under Sheikh Ismayel, Yousouf's youngest son. After taking some leban (sour milk) and bread, we proceeded to the N.W., about a mile across some corn land, to a ruined village called Mahanna. The ruins are mostly those of ordinary buildings, but it is evident that one of them had been a Christian church. Another ruined site to the westward was called Dgellgood. The following ruined sites are visible from this point—Machad. Arti-Musshut, (which is the single building supposed to be the tomb of Abou-Taleb,) Har-nahta or Mote, Toor, Howeeh, and Marrowhieh. We now went due east for an hour to Medin, from whence we could see the following ruined sites, most of them on slight eminences—Imriega, E. by N., Hadad, Shirsee, Behlanah, Suhli, and Nehkill; in short, the whole of the fine plains in this quarter are covered with sites of towns, on every eminence or spot convenient for the construction of one; and, as all the land is capable of rich cultivation, there can be little doubt that this country, now so deserted, once presented a continued picture of plenty and fertility. Having finished our survey of the neighbouring ruins, we returned to Ismayel's camp, where we slept.

May 15.—This morning we were off before sun-rise; the same downs con-

tinued, with numerous Arab camps in various directions, the ruined sites being still visible in all directions. In about a quarter of an hour we came to the site of Hamahta or Mote, which last name, signifying death, it acquired from the circumstance of all its inhabitants having been exterminated by Abou Taleb, whose supposed tomb, "Musshut," is a building upon arches, standing in a small inclosure, less than half a mile distant to the W.S.W. Near this spot is a Roman mile-stone, inscribed in Latin, the number of miles is thirteen, but the rest of the inscription is indistinct. In about a quarter of an hour from Mote we reached the tomb of Sheikh Jaffa; here the Mahomedans of our party alighted, and entered the tomb to pray. Mahomed, the soldier, reported, that within there are two dark granite columns, well polished.

A quarter of an hour farther we reached the camp of Sheikh Sahlem, who commands, or has influence, at Djebal, and over all the country as far as Shobek. This man asked us two hundred piastres instead of thirty, which old Yousouf said was all he would require. We refused it, and Sahlem persisting, we mounted and retired to a distance. Upon our leaving the tent he expressed a wish "that we might be struck with lightning before we reached Kerek," and added, "that had not Sheikh Yousouf been present with us, he would have had our money by force." Finding, however, that he did not follow us, we sent back to offer one hundred and fifty piastres; the bargain was struck, and the money counted into his hands. He mounted his horse, and accompanied us, together with his son, a fine young man. In about half an hour he brought us to another large camp of his tribe, of thirty-three tents. Having remained here a short time, we proceeded, unattended, about two miles off, to visit the ruins of Dettrass. At the foot of the hill are many cisterns; the ruins are indistinct and of no interest, except three piles of buildings, which appear to be of Roman architecture; one was evidently a temple; the others, though

large, are so much ruined that it is impossible to ascertain what they had originally been. While we were examining these ruins, the people from the neighbouring camps flocked round us in considerable numbers, but were very civil. We returned to our camp in the evening, and observing that all the old women, and many of the young ones, had their cheeks covered with blood and scratches, we inquired the reason, when they told us they had mourned the day before for a death in one of the harems.

*May 16.*—We recovered the track which we had quitted, where it falls into a deep ravine, which has steep, rocky sides. At the extremity, where we turned out of this track to follow a more rapid descent into the Wady-el-Ahsa, we saw upon our left hand, on the height, the remains of an ancient fortress, which seems to have commanded the pass. It is of dry masonry and large stones, and is no doubt antique. They give it the name of Acoujah. As we proceeded downwards, there was on our right hand a great quantity of lava and black volcanic matter, which seem to have issued from the side of the neighbouring ridge of mountains. We presently reached the little rivulet called El-Ahsa at the bottom of the ravine. It has in some parts cut out for itself a very deep channel in the rock, and there are occasionally some small picturesque water-falls, from 10 to 15 feet in height. The oleander, as usual upon the banks of most streams in this country, was in great beauty and profusion. From hence we began to ascend a steeper acclivity than that we had come down. It is observable that the sides of this valley El-Ahsa are more destitute of verdure than the plains above. We continued our course up a slanting hollow, in which we noticed the stones gathered into heaps, and converted into fences, in a manner which seemed to denote an abandoned cultivation, and we observed a field or two of corn near a little spring. A little further, upon the point of a sort of promontory of high land that stands between the fork of

two valleys, are the ruins of a small but rich building. Little or nothing is left entire, and the fragments are lying around in confusion. There are rich arabesque borders of vines and foliage, much in the taste of Diocletian's buildings at Palmyra, or the triumphal arch. The capitals are not of any regular order, but fanciful, and loaded with ornaments. The execution is sharp and neat. The temple appears to have fronted S.S.W., and there were apparently four semicolumns attached to the front wall, 3 feet 5 inches in diameter. Amongst the fragments are pieces of columns of a smaller size. Near this there are other vestiges of buildings, but nothing that gives reason to suppose there ever was a town. The great dark mass of volcanic matter which we passed, bears from these ruins N.N.E., it is called Elabahn, which is also the name of a clear spring issuing from the rock a little south of it. There are old mill-courses in the low ground. The ascent still continued for a short distance, when we reached the level of the high plain in a S.S.W. direction. There were reapers at work, who informed us that the chief persons of the town of Djebal were encamped at no great distance. This induced our two sheikhs to turn to the southward, out of the great track, towards the encampment. At one in the afternoon we reached a camp of thirty-three tents. A feeble attempt was made here to extort money from us under pretext that the sheikh was independent. Upon our mentioning our intention of visiting their village, Djebal, which was two hours distant, objections were raised against our doing so. We therefore left it till our return. There were some specimens of volcanic stone in the valley near the camp, but not in any great quantity. Near this place we visited some uninteresting ruins called El-Ilagre. Some person in the camp secreted a spy-glass which had dropped from Mr. Bankes' pocket. After confessing that it had been found, and was in the camp, they attempted to force him to give an extravagant reward. This was

obstinately refused, and by the intervention of Sheikh Yousouf it was at length restored on the payment of two rubees.

*May 17.*—After we had set out, Daoud, a relation of the Sheikh of Kerek, missed his sword, and rode back for it, but the rogues refused to restore it to him. Passing to the southward, in about half an hour we saw the village of Bsaida about a mile distant. About and beyond this village there are hanging woods of some extent, but the trees are small and stunted. From hence, in three hours, the descent becoming more considerable as we advanced, we reached the ruins which are called Gharundel. They are situated on the slope of a hill, and their extent is very considerable. Towards the centre of the ruins are the remains of two parallel rows of columns, of which three are standing in one row, and two in the other. Their diameter is 2 feet. None have capitals. There are also, near to this spot, fragments of columns of 3 feet diameter. The capitals appear to have been of bad Doric. A spring of water runs close below these ruins from Gharundel. We passed up a valley to an Arab camp. They were Bedouins of the tribe of Hadjeyah. While we were eating with these people, there was an alarm of an enemy having made an attempt to carry off some of their flocks. The women cried out and waved their scarfs from the top of the hill. We rode up but saw nothing of the robbers. Our road was now S.W., and a white line in the desert, at a distance to the left, as far as the eye could reach, was pointed out as the hadj road to Mecca. We noticed three dark volcanic summits, very distinguishable from the sand. The lava that had streamed from them forms a sort of island in the plain. Close on the right of the road was another volcanic mount, covered with scorïæ of a reddish colour and extremely light. There was much black porous stone below it. Soon after we found an ancient Roman highway paved with black stone. The edges, and a line down the middle, were paved pretty

regularly. On the right, at intervals of about a mile and a half, are ruins of square stone buildings. In one of them there was a cistern. They were probably intended for the use of travellers. Proceeding in a direction parallel to this road, we saw towards the S.W. a large mass of ruins, called El-Gaig, they offered no objects of interest. We found three mile-stones; the last only was erect. All the inscriptions were effaced by time and the climate. From one of these stones we turned off, about a mile from the road, to examine some buildings, but found them Turkish. One had an Arabic inscription over the door, which appeared ancient. Some crosses were scrawled about the door, and these signs are three times repeated +ΛΙΙ. Seeing some Arabs in the distance to the south, we rejoined our companions, who had advanced just a Roman mile on the road, and were waiting at another mile-stone. We followed the road till we came to the edge of a deep vale. Here we deviated to the right and descended, the original road continuing straight on the height. At the S.W. end of the vale rises a hill, upon which stands "Showbec," like a gigantic mound. At its foot the ground is terraced out into gardens, and thickly planted with figs, now in full leaf. There are numerous caves in the side of the hill. Nearly at the bottom of the desert we passed a sheikh's tomb, called "Abou Soliman." Then passing a ravine, we approached the town on its N.E. side by a zig-zag path, which seems to be the only one leading to it. It appeared that almost all that side of the castle-hill by which we ascended has once been covered with buildings. Our coming seemed to excite considerable alarm amongst the natives, who stood on the walls shouting and throwing down stones. We entered at an iron gate, when the inhabitants seeing Sheikhs Yousouf and Sahlem with us, received us very civilly, some crying out, "Go and get bread and fire-wood for these poor fellows, who are come to lodge a night amongst us." We were carried up to a sort of divan, in the open air, con-

structed upon what seemed to be the ruins of a church of crusade architecture, standing due east and west. The tower of the castle has Arabic inscriptions upon it. The three doors of what we supposed to have been a church are square-topped, and the centre is under a pointed arch, and has more the air of Mahomedan than Christian architecture. We had a most extensive view from hence, comprising the whole skirts of the desert, with the volcanic hills which I have mentioned. The inhabitants brought us figs split and dried, of a green colour and delicious flavour, tasting nearly like the fresh fruit. They told us they were on the trees when the pilgrims arrived at Damascus. This was in December. We observed much kissing in the salutations. Each party generally kissed the right cheek first, once, and then the left four or five times. They evinced their good breeding in suppressing their curiosity as to the motive of our journey, whence we came, &c., though evidently labouring under the greatest anxiety to know every particular. Shortly after our arrival we had an alarm of Arabs. Thirty men with muskets immediately ran out. Others drove in the flocks in great haste. They returned in about an hour, saying, the Arabs had killed forty of their goats, but that they would find an opportunity of returning the compliment. We, however, doubted the truth of this story. The name of Showbek, or Shobek\*, occurs among those who sealed the covenant. After a diligent search for inscriptions, we found one in the architrave of the principal door. It is in Latin, and though imperfect, Mr. Bankes made so much of it out as to leave no doubt that it relates to one of the Frank kings of Jerusalem. One of their principal strongholds, somewhere in this direction, was called "Mons Regalis." This might either be Kerek or the place in question; though Miletus, extending their conquests still further, says, that this name was applied by them to Petra,

and, relying upon some passages in Diodorus Siculus, adds, that it seems to have borne that name in the historian's time. The most remarkable circumstance is, that while the interior parts of this church are in the pure Gothic style, resembling that of the same age in Europe, the ornaments of the inscribed doorway are of the genuine eastern taste, exhibiting that border of convex fluting which is common in Turkish buildings. The pointed arch itself inclines slightly inwards at the bottom, in the manner of a horse-shoe. The construction also has more of the Oriental than the Norman style. The transome, instead of consisting of a single stone, being composed of many, irregularly locked together by dove-tails and angular inequalities. In the walls, at the gates of Antioch, there are similar examples, and certainly of the time of the crusades.

May 18.—Quitting Shobek, we wound by a spiral road into the valley which surrounds it, and observed that the road had been artificially deepened, and in some parts cased with masonry. Thence we ascended to the S.W., and soon came to a brook which contributes to the watering of the gardens below Shobek, but is not the only supply. Upon the two parallel ridges, between which our road led, we noticed stones arranged in fences and gathered into heaps, denoting the boundaries of former fields and gardens; and near the spring there appeared the remains of a village. Our course continued much in the same direction, between west and S.W. for about a mile, gently ascending till we arrived at a large Arab camp, situated upon high ground, with still higher about it. Here we expected to have found the Sheikh "Mahommed Abou Raschid," that is to say, Mahommed the father of Raschid, which latter is the title he goes by. Most of the sheikhs have some denomination of this kind to distinguish them. "Mahommed Aga," for instance, is called "Abou Nabout," (the master of the mace or stick); and in Sir Sydney Smith's transactions at Acre, his principal coadjutor, the

\* Now those that sealed were . . . Halaheah, Pileha, Shobek. Nehemiah, x. 24.

pasha, was surnamed "Dgezar," which in Turkish signifies the "Cutter." Shobek, and the district about it, is commanded by Abou Raschid. He was absent, but messengers were dispatched to acquaint him with our arrival. From this camp we saw another to the southward, and beyond it a hill thinly scattered with trees. We were hospitably received. A merchant whom we had known at Hebron came in, complaining that he had been robbed of twenty-eight pieces of merchandise, which he had brought to sell amongst the Arabs, who had laid hands on the goods in their tents, and refused to give them up. At particular seasons of the year the inhabitants of these tents are in the habit of passing to Cairo, whence they carry on the charcoal trade between that city and Suez. They said it was a five days' journey from hence to Suez. In passing into Egypt they usually take the road to Gaza, though they seem to be fully aware of the shorter way; it is, therefore, only for the sake of security. At Shobek there was a small caravan which was to set out on the day of our departure; the leader of it offered to carry us to Cairo in eight days.

May 19.—About noon Abou Raschid arrived. He was a middle-sized man, with very marked features, having a dark complexion, very dark beard, black piercing eyes, and aquiline nose; his age might be about thirty. He was full of life and spirits, but a man of few words, and plain, unaffected manners. Ever since our arrival we had heard him spoken of in great raptures in the camp. Having dined with us, the Hebron merchant pleaded his cause before him, when he presently gave orders "that his goods should be restored to him." With regard to ourselves, he very soon came to terms with us, assuring us that he would willingly conduct us to Wady Mousa for nothing, for the sake of Mahommed Ali, Pasha of Egypt. Soon after a great dispute and tumult arose in the tent, Abou Zatoun (the Father of the Olives), the Sheikh of Wady Mousa, declaring, with violent gestures, and swearing "by the beard

of the prophet," and "by the honour of their women," that, we should not go forward; and seeing that, notwithstanding his violence, both Abou Raschid and ourselves were preparing our horses, he quitted the tent, uttering threats and execrations, and rode off for Wady Mousa, determined to prevent our going. All the Wady Mousa people also quitted the camp, joining in their chief's hostility, and repeatedly exclaiming, "Let the dogs go and perish if they please;" and swearing we should neither drink of their water nor pass into their territory. While this was passing, our good old friend Sheikh Yousouf's resolution was shaken, and both he and Sahlem of Djebel strongly urged us to return and give up the business, saying that all further perseverance would be fruitless. Abou Raschid twice dismounted to answer the arguments of his people, or to overcome their opposition, for they had surrounded him in numbers, imploring him to desist, and asking him "why he risked himself for the mere gratification of the curiosity of fellows who were only Christians." The sheikh seeing that all his arguments had no effect, seized his spear and sprang on his horse, exclaiming, "I have set them on their horses; let us see who will dare to stop Abou Raschid." We presently descended in a S.W. direction, through a ravine, whose sides, rocky as they are, have in former times been terraced and cultivated. The Wady Mousa people rode in a parallel line with us, keeping on the high ground on our left. In about half an hour (four o'clock) we reached a spring that issues from the rock, and is called Sammack. Here we were joined by a host of people, all armed, and subject to our sheikh; some were on horseback and some on foot. Sheikhs Yousouf and Sahlem still remained behind at the camp. Abou Raschid, on the coming up of his people, took an oath, "By the honour of their women," and "by the faith of a true Mussulman," that we *should* drink of the water of Wady Mousa, and go whithersoever it pleased him to carry us. Thus were the rival chiefs



pledged to completely opposite courses in regard to us. To the honour of Abou Raschid it should be said, that as yet he had not received, or even stipulated for any pecuniary or other reward whatever. As we advanced down the ravine, a wild and romantic view opened to us, terminated by the peaks of the black and rugged ridge of Mount Hor, the same that is alluded to in Scripture, and by a boundless extent of desert, which we have hardly ever seen equalled for singularity and grandeur. We turned up out of this valley to the eastward, and remarked as we quitted it, that there were two small masses of ruins upon the two opposite points which command it: they were, probably, forts. Our road through a circular plain, covered with corn, and bushes of whitethorn just coming into blossom, conducted us to a valley with the sides prettily studded with turpentine trees, so clustered and grouped together as to give it a very park-like appearance. Here we perceived traces of a paved way, constructed similarly to that we had quitted when we were descending into Shobek. We supposed it to be a continuation of the same. At sun-set we alighted at a camp of sixty-eight tents, pitched in three adjoining circles, on the highest point of a pass. Our whole journey this day was S.W. The pass just mentioned was not between two mountains, but over the highest summit of one of them, great part of these heights being so steep as to be almost inaccessible, except by the beaten tracks. One of these precipices was close to our camp to the westward: it commands a most magnificent view, in which the foreground is a circular, but uneven hollow, in part cultivated, with several circular camps pitched in different parts of it; and the little village of Dibdeba, with a grove of fig-trees about it, bearing S.W. The dark ridge of Mount Hor, which appears to be altogether composed of a sort of sparry flint, broken into masses and seamed with wide crevices, with scarcely any verdure to vary its deep purple colour, forms the boundary of this hollow to the southward, and also, to the west-

ward, that high peak, upon which is the reputed tomb of Aaron, (the Arabs call it Nebi Aaroon, Prophet Aaron) rearing itself above all the rest in the middle of the picture. This craggy ridge does not, however, terminate the landscape, the mountain from which we viewed it being considerably higher, and commanding an almost boundless view beyond it, over an expanse of country of a whitish hue, which is varied here and there with other coloured ridges rising like islands upon it, or jutting forward into it like promontories. The violent rains of the night of the 21st and 22d supplied the feature of water to this varied landscape, forming a glittering line in the distant plain. S.W. by S., as far as the eye could reach, is a range of mountains, in which the natives pointed out Mount Sinai. We were told it was at the distance of four days. They also reported "Agaba," an inhabited place on the Red Sea, as distant a day and a half from us; and Maln on the hadj road one day off. A place which the Arabs call Gereye was likewise mentioned as being four days to the eastward, or S.E., where are very extensive ruins. In front of our tent there was an ancient road. No remains can be traced of pavement, but merely two parallel lines of low, dry wall, set at the distance of about 25 ft. apart.

*May 20.*—We followed the road in its passage downwards to the S.W. for half an hour, when we reached another camp, subject, in some measure, to our chief. We had passed over the sites of two others abandoned by the adverse party during the night. These sites are always distinguishable by the fires and bed-places of the Arabs; the former are marked by little holes filled up with ashes, the latter by stones laid in oblong circles, with dried heath and dead boughs laid on them.

An eminence, nearly S.W. of this last camp, commanded a view over Wady Mousa, bearing south; it seemed an inconsiderable village, in a low situation, with a few fig-trees about it. Nebi Aaroon, and Dibdeba, were also visible from this point, but we were admonished to go to the brow of the preci-

pice, only one at a time, and were afterwards prohibited to do so at all. There were some very strange looking people in this camp, some of the men having long hair of a tawny colour, plaited in small plaits, very much in the Nubian manner, but without grease, and a handkerchief of a brown colour, instead of the usual gaudy stripes, confined, in lieu of the plain cord, by a brown, flat band, worked in with patches of coloured woollen, and standing up above the head. Their sandals, which, however, are not peculiar to them, as we had observed them in many other instances, are simple, having a thong coming up on each side of the foot from the sole, and another between the toes ; a single tie fastens them on. The women had a singular way of plaiting their braided hair across the forehead, which had the air of a formal wig. The female children had the same leathern aprons, ornamented with shells, &c., which are common in Nubia.

From the break of day we had been apprised that the adverse party were fully prepared to stand to their word in opposing us ; that they had removed several of their camps, and that a large party of them had abandoned their village of Wady Mousa to occupy a height which commanded it. We could see the tents which they had pitched there, as the distance from our advanced camp was very moderate: they had also moved their cattle with them. Messages, sometimes of persuasion, but oftener of defiance, were continually passing. A small detachment of the hostile party passed our tents, but refused to eat in them. They were suffered to go on unmolested. In the afternoon a large deputation arrived, sufficient to fill the whole tent. A conference immediately commenced. The deputies never personally appealed to us ; but carried on the conversation with Abou Raschid only. It was in vain that the authority of the sultan, or of the pashas, was dwelt upon in our favour. They got rid of the firmans, by insisting that they did not understand Turkish ; and when a boyourdi of Sali, pasha of Damascus, was placed

in their hands, they said it was a fabrication of the Jews, who are the pasha's ministers. Not argument only, but even artifice and falsehood were employed in our favour ; our friend Abou Raschid asserting that we had with us a person on the part of Soliman, pasha of Acre, (our servant was the person whom he pointed out as such,) and a letter from the governor of Yaffa ; which, although we might easily have procured it, we were not provided with. The adverse party, in some of their conferences, insisted much on seeing something under the hand of the last-mentioned governor, whose recommendation, we have reason to think, would have gone farther in this country than that of any other person. It was, however, in this instance only captiously asked for, on the presumption that we had it not to produce.

Abou Raschid urged repeatedly, that in the event of their not complying, we could use our influence with the several pashas to cut off their communication entirely, with Mahn, Gaza, and Egypt ; and he insisted upon our taking down the names of the refractory chiefs, which were, Abou Zatoun (Father of the Olives), Sheikh of Wady Mousa, and commanding the Howettatt Arabs ; Kali Phee, of the same place ; Lehad-dineh Hinde, and the adherents of Ebn Jarzee, although he, himself, was rather disposed to our side. Our champion advised us, in the presence of these people, to instigate Mahomed Ali to lay hands on some of them whenever they should come to trade at Cairo. These people said on their first coming, "that we were very lucky in the protection of the chief who accompanied us, for otherwise we should never have returned." They pretended to believe that we had a design of poisoning the water.

In the evening there was a very violent thunder-storm ; and as all that could be said or threatened seemed to have no effect upon our opponents, and as there was neither food for us, nor forage for the horses in the tents, we returned, and slept at the same camp as on the preceding night. It was the full of the moon, a dismal cold

rain came on, which, for the space of two or three hours, penetrated the covering of our tent, and until a trench was dug along the inside of the back curtain, it flowed in upon us from the high ground; the goats and sheep were continually encroaching, and at last even a cow walked in.

May 21.—A thick fog prevailed, so that the opposite side of our camp was not visible. We heard very noisy councils in the adjoining tents, and it was soon after announced to us, that "war was positively determined on," as the only alternative of our not being permitted to see what we had desired, and to drink of the water. Messengers were dispatched to the camps, under Abou Raschid's influence, and to Shobek, to apprise them of the circumstance, and to request immediate reinforcements. The presence of Sheikh Yousouf and Sahlem was also required. A poor woman, in the other half of our tent, was looking over the partition with her child in her arms, shedding tears occasionally, and throwing in arguments of dissuasion. It was in vain that we agreed to give up Wady Mousa altogether, and declared that we had no desire to taste of the water. The antiquities, which are distant from the village, being the only object of our curiosity; but our chief stood always to his point, and declared that we should not only see the place, but *even bathe* in the waters; and, that if fair means could not compass this, he had sworn to accomplish it by force.

The messages which arrived in the course of the morning from the opposite party, were only a renewal of protestations and oaths against our entering their territory; and they even threw out menaces of cutting off our return from the place where we then were. Thus situated, we could not but compare our case to that of the Israelites under Moses, when Edom refused to give them a passage through her country.\* The circumstance must likewise have occurred nearly in the same place, as the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor† was now before us. About

mid-day, when the weather was somewhat clearer, we perceived a number of armed men, some mounted, coming up the valley from the north-eastward. The horsemen were Sheikhs Yousouf and Sahlem, with their own attendants, and some few others with lances. The infantry followed, with their matchlocks and muskets, to the amount of upwards of sixty. They drew up into something like a line near the camp, and approached it shouting, the women answering with their usual screams of exultation from the tents, *lee, lee, lee, lee, &c.*, for they were not suffered to stand exposed in the way, and such as had come out were rudely warned back into their tents by the men. The Sheikhs of Kerek and Djebel were conducted, each by separate openings, into the camp, to the tents allotted to them. We found them dispirited and discomposed at what had happened, and at the consequences which were likely to ensue. They reminded us of their having dissuaded us from pressing the matter any further at the camp where we had last parted; and in their conferences with Abou Raschid, gave him such advice as might be expected from persons of their years. Old Yousouf, particularly, like Nestor in the Iliad, dwelt much upon what had passed in his youth, and upon the wars in which he had engaged and had found reason, when too late, to repent of. He spoke with a great deal of grave action; but his counsels had more effect upon the rest of his audience, than on the spirited young Arab to whom they were addressed, who continued stanch in his determination of waging war, and could not be induced even to shift his ground so far as to confine his demands in our favour to the sight of the antiquities only; strenuously persisting that, as we had put ourselves under his protection, we should go wherever he was pleased to carry us.

A deputation arrived from the enemy, and the old sheikhs tried every argument that experience could suggest to induce them to permit us to go forward. They were denounced as rebels in the case of non-compliance,

\* Numbers, xx. 14--22.

† Ibid. 28.

and the consequences were painted in the strongest colours. No effect was produced by these conferences. Our party was continually gaining strength by armed persons dropping in from various directions until night. The reinforcements were distributed amongst the different tents, and rations were refused to such as had not brought muskets or spears. The camp now began to assume a very warlike appearance. The spears stuck in the sand, the saddled horses before the tents, with the arms hanging up within, altogether had an imposing effect.\* Perceiving that such a concourse of strangers must impoverish the camp, we begged to be permitted to pay for our food and that of our horses, but Abou Raschid would not hear of it. All was freely given to us, and our animals had abundance.

One circumstance seemed to turn in our favour. Hindi, an Arab chief of very poor and ordinary appearance, and almost blind, was represented to us as a man of great power and influence, who could command two thousand muskets: and though this was probably an exaggeration, yet from the effect which his interference appears to have had in the sequel, it seems probable that he was a chieftain of considerable power. He had been upon ill terms with Abou Raschid; yet from the time of our first conference with him at the advanced camp, he had seemed disposed to favour our views, and to dissuade the hostile party from their obstinate opposition. He professed great respect for the written orders of the Turkish government. On the other hand, it was said that there was a strong party among his adherents inclined to prevent his co-operation. However, towards the evening of this day, he made a solemn peace with our chief, and passed into the enemy's quarters, with the intention of bringing all his men to act in concert with Mahommed Abou Raschid, in open war against them, in case of their persisting to oppose us. Some

communication was also made by letter, but in whose name we did not learn. The answer was expected, but did not arrive this night. Towards dark there went a rumour throughout the camp, that our opponents had given in, and that we should be at liberty on the morrow to go where we pleased. We laid down with this impression on our minds, and it was pretty general throughout the camp. Our chief seemed proud of matters having been brought to a favourable end so soon, and said exultingly, "that there were some who had the talent of carrying their point with saying very little, while others who made a great noise were obliged to give way, and behave like cattle."

The same dismal weather continued. About midnight there was a cry of thieves in the camp, and it was found that they were very quietly sitting at our fire; but as there were some of our people not yet asleep, we lost nothing. In the morning we heard that two spies had also been detected in the camp, but it did not appear that any further measures had been pursued against them than their dismissal.

*May 22.*—The fog was thicker than ever. We were surprised to find that this weather was not deemed unusual or out of season. It was now announced to us that the men of Wady Mousa did not adhere to their agreement, but in the plainest terms had declared, "that they would oppose us by main force, and that we should pay with our lives for any attempt that we should make to advance within their limits." It appeared that they had even thrown up some sort of fortification about the well. Upon our declaring that we did not wish matters to be pushed to extremities, and would willingly confine our desires to the sight of the antiquities only, Abou Raschid would hardly listen to the bearer of the message, and scarcely came to see us during the whole day. Armed reinforcements in small numbers were continually dropping in.

In this predicament we found ourselves on the morning of the 23rd. The

\* "And behold Saul lay sleeping within the trench, and his spear stuck in the ground."  
1 Samuel, xviii. 6.

result of Hindi's declaration was expected with impatience, and almost every one seemed to think that it must have great weight with the enemy. We, however, heard that their party had also had an accession of two neighbouring tribes of Arabs who had declared against us. To-day old Yousouf was unusually eloquent in our favour, giving out that we were believers in Mahommed, and that our only motive in wishing to advance was to pay our devotions at Aaron's tomb; thus giving a very plausible turn to the motive of our journey. When asked if we were of the true faith, he always replied "they are English." He recapitulated the list of the documents with which we were furnished; roundly asserting that we had recommendations from Yaffa and Egypt, though he knew that we had them not, and he attached much importance to the presence of our soldier and Tartar from Constantinople. He mentioned all the places we had visited in the country, particularly Palmyra and Szalt; adding that this was the first time we had been stopped. True to the character of an old chieftain, he dwelt again on the events of wars that had happened in his early days. His object was to carry matters by fair means, if possible, and to restrain the impetuosity of Abou Raschid, whom he warned of the usual effects of hasty measures, and, for the first time, alluded to an old grudge which the people of Wady Mousa bore towards him, on account of the fate of three or four of their fellow townsmen whom he had beheaded at Kerek. The tone, however, of old Yousouf was considerably changed, and he seemed not altogether so adverse to hostilities as he had hitherto been. He said, "I, too, could bring out the men of Kerek;" and he spoke of their numbers and courage, but he did not pledge himself to bring them out.

In the course of this morning it had been discovered that one of the ruins which we were in quest of was in sight from our mountain. It proved to be that which we called the palace; it was discernible through a narrow strait formed by two craggy cliffs, which

gave it a very picturesque appearance. By following the brow of the mountain, we gained a sight also of the theatre cut out of the rock, and of several of the tombs. Though they were at a considerable distance, we could make them out pretty well with the help of a spy-glass. This sight was a great encouragement to us, as it appeared possible to reach the spot without passing at all near the enemy's quarters; and we began to concert among ourselves some means of getting there secretly in the night, should all other expedients fail.

While we were deliberating on this subject, we saw a great cavalcade entering our camp from the southward. There were many mounted Arabs with lances, and we observed that there were some amongst the horsemen who wore richer turbans, and of more gaudy colours, than is usual amongst Bedouins or peasants. As the procession advanced, several of Abou Raschid's Arabs went out, and led the horses of the chiefs by the bridles into the camp. The whole procession alighted at the tent of our chief, and kissed his turban; this was the signal of pacification. Peace was immediately proclaimed throughout the camp, and notice was given that the men bearing arms who had come from a distance, many of whom had joined us that very morning, were to return to their respective homes.

Our late opponents were now willing to consent to our setting out that afternoon, but by the general wish it was deferred until the next day. We heard music and singing in several of the tents. One of the chiefs of the party who had been adverse to us, came very shortly to pay us a visit; amongst other things, he said in his excuse that he had misconceived the object of our journey, having supposed us Frenchmen who came with a design of poisoning the water. They dissembled the real motive of their change of conduct, which there can be little doubt was fear, and imputed their concessions entirely to their respect for the sultan and the pashas. To make the matter more formal, there came with them a

person who was in the employ of the Pasha of Damascus, with two attendants, to read and examine our papers. It proved, however, that he was wholly unacquainted with the Turkish language, and in consequence confined himself entirely to the boyourdees of the two pashas, which he declared to be satisfactory and sufficient, although, in point of fact, they were altogether foreign to the question, being addressed to persons and places in quite a different part of the country. This man, in recompense for this favourable decision, attempted in the course of the evening to lay claim to some remuneration, but Yousouf fought off his pretensions, by asserting, that for his own part he had not seen the colour of our gold, which was so far true, that the four hundred piastres were deposited

in the hands of the Greek priest at Kerek.

In the evening we were visited by Abou Raschid, who was in high spirits; the weather had been considerably clearer, but it was still much colder than might have been expected at this season of the year. During the day we had explored the high land to the eastward of the camp, and found it covered, upon both its sides and on its summit, with lines of dry wall, and solid masses of masonry. These walls appeared to have inclosed cultivated grounds: the solid ruins seemed to be only the remains of towers for watching in harvest and vintage time. The whole neighbourhood of this spot bears similar traces of former industry, all which seem to indicate the vicinity of a great metropolis.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Wady Mousa—Encampment of the Inhabitants—The Necropolis of Petra—Remarkable Tombs—Narrowness of the Valley—Description of the Architecture—Romantic Pass—Representation of an Altar—Scene of the Murder of thirty Pilgrims—Course of the Stream—Magnificent Temple—Singular appearance of the Rocks—Ancient Authors on Petra—Buildings in the Valley—Houses—Tombs—Visit to the Tomb of Aaron—View from the summit—Strange liberality of the Natives—Compelled to quit Petra—Parting with Abou Raschid—Locusts—Wady-el-Ahsa—Kerek—Mountains of the Franks—Start for the Dead Sea—The Ghorneys—The Oskar plant—The Dead Sea—Salt on its Shores—Lumps of Nitre and Sulphur—Absence of living Creatures—Scene in Ismayel's Tent—Optical illusion—Wady Modjeh—Country of the Amorites—Mayn—Visit to the Hot Springs—A Vapour Bath—Ebn Fayes—His violent threat—The Pools of Heshbon—Palace of Hircanus—Parting from Yousouf—His character—Djerash—The Valley of the Jordan—Tiberias—Acre—Observations on the Character and Customs of the Arabs—Arrival at Constantinople.

THE morning of the 24th May was less unfavourable than those which had preceded it. Soon after sun-rise we set out from the camp; we were in all about fifty persons, including the deputation from Wady Mousa and the men of Damascus, who had passed the night in the tents of our chief. The first part of our road was that by which we went to the advanced camp on the 20th; but before we reached that spot we turned off in an E.S.E. direction, constantly descending. We then passed into a rocky and steep defile, where the footing is extremely bad, and the passage so completely commanded from the sides, and so

obstructed by huge masses of sandstone that had rolled down from above, that it was obvious a very small force would be capable of holding it against a great superiority of numbers. Towards the lower extremity of this pass the path branched off into two roads; it had previously been whispered to us by our chief, that, without seeming to take any notice, we should let the men of Wady Mousa go their way, while we should follow one of his men, who would go forward and guide us in a different direction. When we reached the point of separation, the others, not being apprised of this determination, said all they could to induce Abou

Raschid to ascend to their tents, and even came to high words with him, but they could not prevail, he having sworn an oath, that neither we nor himself should eat or drink at their expense, or within the limits of their territory. Some few followed us for a time, hoping to persuade us to turn back with them, but before we reached the valley of Wady Mousa they had all withdrawn.

The defile brought us directly down into this valley, the name of which had become so familiar to us ; it is, at the point where we entered it, stony but cultivated, of moderate size, without much character or beauty, and runs from E. to W. A lesser hollow, sloping down to it from the southward, meets it at an angle ; at the upper end of the latter valley is the village, seen over stages of hanging fruit-grounds and gardens, which are watered by a rivulet. At the point of junction of these valleys a spring issues from the rock and forms a brook, into which the rivulet flows : to this Abou Raschid pointed, with a look of exultation, observing, "there is the water about which there has been so much contention and dispute." It flows towards the westward, and is, in point of fact, the head of the stream which Pliny has dignified with the name of a river. We approached no nearer to the village than this point, but as the distance did not exceed a quarter of a mile, we could plainly perceive that there was nothing ancient there ; that the houses were mean and ragged, and not more than forty or fifty in number. On the summit of a broad, green hill, rising above it, we could not only distinguish the large encampment to which the inhabitants had retired on the night of the 20th, but could plainly see them collected in great numbers on the brow looking down at and watching us.

Some hundred yards below this spring begin the out-skirts of the vast Necropolis of Petra. Many door-ways are visible, upon different levels, cut in the side of the mountain, which towards this part begins to assume a more rugged aspect; the most remarkable tombs stand near the road, which

follows the course of the brook. The first of these is on the right hand, and is cut in a mass of whitish rock, which is in some measure insulated and detached from the general range. The centre represents the front of a square tower, with pilasters at the corner, and with several successive bands of frieze and entablature above; two low wings project from it at right angles, and present each of them a recess, in the manner of a portico, in which are two columns, whose capitals have an affinity with the Doric order, between corresponding *antæ* ; there are, however, no triglyphs above. Three sides of a square area are thus inclosed ; the fourth has been shut in by a low wall and two colossal lions on either side of the entrance, all much decayed. The interior has been a place of sepulture for several bodies. On the front are but little niches and hollows, as if for the reception of votive offerings. Further on, upon the left, is a wide façade of rather a low proportion, loaded with ornaments in the Roman style, but in a bad taste, with an infinity of broken lines and unnecessary angles and projections, and multiplied pediments and half pediments, and pedestals set upon columns that support nothing. It has more the air of a fantastical scene in a theatre than an architectural work in stone; and for unmeaning richness, and littleness of conception, might, as Mr. Bankes observed, have been the work of Boromini himself, whose style it exactly resembles, and carries to the extreme. This remark is applicable, more or less, to every specimen of Roman design at Petra. The doorway has triglyphs over the entablature, and flowers in the metopes. The chamber within is not so large as the exterior led us to expect ; it has a broad, raised platform round three sides, on which bodies were probably disposed. Immediately over this front is another of almost equal extent, but so wholly distinct from it, that even the centres do not correspond ; the doorway has the same ornaments. The rest of the body of the design is no more than a plain front, without any other decoration than a single

moulding. Upon this are set, in a recess, four tall and taper pyramids; the effect is singular and surprising, but they combine too little with the rest of the elevation for it to be good. Our attention was the more attracted by this monument, as it presents, perhaps, the only existing example of pyramids so applied, though we read of them as placed in a similar manner on the summit of the tomb of the Maccabees, and of the Queen of Adiabene, both in the neighbouring province of Palestine. The interior of the mausoleum is of moderate size, with two sepulchral recesses upon each side, and one in form of an arched alcove at the upper end; a flight of steps leads up to the narrow terrace upon which it opens.

The sides of the valley were now becoming very precipitous and rugged, and approaching nearer and nearer to each other, so that it might rather deserve the name of a ravine, with high detached masses of rock standing up here and there in the open space. Of these the architects had availed themselves. In some instances large and lofty towers are represented in relieve on the lower part of the precipice, and the live rock is cut down on all sides, so as to make the resemblance complete. The greater number of them face the high road, but there are others which stand back in the wild nooks and recesses of the mountain. All seemed to have been sepulchral, and it was here that we first observed a species of architecture that is, perhaps, to be found nowhere else.

To erect quadrangular towers for sepulchres, seems to have been the fashion in several inland districts of the east; they abound at Palmyra, and are seen in the valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem, &c.: but the details and ornaments of these universally betray an imitation of Roman architecture, whilst at Petra they bear all the marks of a peculiar and indigenous style; their sides have generally a slight degree of that inclination inwards, which is one of the characteristics of Egyptian edifices, and they are surmounted by the Egyptian torus

and concave frieze. A very remarkable superstructure rises above as a parapet. Two corresponding flights of four or six steps are represented in relieve, ascending in opposite directions, from two points near the centre; they are connected together by a horizontal line drawn between the uppermost steps. At the angles are pilasters, which in many instances have a considerable diminution upwards; the capital is very peculiar, and appears like the rough *draft* of an unfinished Ionic capital as it comes from the quarry. It is, however, almost universal on these tombs, and may be called the *Arabian order* of architecture. An entablature and frieze, little differing from the Ionic or Corinthian, rests upon these pilasters; above that is a blank space, in the nature of a low attic, which is surmounted by the Egyptian torus and frieze, bearing the superstructure which I have described. There is one single example, near the theatre, of an upper door-way; it opens into this attic, to which there is no visible access; there may possibly, however, be some stairs in the interior; the lower door-way being unluckily choked up, we could not ascertain this. In some instances there are as many as four pilasters in the front, which are rounded instead of being angular. The part least peculiar in the details of these Arabian elevations, is the decorations of the door-ways, which have in many instances a pediment not distinguishable from those of Roman buildings, and in others a plain horizontal architrave with the same sort of mouldings. It is remarkable, that in very many instances the whole frame and ornament of the door has been of separate pieces, and *grafted* on upon the solid rock. Sometimes there are cavities for pegs or rivets, which would seem to have fastened decorations in metal or in wood; in others they seem to have been of marble or some fine sort of stone, let into grooves, which shew, in the hollow, their exact form. We were at a loss to account for the apparent conformity of this single portion of the building to the rules of the Greek and Roman



architecture ; it seems too strong to be accidental ; and if we suppose the imitation to have taken place so far back as the first Macedonian expedition into this country, it will still make the tombs more recent, by many ages, than it is probable that many of them really are ; since, from the days of Rekem, King of the Midianites, who passes for the founder of Petra, to those of Alexander the Great, there must have been a long line of kings, and these monarchs probably had excavated tombs. Yet if this form of the door-ways be considered sufficient to prove them decidedly posterior to that period, it is so general, that few, if any of the larger sort will remain for that early dynasty. If we bring them still later, and suppose them a Roman innovation, the difficulty is increased, because we must then believe a much greater lapse of ages to have passed in a flourishing kingdom, without any considerable monuments, although architecture was not unknown. It is possible such of the door frames as were not cut in the solid rock, may have been added afterwards, but this does not appear very probable, nor does it entirely remove the difficulty ; especially, as in some instances in the higher parts of the design, broad bands seem to have been attached in a similar manner, which very probably bore inscriptions.

It is surprising, amongst such a multitude of tombs, to find so few with any inscription recording for whom they were constructed. We only met with two instances ; one was on the tomb, near the theatre already described ; it is much mutilated ; the other, which we copied, is on the left hand side of the track leading towards Dibdebar, on a large front of pure Arabian design, with four attached columns. In this monument, the architect, from failure, or a defective vein in the sand-stone, has been obliged to carry up the lower part in masonry, so as to meet the upper, which is sculptured on the face of the mountain ; in this part, also, there were flaws, and pieces have been let in to make up what was defective ; these last remain, but the whole sub-

structure has disappeared entirely, and the upper part is left hanging from the rock above, without any base whatever. This is not the only proof that is to be found, among the remains at Petra, that those who wrought on the rock, contrary to the necessary practice of builders, began their work at the top. To return to the inscription ; it is upon an oblong tablet, without frame or relief, but is distinguished from the rest of the surface by being more delicately wrought ; there project, from each of its ends, those wings in form of the blade of an axe, which are common both in the Roman and Greek tablets, and which would seem to have been intended originally to receive screws or fastenings, without encroaching on the part inscribed. Although the whole tablet is in the solid rock, there is upon each side a stain of metal caused by studs of bronze driven in, to give the whole tablet the appearance of a separate piece. The letters are well cut, and in a wonderful state of preservation, owing to the shelter which they receive from the projection of cornices, and an eastern aspect. None of our party had ever seen these characters before, excepting Mr. Bankes, who, upon comparing them, found them to be exactly similar to those which he had seen scratched on the rocks in the Wady Makootub, and about the foot of Mount Sinai. He subsequently found a passage in Diodorus Siculus, wherein he speaks of a letter written by the Nabathæi of Petra, to Antigonus, in the *Syriac character* ; though this, perhaps, is no proof that the Syriac was in use with them, since they may have chosen that language only, as more familiar to the court they were addressing. The tablet has five long lines, and immediately underneath a single figure of a larger size, probably the date ; the same occurs at the bottom of the Hebrew characters on the tomb of Aaron. The interior of the tomb on which this tablet is placed, has two chambers, with recesses for bodies, but no peculiarity worthy of notice ; the front is crowned with a double flight of steps in the usual form. In many instances, in lieu of two flights

diverging from each other, they are brought to meet in the form of pyramids, being reduced to a much smaller scale, and repeated in the manner of battlements, to the number of three, or five, with the half of one at each extremity.

We have preferred collecting into one view, the most remarkable features of these tombs, before we advance further, without confining ourselves strictly to those which are met with in the approach from Wady Mousa to the city, in order to generalise the description, and avoid interrupting the narrative by alluding to them as they present themselves, which they do, not only in every avenue to the city, and upon every precipice that surrounds it, but even intermixed almost promiscuously with its public and domestic edifices. As we advanced towards the eastern approach to Petra, the natural features of the defile grew more and more imposing at every step, and the excavations and sculpture more frequent on both sides, till it becomes at last a continued street of tombs, beyond which the rocks gradually approaching each other, seemed all at once to close without any outlet. There is, however, one frightful chasm for the passage of the stream, which furnishes, as it did anciently, the only access to Petra on this side. It is impossible to conceive anything more awful or sublime than such an approach; the width is not more than just sufficient for the passage of two horsemen abreast, the sides are in all parts perpendicular, varying from four hundred to seven hundred feet in height, and they often overhang to such a degree, that without their absolutely meeting, the sky is intercepted, and completely shut out for one hundred yards together, and there is little more light than in a cavern.

The screaming of the eagles, hawks, and owls, who were soaring above our heads in considerable numbers, seemingly annoyed at any one approaching their lonely habitation, added much to the singularity of this scene. The tamarisk, the wild fig, and the oleander, grow luxuriantly about the road, rendering the passage often difficult; in

some places they hang down most beautifully from the cliffs and crevices where they have taken root; the caper plant was also in luxuriant growth.

Very near the entrance into this romantic pass, a bold arch is thrown across at a great height, connecting the opposite sides of the cliff. Whether this was part of an upper road upon the summit of the mountain, or whether it be a portion of an aqueduct, which seems less probable, we had no opportunity of examining; but as the traveller passes under it, its appearance is most surprising, hanging thus above his head betwixt two rugged masses, apparently inaccessible. Immediately under it are sculptured niches in the rock, destined probably for statues; and we suspect that on careful inspection inscriptions might be found there; but the position in which they are viewed is disadvantageous, and the height so great, that it would require a good glass to distinguish them. Farther down, upon a much lower level, there is an object frequently repeated in sculpture along the road side, which we were at a loss to understand. An altar is represented in a niche, upon which is set a mass of a lumpish form, sometimes square, and sometimes curved in its outline, and rising to a sharper or obtuser cone; in one instance, three of them are placed together in one niche. It may possibly be a representation of the god *Terminus*, or perhaps one of the stones which were objects of worship amongst the Arabs, down to the time of the coming of Mahomed. The number of these representations on the face of the rock is very considerable; in some instances there are many, almost contiguous, with Greek inscriptions on them, all of which are too much defaced to explain their object. The ravine, without changing its general direction, presents so many elbows and windings in its course, that the eye can seldom penetrate forward beyond a few paces, and is often puzzled to distinguish in what direction the passage will open, so completely does it appear obstructed. The exact spot was not pointed out to us, but it is somewhere amidst these

natural horrors, that upwards of thirty pilgrims from Barbary were murdered last year, on their return from Mecca, by the men of Wady Mousa. The cloak of one of them was afterwards offered to us for sale, at Ipscyra, and one of their watches at Zaphocly. Salvator Rosa never conceived so savage and suitable a haunt for banditti. The brook has disappeared beneath the soil from the dryness of the season, but the manner in which its occasional overflows have broken up the antique pavement, and the slippery passes which the running of the waters have made, by polishing the rock where it had been cut away to form the road, sufficiently prove the necessity of providing another course for its waters. A trough, carried along near the foot of the precipice upon the left hand side, was destined to confine the water, and to convey it upon a raised level to the city. At a considerable distance down the ravine, this water-course crosses over to the opposite side; and towards its extremity may be traced, passing along at a great height in earthen pipes, bedded, and secured with mortar, in horizontal grooves cut in the face of the rock, and even across the architectural fronts of some of the tombs, which make it probable that it is of a later date.

We proceeded along this narrow passage for nearly two miles, the sides increasing in height as the path continually descended, while the tops of the precipices retained an uniform level. Where they are at the highest, a beam of stronger light breaks in at the close of the dark perspective, and opens to view, half seen at first through the tall, narrow opening, columns, statues, and cornices, of a light and finished style, and looking as if fresh from the chisel, without the tints or weather stains of age, and executed in a stone of a pale rose colour. At the moment we came in sight of them, they were illumined with the full light of the morning sun. The dark green of the shrubs that grow in this perpetual shade, and the sombre appearance of the passage from whence we were just issuing, formed a

fine contrast with the glowing colour of the edifice. We know not what to compare this scene with; perhaps there is nothing in the world that resembles it. Only a portion of a very extensive architectural elevation is seen at first; but it has been so contrived that a statue with expanded wings, perhaps of Victory, just fill the centre of the aperture in front, which being closed below by the sides of the rock folding over each other, gives to the figure the appearance of being suspended in the air at a considerable height; the ruggedness of the cliffs below setting off the sculpture to the highest advantage. The rest of the design opened gradually at every pace as we advanced, till the narrow defile which had continued thus far, without any increase of breadth, spreads on both sides into an open area of a moderate size, whose sides are by nature inaccessible, and present the same awful and romantic features as the avenues which lead to it: this opening gives admission to a great body of light from the eastward. The position is one of the most beautiful that could be imagined for the front of a great temple; and the richness and exquisite finish of the decorations offer a most remarkable contrast to the savage scenery which surrounds it.

It is very lofty, the elevation comprising two stories. In some respects the taste is not to be commended; but many of the details and ornaments, and the size and proportion of the great door-way especially, to which there are five steps of ascent from the portico, are very noble. No part is built, the whole being purely a work of excavation; and its minutest embellishments, wherever the hand of man has not purposely effaced and obliterated them, are so perfect, that it may be doubted whether any work of the ancients, excepting, perhaps, some on the banks of the Nile, have come down to our time so little injured by the lapse of ages. There is, in fact, scarcely a building of forty years' standing in England, so well preserved in the greater part of its architectural

decorations. Of the larger portions of the architecture, nothing is deficient excepting a single column of the portico; the statues are numerous and colossal. Those on either side of the portico represent, in groups, a centaur and a young man. This part of the work only is imperfect, having been mutilated, probably by the fanaticism of early Christians, or Mussulmen, directed against idolatry, and particularly against images in the human form. In the upper tier the figures are females; two are winged, and two appear to be dancing, with some instruments lifted above their heads, of which that on the left hand seems to be the Amazonian bipennis. Unfortunately, the centre figure, which was doubtless the principal one, is much defaced; and there is nothing in the ornaments that could enable us to discover to what divinity the temple has been dedicated. The principal chamber of the interior is large and remarkably lofty, but quite plain, with the exception of the door-frames and architraves, of which there are three, one at the farther end, and one at each side, all opening into small plain cells. There is also a lateral chamber, on each side, of a rude form, opening from the portico. The centre of the superstructure, which comprises the second story, is a circular elevation surrounded by columns, with a dome surmounted by an urn. This urn has not failed to excite the covetousness of the natives. We heard of it, at Jerusalem, as the deposit of a vast treasure, "*Hasuah-el-Faraoun*" (Treasure of Pharaoh; and that it has been repeatedly fired at is proved by the marks of bullets in the stone. No one, however, seems to have succeeded in reaching it by climbing, which would, indeed, be a difficult task. The green stains on either side would lead to the supposition that the handles had been of bronze. One of the perforations, caused by a musket-ball, would seem to prove that the urn is hollow. Above the monument the face of the rock is left over-hanging, and it is to this that the excellent preservation of its details is to be ascribed.

The half-pediments, which terminate the wings of the building, are finished at the top with eagles, which, combined with a style of architecture differing little from the Roman, can leave no doubt that this great effort of art is posterior to the time of Trajan's conquest.

Some of the heights, whose steep sides inclose the area in front of the temple, are rendered accessible, though with great difficulty, by flights of steps cut in them. We found the ascent, in some instances, so steep and slippery that we were obliged to take off our shoes, and to use our hands nearly as much as we did our feet. Some small pyramids hewn out of the rock are on the summit of these heights; and we discovered a much higher conical point of mountain, to whose summit there is a regular spiral staircase cut with great care and neatness; 't is the same peak, possibly, as that on which we saw, from another point of view, a single pillar, or obelisk. We first observed, also, from the heights above the temple, the great vase which crowns another monument to the N.W.

The wide space which constitutes the area before the temple is about 50 yards in width, and about three times as long. It terminates to the south in a wild precipitous cliff, rendered accessible by the steps above-mentioned to the N.N.W. The defile assumes, for about 300 yards, the same features which characterise the eastern approach, with an infinite variety of tombs, both Arabian and Roman, on either side. This pass conducts to the theatre, and here the ruins of the city burst on the view in their full grandeur, shut in on the opposite side by barren, craggy precipices, from which numerous ravines and valleys like those we had passed, branch out in all directions. The sides of the mountains, covered with an endless variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings,\* presented altogether the most singular scene we ever beheld; and we despair of being

\* "() thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock!" Jer. xlix. 16.

able to give the reader an idea of the singular effect of rocks, tinted with most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with Nature in her most savage and romantic form, whilst their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades and pediments, and ranges of corridors sculptured on the perpendicular surface.

The short notice of Petra, by Pliny, is as follows: "The Nabatæi inhabit a city called Petra, in a hollow somewhat less than two miles in circumference, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream running through it. It is distant from the town of Gaza, on the coast, six hundred miles; and from the Persian Gulf one hundred and twenty-two." Book vi. c. 23, Strabo says, "The capital of the Nabatæi is called Petra; it lies in a spot which is in itself level and plain, but fortified all round with a barrier of rocks and precipices, within, furnished with springs of excellent quality for the supply of water and the irrigation of gardens; without the circuit, the country is in a great measure desert, and especially towards Judea. Jericho is at the distance of three or four days." He adds, that one of the royal lineage always resided at Petra, and had a sort of counsellor attached to him who was entitled his brother; he describes their laws and customs.

It will be seen that these two ancient geographers, in characterising the position of the city, not only agree with one another, but are sufficiently correct in their statements; though, strictly speaking, the situation can neither be called a valley with Pliny, nor a plain with Strabo; yet it is certainly both low in position and level in surface, when compared with the crags and precipices that surround it. It is an area in the bosom of a mountain, swelling into mounds and intersected with gullies; but the whole ground is of such a nature as may be conveniently built upon, and has neither ascent nor descent inconveniently steep. Within the actual circuit of the city there are two mounds, which seem to have been entirely

covered with buildings, being still strewed over with a prodigious quantity of loose stones, tiles, and fragments of ancient ware, of a very light and delicate fabric. The bed of the river, taking its course to the N.W., flows between these two spots; the water has now sunk beneath the surface, and perhaps creeps through the rubbish which ages have accumulated in its bed; great part of it seems to have been arched over in the same manner as the stream at Philadelphia. Some of the principal edifices seem to have been on the low ground at the left bank of the stream. The first, to the N.W. from the theatre, was an archway of a very florid architecture, with pilasters, having panels enriched with foliage, in the manner of Palmyra: the whole is much ruined. This arch was the introduction to a great pile of building, standing nearly at right angles to it. The building had a door on one side; on the three others, it was decorated with a frieze of triglyphs, and large flowers in the metopes. Beams of wood are let in, at intervals, between the courses of the masonry, and continue, to this day, a strong proof of the dryness of the climate. The front had a portico of four columns. This part is much fallen into ruins. The interior of the edifice was divided into three parallel chambers, and there seem to have been several stories. This interior arrangement made us suspect that it was not a temple, but rather a palace or some private edifice. Whatever may have been its nature, it seems to have been intended for the same purpose as the ruined building at "Bait-el-Carm," which we afterwards saw from our camp above Dibdebar, and which is the only considerable work of masonry existing at Petra. Upon the summit of the other mound there is a mass of ruins of some solidity, but no very definite shape. The Nubian geographer says that the houses of Petra were excavated in the rock; now, that this was not universally true is evident, from the great quantity of stones employed for the lesser kind of edifices, which are scattered over the whole site; but it is

also true, that there are grottoes in great numbers, which were certainly not sepulchral, especially near the palace; there is one in particular which presents a front of four windows, with a large and lofty door-way in the centre. In the interior, one chamber of about 60 ft. in length, and of a breadth proportioned, extends across three of the windows and the door; at the lower end, the fourth window seems allotted to a very small sleeping chamber, which is not brought down to the level of the floor of the great apartment, but has a chamber below it of the same size, receiving no light but from the entrance. This, which seems the most important of all the excavated residences, has no ornament whatever on the exterior; and the same observation applies to all the other excavations of this nature. The access to this house is by a shelf gained out of the side of the mountain;\* other inferior habitations open upon it, and more particularly an oven, and some cisterns. These antique dwellings are close to an angle of the mountain, where the bed of the stream, after having traversed the city, passes again into a narrow defile, along steep sides of which a sort of excavated suburb is continued, of very small and mean chambers, set one above another, without much regularity, like so many pigeon-holes in the rock, with flights of steps or narrow inclined planes leading up to them. The main wall and ceiling only of some were in the solid rock; the fronts and partitions being built of very indifferent masonry with cement.

Following this defile farther down, the river re-appears, flowing with considerable rapidity. Though the water is plentiful, it is with difficulty that its course can be followed, from the luxuriance of the shrubs that surround it, obstructing every track. Besides the oleander, which is common to all the water-courses in the country, one may recognise among the plants which choke this valley, some which are

probably the descendants of those that adorned the gardens and supplied the market of the capital of Arabia; the carob, fig, mulberry, vine, and pomegranate line the river side; a very beautiful species of aloe also grows in this valley, bearing a flower of an orange hue, shaded to scarlet; in some instances it had upwards of one hundred blossoms in a bunch.

Amongst the niches for votive offerings in the mountain's side, some of which are cut to the height of 30 ft., are pyramids and obelisks; and in one instance there is an altar between two palm trees. The position of the theatre has been mentioned; it is the first object which presents itself to the traveller on entering Petra from the eastward. It is entirely hewn out of the rock; the diameter of the podium is 120 ft., the number of seats thirty-three, and of the *cunei* three. There was no break, and consequently no vomitories. The scene, unfortunately, was built, and not excavated; the whole is fallen, and the bases of four columns only remain on its interior face. The theatre is surrounded by sepulchres; every avenue leading to it is full of them, and one may safely say, that a hundred of those of the largest dimensions are visible from it; indeed, throughout almost every quarter of this metropolis, the depositories of the dead must have presented themselves constantly to the eyes of the inhabitants, and have almost outnumbered the habitations of the living. There is a long line of them not far from the theatre, at such an angle as not to be comprehended in the view from it, but forming a principal object from the city itself.

The largest of the sepulchres had originally three stories, of which the lowest presented four portals, with large columns set between them; and the second and third, a row of eighteen Ionic columns each, attached to the façade. The rock being insufficient for the total elevation, a part of the story was grafted on in masonry, and is for the most part fallen away. The four portals of the basement open into as many chambers, very dissimi-

\* "He that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock." Isaiah, xxi. 16.

lar, both in distribution and arrangements, but all sepulchral, and without any communication with each other. In one were three recesses, which seem to have been ornamented with marble, or some other extraneous material. Almost contiguous to this extensive front, is another somewhat smaller but equally rich, the design of which has a great analogy, especially in the circumstance of the half pediment and the circular lantern in the centre, to the beautiful temple of the eastern approach. Though a general symmetry pervades this piece of architecture, yet there are irregularities observable in its doors and windows, which may be explained by the circumstance of their opening into apartments no way connected with each other, and intended apparently for different families. A little further to the S.E., an area is gained upon the slope of the mountain by excavating it, so as to form three sides of a square. Two of these have been formed into Doric porticoes. The third, which is the loftiest, being that which abuts against the body of the mountain, is occupied by a lofty front, decorated with four columns of the same order, but without triglyphs. A pediment surmounts the frieze, supporting an urn, in all respects similar to that on the temple at the eastern approach. A doorway with a window over it, fills the centre, and there are three windows in the attic, the centre one of which exhibits two half-length figures in basso-relievo. In the approach to this tomb there were arched substructions of great extent, now fallen into ruins. It is surprising to reflect that monuments of so vast a scale should be executed subsequent to the Roman conquest, since after that period we can look upon them as no more than the tombs of private individuals. It is difficult to conceive whence should come so much wealth, and such a taste for magnificence after the country had lost its independence. It is possible, however, that a trade by the Red Sea with India, or even the caravan trade with the spice country, may have imported such riches into the place, as

to give the inhabitants the same fondness for ostentation and ornament as at Palmyra, which owed its wealth to the same source. Yet to consider a mausoleum of upwards of 70 or 80 feet high, with lateral porticoes, and flights of terraces upon arched work leading up to it, as resulting from the vanity of some obscure individual in a remote corner of the Roman Empire, has something in it surprising and almost unaccountable. The interior consisted of one large and lofty chamber, having six recesses, with grooves in them at the further end.

On the establishment of Christianity these six recesses have been converted into three, for the reception of the altars, and the whole apartment has been made to serve as a church. The fastenings for the tapestry and pictures are still visible in all the walls, and near an angle is an inscription in red paint, recording the date of consecration. These were the only vestiges of a Christian establishment that we were enabled to discover throughout the remains of Petra, though it was a metropolitan see.

Diodorus Siculus has a long account of the expedition sent by Antigonus against the Nabataei. He mentions that their riches were very great in gold and spices, and that such of them as were feeble and infirm were left at Petra, which he calls afterwards a place of prodigious natural strength, but without any walls; and distant two days' journey from any inhabited place. In the second expedition, it is said there was but one way of access to it, which was artificial. The loftiness of the post is afterwards mentioned. It is difficult to apply this description to Wady Mousa. Upon some of the high points of rock that rise about the skirts of the city, and tower above them, the remains of walled forts are visible from below; and as it is probable there was an acropolis, it must be looked for in some of these.

Two days were spent upon these ruins, from day-break until dusk, and yet it will be evident from what has been said, that this time was very in-

sufficient to complete an examination of them. It was impossible to remain any longer, for although Abou Raschid attended personally with us the whole time, yet having forced us to decline in so abrupt a manner to visit Abou Zetoun, and having but few attendants, he was never at his ease, and constantly urged us to depart. On the first afternoon, we undertook the ascent to the little edifice, which is visible from all the country round, being upon the very highest and most rugged pinnacle of this range of mountain, and is called "the Tomb of Aaron." The Tomb of Moses has been so grossly misplaced by the Musulmen, who shew it half a day's journey beyond Jordan to the westward, that we might look with some suspicion at that assigned to his brother, were it not that Josephus expressly says of the place of his decease, that it was near Petra.\* Comparing the name Mosera, as given by Moses, with Mousa, it seems that the monument and the ruins mutually authenticate each other. We had no doubt, therefore, that the height which we were going to ascend, is the Mount Hor of Scripture. The base of the highest pinnacle of the mountain is a little removed from the skirts of the city to

the westward. We rode to its foot over a rugged and broken track, passing in the way many sepulchres, similar to those which have been described. A singular monument presents itself upon the left hand. An obtuse cone, produced by the coils of a spiral, stands on a vast square pedestal or altar, the whole being cut out of one of the peaked summits of the rock. Not far from thence, close to the way side, and within a niche, is the same representation in relievo which we have described in speaking of the eastern approach, the form of the recess which surrounds the altar rises into the figure of a sugar-loaf. Nowhere is the extraordinary colouring of these mountains more striking than in the road to the Tomb of Aaron, where the rock sometimes presented a deep, sometimes a paler blue, and sometimes was streaked with red, or shaded off to lilac or purple; sometimes a salmon-colour was veined in wavy lines and circles, with crimson and even scarlet, so as to resemble exactly the colour of raw meat. In other places there are livid stripes of yellow or bright orange, and in some parts all the different colours were ranged side by side in parallel strata. There are portions also where the tints are paler, and some quite white, but these last seem to be soft, and not good for preserving the sculpture. It is this wonderful variety of colours observable throughout the whole range of mountains, that gives to Petra one of its most characteristic beauties. The façades of the tombs, admirably as they are sculptured, owe much of their imposing appearance to this infinite diversity of hues.

We engaged an Arab shepherd as our guide, and leaving Abou Raschid with our servants and horses, where the more difficult part of the ascent commences, we began to mount the track, which is extremely steep and toilsome, and affords but an indifferent footing. In most places the pilgrim must pick his way as he can, and frequently on his hands and knees. At the steepest points there are flights of rude steps, or inclined planes, constructed of stones laid together, and

\* "Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto Mount Hor. And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments and put them upon Eleazar his son. And Aaron died there on the top of the mount."—Numb. xx. 25, 28.

—"And the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakun, to Mosera: there Aaron died, and there he was buried."—Deut. x. 6.

"But after the army (that had so long mourned the dead sister of the general) were thus purified, he led them through the desert, into Arabia; and arriving in a place (which the Arabians account for their metropolitan city, in times past called Arce, and at this present, Petra) which is environed with a high mountain, Aaron ascended the said mountain, and Moses showed him the place where he should yield up his soul unto God; and in the sight of all the army standing on a high place, he put off his stole, and gave it to his son Eleazar, to whom, by eldership, the succession appertained; and thus, in the sight of the people, he died in that very year wherein he lost his sister, on the one hundred and thirty-third year of his age, in the month of August."—Vide Josephus's Antiquities, book iv. ch. 4.



here and there are notches cut in the rock, to receive the foot ; the impression of pilgrims' feet are scratched in the rock in many places, but without inscriptions. Much juniper grows on the mountain, almost to the very summit, and many flowering plants which we had not observed elsewhere : most of them are thorny, and some are very beautiful. On the top there is an overhanging shelf in the rock, which forms a sort of cavern ; here we found a skin of extremely bad water suspended, and a pallet of straw, with the pitcher, and the other poor utensils of the sheikh who resides here. He is a decrepit old man, who has lived in this place during the space of forty years, and occasionally encounters the fatigue of descending and re-ascending the mountain. The tomb itself is inclosed in a small building, differing not at all in external form and appearance from those of Mahomedan saints, common throughout every province of Turkey. It has probably been re-built at no remote period ; some small columns are bedded in the walls, and fragments of granite and slabs of white marble are lying about. The door is near the S.W. angle, within which is a tomb, with a pall thrown over it ; it is patched together out of fragments of stone and marble that have made part of other fabrics. Upon one of these are several short lines in the Hebrew character cut in a slovenly manner ; we had the copy which we made of them translated at Acre, and they proved to be merely the names of a Jew and his family who had scratched this record, as it is not probable that any professed Jew has visited the spot for ages past, perhaps not since the period of the Mahomedan conquest ; it may lay claim to some antiquity, and in any case is a curious appendage to the testimony of Josephus on this subject. There are rags and shreds of yarn, with glass beads and paras, left as votive offerings by the Arabs. Not far from the N.W. angle is a passage, descending by steps to a vault or grotto beneath, for we were uncertain which of the two to call it. It is covered with so thick a coat of whitewash, that

it is difficult to distinguish whether it is built or hollowed out ; but the whole is rude, ill-fashioned, and quite dark. The sheikh, who was not informed that we were Christians, a circumstance which our guide was not aware of, furnished us with a lump of butter. Towards the farther end of this dark vault lie the two corresponding leaves of an iron grating, which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb of the prophet ; they have, however, been thrown down, and we advanced so as to touch it : it was covered by a ragged pall. We were obliged to descend bare-footed, and were not without some apprehension of treading on scorpions or other reptiles.

The view from the summit of the edifice is very extensive in every direction ; and although the eye rests upon few objects, which it can clearly distinguish, an excellent idea is obtained of the general face and features of the country. The chain of Idumean mountains, which form the western shore of the Dead Sea, seems to run on to the southward, though losing considerably in their height ; they appear from this point of view barren and desolate. Below them is spread out a white sandy plain, seamed with the beds of occasional torrents, and presenting much the same features as the most desert parts of the Ghôr. Where this desert expanse approaches the foot of Mount Hôr, there arise out of it, like islands, several lower peaks and ridges of a purple colour, probably composed of the same kind of sand-stone as that of Mount Hôr itself, which, variegated as it is in its hues, presents in the distance one uniform mass of dark purple. Towards the Egyptian side there is an expanse of country, without feature, the limits of which are lost in the distance. The lofty district which we had quitted in our descent to Wady Mousa, shuts in the prospect on the S.E. side ; but there is no part of the landscape which the eye wanders over with more curiosity and delight than the crags of Mount Hôr itself, which stand up on every side in the most rugged and fantastic forms : sometimes

strangely piled one on the other, and sometimes as strangely yawning in clefts of a frightful depth. In the midst of this chaos of rocks, there rises into sight one finished work, distinguished by profuseness of ornament, and richness of detail. It is the same which has been described as visible from other elevated points, but which we were never able to arrive at; it bears N.E. half N. from this spot, but the number and intricacy of the valleys and ravines, which we hoped might have led us to it, baffled all our attempts. No guide was to be found. With the assistance of the glass we made out the façade to be larger to all appearance than that of the temple at the eastern approach, and nowise inferior to it in richness and beauty. It is hewn out of the rock, and seemed to be composed of two tiers of columns, of which the upper range is Ionic; the centre is crowned with a vase of a gigantic proportion. The whole appeared to be in a high state of preservation; it may perhaps be an ornament to the northern approach to the city, similarly situated to that on the eastern side. Petra is intercepted and concealed by the prominences of the mountains. An artist who would study rock scenery in all its wildest and most extravagant forms, and in colours, which, to one who has not seen them, could scarcely be supposed natural, would find himself rewarded should he resort to Mount Hor for that sole purpose.

We had employed just one hour in the ascent, and found that our return to the place where we had left our horses occupied the same time. As the day was closing, we were reconducted by Abou Raschid close to the palace, and from thence proceeding in a N.E. direction quitted the ruins. On leaving Petra the track rises considerably, and is slippery and dangerous. Our attention was particularly excited by remarking with how much care the scanty soil had been banked up into terraces, and disposed into fields and gardens. Every nook that could furnish room for a single plant is turned to account, proving that Strabo was

not mistaken in speaking of the horticultural advantages of this city, of which the inhabitants seem to have made the most. At present, the barren state of the country, together with the desolate condition of the city, without a single human being living near it, seem strongly to verify the judgment denounced against it.\* It appeared to have been our chief's intention to have carried us for the night to some camp at a greater distance. However, it so happened that we had scarcely quitted the district of the tombs, when we passed near a small camp, consisting of a few tents only. Two men rushing out from them with impetuosity seized our bridles, and carried us by main force to lodge with them. Before we could dismount they had contrived to loose the corn bags from behind our saddles, and were fighting with one another, disputing who should fill them. The contest was so much in earnest that the most elderly of the persons engaged was thrown down, and the corn bags which he had secured, snatched from him by force. It will hardly be credited that the object of so much contention was the furnishing necessities from their own stock gratuitously, to persons whom they had never seen before. A sheep was slain, and we supped in the usual style. Thus finished our first day's visit to the ruins of Petra.

Little more than a general survey had been taken, and that imperfectly. When we proposed returning, the principal objections that were started, were the difficulty of finding provisions for ourselves, and provender for our horses: this, however, was remedied by the purchase of a sheep on our part, together with whatever else was necessary for the ensuing day. It will appear strange to those who have had no experience in Arabian manners, that the same people who had fought with one another a few hours before, for the privilege of providing what we wanted at their own expense, from the moment that payment was talked of, and money

\* "Edom shall be a desolation." Jeremiah, xlix, 87. See also Ezekiel, xxxv. and xxxvi.

shown to them, became greedy and imposing to the highest degree, and resorted to every method of extortion that they could devise. This is, however, entirely in accordance with the Arab character. Generous, and prone to hospitality at first, and as long as there is no talk or appearance of a recompense, but from the moment it is discovered that anything can be got, they not only lose sight of liberality, but even of common honesty, and a scene of fraud, double-dealing, and extortion begins; so that, in fact, a poor man may pass better, and upon a more friendly footing, than a rich one. The result of the second day's operation has been thrown into the preceding description of Petra. We remained there till night, and took our last farewell with reluctance, leaving unexplored the great temple which we had seen from Mount Hor, the arch thrown over the chasm of the eastern entrance, the obelisk on one of the commanding heights, many of the ravines and valleys in the entrances of which were tombs, and which seemed especially worthy of examination, the insulated and conical mount with steps, the height which we supposed to have been the acropolis; and in short, enough to have employed us four days more at least, but we could not obtain a further extension of the time allotted. We returned to the same camp where we had passed the previous night.

There were great apprehensions of robbers carrying off our horses in the dark. It was said they would probably be the Annasee Arabs, who are continually lurking about in the neighbourhood; and it was reported in the morning that two fellows had been seen, but as persons were on the watch, they made no attempt to seize the horses.

*May 26.*—At day-break we quitted the camp and proceeded towards Shobek. The weather throughout the day was excessively cold. An European would find it difficult to believe, that on the 26th of May, in a latitude more southern than the Delta of Egypt, and with a wind from the westward, we should have suffered great inconve-

nience from cold. The very elevated situation we were on was in some measure the cause of this, but does not seem quite to account for it. The gusts were so violent, and the cold so bitter, that our people halted in the middle of their route for the purpose of kindling a fire. Arriving at Abou Raschid's camp, no impatience was expressed at our delay. Here we were joined by Sheikh Yousouf and Sahlem; and taking leave of Abou Raschid, who sent his mace-bearer with his iron mace, to ensure for us the same reception as if he was himself of our company, we proceeded to Shobek. We gave our intrepid friend four hundred piastres, and Mr. Legh presented him with a brass blunderbuss, having a spring bayonet, with which he was much pleased. He kissed us all at parting.

*May 27.*—In the morning we quitted Shobek. On our route this day, we passed a swarm of locusts that were resting themselves in a gully. They were in sufficient numbers to alter the appearance of the rock on which they had alighted, and to make a sort of cracking noise while eating, which we heard before we reached them (Volney compares it to the foraging of an army). Our conductors told us they were on their way to Gaza, and that they pass almost annually. In the evening we arrived at Ipseyra, sometimes called Bsaida; it is a miserable village, and the people a fanatical and surly set. We here met the man who had conducted Sheikh Ibrahim to Wady Mousa, as old Yousouf would not attend him farther than this place. He told us that Burekhardt made a very hasty survey of the ruins.

*May 28.*—We went to the tents of Sheikh Sahlem, passing on our way the village of Tafyle, and several others in the district of Djebel; most of them very picturesquely situated.

*May 29.*—In the morning we took our leave of Sheikh Sahlem. On our road we passed several shepherds' boys, who were playing on double pipes similar to some of those represented in the tombs of Egypt. We descended

into the Wady El Ahsa, and bathed in the hot spring, which the Arabs call the bath of Solomon the son of David. Crossing the deep ravine and river El-Ahsa, we entered into the district of Kerek. El-Ahsa is probably the Zared of Scripture, the boundary of the Edomites and Moabites. On our ascent from the valley of the El-Ahsa, which occupied two hours, we killed, by the road side, a black scorpion, at least four inches long. About noon we reached a camp belonging to the father of Old Yousouf's bride. He is the sheikh of a village called Khanzyre, less than a mile from the camp. The next day we proceeded to Kerek. As we entered Yousouf's quarters, the throats of three kids ranged in a line were cut before us, to celebrate our return. The people were employed bringing in the harvest. We found the sheikh's house very full of Annasee Arabs, who were come with their camels from the eastward to procure corn. They had brought a mare as a present to old Yousouf, who had not of late been on good terms with their tribe. He gave, in his turn, six camel loads of wheat and six of barley, a sword of value, and a benish for the chief. The wife of the sheikh's brother was apparently dying of a fever, in a little room which opened into the court, and which was thronged to excess. She was lying on the floor speechless, and round her were women and girls, some squatting, and others leaning over her, so thick together that they could not move without treading on one another, or on the sick person, who was hardly visible from the numbers that surrounded her. The whole multitude were uttering the most piercing and piteous cries, nearly the same as at a funeral. Old Yousouf and another male of the family were seated in silence at the lower end of the room towards the door. At our particular request, the troop of mourners were expelled, and the woman left quiet. Knowing of no other remedy, and hearing that she was weak from fasting, Mahommed, the soldier, prescribed chicken broth, upon taking which she recovered surprisingly.

To the S.W. of the castle of Kerek, about a mile distant, is a spring, the name of which is a memorial of the occupation of this country by the crusaders; it is called Ain-el-Frangee, or the Franks' Fountain.

*June 1.*—In the forenoon we set out on a journey for the purpose of examining the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, under the guidance of an old man of the family of Yousouf Magella, who made us pay him 30 piastres, under the pretence that an escort of three was necessary, at 10 piastres each. We left the town by a more easy descent than that by which we first arrived. At the bottom we fell in with a small caravan of horses and mules, who were setting out for Hebron and Jerusalem. We pursued the same road by which we had arrived at Kerek from Hebron. A spot was pointed out to us by Soliman as the scene, many years before, of the slaughter of 30 men of Kerek. We could not learn the story very distinctly, but it seemed to be the result of a civil war amongst them. It was not far from where we had ourselves been accosted by the armed men, whom we had supposed robbers, and certainly a fitter place for an attack of thieves could not easily be found. We had previously passed many camps; in one of these we were desired to observe a very large herd of cattle collected, which we were informed was a spoil just brought in from the Haouran, near Djebak-El-Druze, where they had been stolen by some men in Ismayel's employ.

As soon as we came to the pass, which commands an extensive prospect of the Dead Sea, we could observe the effect of the evaporation arising from it, in broad transparent columns of vapour, not unlike water-spouts in appearance, but very much larger. We did not deviate at all from our old route, as far as the brook Dara; here the little Hebron caravan halted for a few hours. They implored us in the most earnest manner, as we valued their safety, not to mention in the huts of the Ghorneys below, that we had seen them, as it would infallibly lead

to their being assaulted and robbed ; adding, that so small a company could seldom pass that way with safety. From this point we began to take a new course, making a pretty direct descent towards the plain of the Ghor. An open grove of the acacia and doom-tree was thinly sprinkled on the first portion of our way ; of these a great number were apparently either dead or dying, from what cause we did not learn, possibly their foliage had been stripped by locusts. All this tract might be irrigated, for it would be easy to dam up the brook, and conduct it in almost every direction. Probably it was so at a former period, for the divisions of fields, and even the marks of furrows, are to be seen ; and some ruins, like those of cottages, or of a small hamlet. Lower down there is, very clearly, an ancient site ; stones that have been used in building, though for the most part unhewn, are strewed over a great surface of uneven ground, and mixed both with bricks and pottery. This appearance continues without interruption, for the space of at least half a mile, quite down to the plain, so that it would seem to have been a place of considerable extent. We noticed one column, and we found a pretty specimen of antique, variegated glass ; it may possibly be the site of the ancient Zoar. Near these remains the Dara opens from its glen into the plain to the northward, by a nook, where there is a wall of rude brick, with an arched doorway, which, as it seemed not to promise much, we did not examine.

The brook so far fertilizes this part of the plain, that it is scattered over with thickets of the acacia and doom-plant ; we observed another shrub also, the branches of which have an inclination downwards, and are of a dull green, with little or no foliage ; it bears a fruit about the size of an almond in its green husk, and not very dissimilar in colour, but having several seams or ribs like those on the fruit of the green pippin. When it ripens, the skin retains its roughness without, but becomes soft and juicy like a green-gage, and has a degree of sweetness

mixed with a strong bitter ; by culture it might perhaps be improved and rendered an agreeable fruit ; some said it was eatable, but others asserted that it was poisonous, and that children were frequently disordered, or even died, after eating it ; there is a stone within it, and the smell is sickly and disagreeable. The hare and the partridge of the desert abound throughout this thicket, portions of which are cleared and cultivated. In the very heart of it, not visible in any direction beyond a few yards, unless by the smoke issuing from it, is the village of the 'Ghorneys, who are by profession Mahomedans, but are looked on by the faithful as little better than absolute infidels, as they seldom, if ever, exercise the forms of their religion. They hire themselves out as herdsmen and shepherds, and are notorious robbers. Their abode has more the appearance of a village in India or the South Seas, than of any we have seen in these regions. The weather being now excessively hot, the people were nearly naked ; the children quite so. We were well received and few questions asked of us, but our guide shewed great mistrust of our hosts, laying all our goods together close to our heads, where we lay down to sleep.

*June 2.*—On the first dawn we left our guide, who wished to purchase tobacco to take to Kerek, and turning rather to the eastward of north, made our way through the thicket towards the sea-beach. We were here surprised to see, for the first time, the oskar plant grown to the stature of a tree, its trunk measuring, in many instances, 2 ft. or more in circumference, and the boughs at least 15 ft. in length, a size which far exceeded any we saw in Nubia ; the fruit also was larger and in greater quantity. There is very little doubt of this being the fruit of the Dead Sea so often noticed by the ancients as appearing juicy and delicious to the eye, while within it is hollow, or filled with something grating and disagreeable in the mouth. The natives make use of the filaments, which are inclosed in it, and which somewhat resemble the down of a

thistle, as a stuffing for their cushions; and they likewise twist them into matches for their guns, which they assured us required no application of sulphur to render them combustible. Nearer the sea, the vegetation consists principally of the tamarisk and cane, so high and so thickly set, as to render many parts wholly impassable. The rotten and marshy ground, formed probably by the stagnation of deposited water, during the winter season especially, renders the passage very difficult. The foliage has a salt dew hanging upon it, which causes on the hand the same greasy sensation and appearance that is produced by dipping it in the sea itself.\* We saw frequent tracks of the wild boar.

A narrow, pebbly beach separates the jungle from the sea; it is very hard and firm to the tread, and continues so along the edge of the water, which here turns westward, and forms a bay. As the land lies lower here than in other places, the water encroaches more or less on the shore according to the season; the highest point which it ever reaches being marked by an extensive deposit of timber of all sizes. It dries off into shallows and small pools, which in the end deposit a salt as fine and as well bleached, in some instances, as that in regular salt pans. The western horn of this bay is formed by a sharp promontory, projecting forward into the sea, in a direction nearly from south to north; that is to say, such is the relative bearing of the extremities—for between them there is a considerable concavity in the line of shore where the salt water stagnates and evaporates. We found several persons engaged in peeling off a solid surface of salt, several inches in thickness; they were collecting it and loading it on asses. Towards the

same part the ground is treacherous and deep, and only glazed over with a thin crust, not unlike the sediment of mud which the Nile, in some parts, leaves on its shores. The promontory is not entirely of high land; a steep, white ridge runs, like a spine, down the centre, presenting steep, sloping sides, seamed and furrowed into deep hollows by the rains, and terminating at the summit in sharp, triangular points, standing up like rows of tents ranged one above another; the whole is of a substance apparently partaking of the nature of soft and broken chalk and slate, and is wholly unproductive of vegetation. The height of the ridge varies from 10 to 30 ft., becoming gradually lower towards its northern extremity. At its foot, all round, is a considerable margin of sand, which varies in length and breadth according to the season, being much narrower in summer than it is in winter, when, in rough weather, at least, it is probable that the waves almost wash the base of the cliff. At the northernmost point of the cape some rotten branches are standing up, so encrusted with salt deposited upon them by the spray, or the evaporation, that they have the appearance of straight branches of fine white coral. The total length of this promontory, or horn of the bay, may be about four miles, computed from the fact, that we employed an hour and twelve minutes in riding along it at a walking pace. Following the line of coast round the angle, the same cliff presents an opposite face of similar appearance and equal height, running two miles in a direction S.W. by S. Here we first collected lumps of nitre and fine sulphur, from the size of a nutmeg to that of a small hen's egg: it was evident from their situation that they must have been brought down by the rain, and that their great deposit must be sought for in the cliff.\* It is probable that persons come to collect these substances; at least, it was the only mode that occurred to us of accounting for the numerous prints of

\* In the Phil. Trans. Vol. xevii., p. 269, Dr. Marceet gives the following analysis of the water of the Dead Sea:

Muriate of Lime . . .	3.920
„ Magnesia . . .	10.246
„ Soda . . .	10.360
Sulphate of Lime . . .	0.054

24.580

\* “The whole land thereof is brimstone and salt.” Deut. xxix. 23.

human footsteps which we saw here, and those of asses somewhat farther on; for this place does not fall into any ordinary line of communication. We quitted the foot of the cliff, where the sand is in some places deep and distressing to the horse, and followed the edge of the beach, which diverges from the cliff to the S.W. As the water subsides—which, being always shallow towards the strait, retires rapidly in this part—a very considerable level is left, which is encrusted with a salt that is but half dried and consolidated, appearing like ice at the commencement of a thaw. All this space is soft, and gives way nearly up to the ankle when it is trodden on. We reached the narrowest part of the channel of communication between the sea and the back-water (which we have called the strait) in just two hours after leaving the foot of the cliff, our direction having been about S.W. The strait is formed by a low promontory projecting from the opposite or western shore. Just as we arrived at the narrowest part, where the ford is indicated by boughs of trees, we observed the small caravan from Kerek landing on the opposite side; and as we could discern the species of animal, as well as the people on their backs, we all agreed in estimating the distance about a mile. The depth of the water cannot be great, as the asses of the caravan were able to pass the ford. We searched for the shells mentioned by Seetzen, as proving that there are living creatures in the lake, but found none, excepting snail shells, and a small spiral species, which we invariably found to be without any fish, and having no appearance of having had any for a long time. Dead locusts were found in very great numbers; they had not become putrid, nor had they any smell, as is the case when they are cast up by any other sea; they were completely penetrated and incrustated with salt, and had lost their colour. The sight of such a multitude of carcasses of creatures who had perished in passing over these waters, might seem to lend some countenance

to the account of the ancients, "that no living thing could attempt the passage over it with impunity," were this not a spectacle sufficiently common upon other shores, as in Sicily, and about El-Arish; and we had another still better proof to the contrary; first, in a pair of Egyptian geese, and afterwards in a flight of pigeons, which passed over the sea. It is, however, remarkable how few living things, such as birds, insects, or reptiles, are to be seen on this lake; the want of vegetable matter and of fresh water is probably the reason.

Leaving the narrowest part of the strait, we followed it to its southern extremity, where it opens into the back-water, and passed along the shore of the back-water itself to some distance. The high water-mark was at this season a mile distant from the water's edge. We were told that this back-water never entirely dries up, and that the ford is not at any season impassable.

Having returned from the edge of the back-water we ascended the cliff, which is steep but practicable, and gained a broad table-land on its top, where we fell in with the track of those who had passed, from Kerek to the ford. In two hours we reached the banks of the Dara, where we found our guide. Late in the evening we arrived at some tents, where Sheikh Yousouf was encamped. We found here a man from Szalt, and two men from Hrak in the Haouran, near the Druze country, who had come to reclaim the cattle stolen from them by Ismayel's people. In the morning we removed to Ismayel's tents, when the cause of the stranger was pleaded, but it was before a most partial and interested tribunal, for Yousouf was the accused as well as the judge and arbitrator. He decided accordingly; offering, at the utmost, to restore half the number that had been stolen. He accused them of having been, in some shape, the aggressors, but explained himself so little, that we did not learn what provocation he alluded to; there was much arguing and prevarication. We were surprised to find, that two

places lying so very wide of each other, should have any such disputes to settle. Towards noon we returned to Kerek.

*June 5.*—In the afternoon we proceeded on our journey to the northward, accompanied by Sheikhs Yousouf and Ismayel, Daoud, his nephew, and the two men of Herak, together with the man from Szalt. We passed over a fine country, flat, and higher than Kerek, keeping in a N.N.E. direction; the reapers were at work, and the corn was luxuriant in all directions. Several sites which we passed proved that the population of this country was formerly proportioned to its natural fertility. In about two hours we reached Rabba, formerly Rabbath Moab, afterwards Arcopolis; the ruins are situated on an eminence, and present nothing of interest, except two old ruined Roman temples, and some tanks. The whole circuit of the town does not seem to have exceeded a mile, which is a small extent for a city that was the capital of Moab, and which bore such a high sounding Greek name. We were surprised not to find any traces of walls about it. We passed the night at a camp near the ruins; it is the only *Christian camp* we have ever been in; they told us there were altogether five encampments of Christians. They were poor people, but connected with families in Kerek; occasionally they take their turn in the town, and send others to take theirs in the camp. A deep gully behind their tents led to the Dead Sea. This evening, about sun-set, we were deceived by a dark shade on the sea, which assumed so exactly the appearance of an island, that we entertained no doubt regarding it, even after looking through a telescope. It is not the only time that such a phenomenon has presented itself to us; in two instances, looking up the sea from its southern extremity, we saw it apparently closed by a low, dark line, like a bar of sand to the northward; and, on a third occasion, two small islands seemed to present themselves between a long sharp promontory and the western shore. We were unable to account for

these appearances, but felt little doubt that they are the same that deceived Mr. Seetzen into the supposition that he had discovered an island of some extent, which we have had opportunity of ascertaining, beyond all doubt, does not exist. It is not absolutely impossible, however, that he may have seen one of those temporary islands of bitumen, which Pliny describes as being several acres in extent, and from which, he adds, the Egyptians drew their store of resinous matter for embalming their mummies.

*June 6.*—This morning we visited the ruins of Beit-Kerm, distant from Rabba about one mile and a half to the north. The principal feature of them is a great building, evidently Roman, resembling that which we took to have been a palace at Petra; perhaps this is the temple of Atargatis, at Carnaim, as it is called in 1 Maccabees, v. 43; or Carnion, b. 2, xii. 26. A great number of tanks prove that it was once a populous place. There were four camps near the ruins; we lodged in one; the men of Herak renewed their discussions and remonstrances with Yousouf, for having returned to them but forty head of their cattle. These were driven along the same road by which we travelled, and the drivers generally halted when we did. Two hours and a half north from Beit-Kerm there is a slight eminence, which forms a conspicuous object from all the country round, and is called "Sheikh Harn."

*June 7.*—During this day we visited several elevated heights, each commanding very fine views of the Dead Sea, comprehending the back-water at one end, and the Plains of Jericho at the other. Jerusalem and the Frank Mount were also discernible, and from the different bearings which we made, we clearly ascertained, that the length of the lake Asphaltes, including the back-water, does not exceed thirty miles at the utmost, though the ancients have assigned to it a length of from seventy-five to eighty miles. From the first height the bearings were as follows: Jerusalem, N. W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N.; Frank Mount, N. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W.;



Jericho, N. by W.; east end of the back-water, S. W. by S. From the second height, Sheikh Harn, E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; the first-mentioned hill, N. N. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.; the Strait leading to the back-water, W. S. W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W.; the village of the Ghorneys, S. W. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W.; the hollow of the bay, W. S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.; Jericho, N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W.; the extremity of the back-water, S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.

On reaching the tents we found the men of Herak out of all patience at Yousouf's injustice in making so little retribution; they called us aside to assure us that he was no better than a robber, and hoped that we would publish and confirm their complaints at Damascus. "We will drag him," said they, "by the beard to Mezeereeb." But it would be no easy task to force the lord of Kerek out of his district.

*June 8.*—We proceeded to the northward, and in about two hours arrived upon the brink of the Wady Modjeb, the ancient Arnon; on looking down, it has more the appearance of a precipice than a road, and, although the Roman way coincides with the modern track, very near to the brink, and again about half way down it, it must have been formerly very different from that by which we descended, and which is not only extremely steep, but so interrupted with rocks and stones, that we were obliged to dismount and lead our horses full half the way down. About mid-way the declivity is more earthy and shelving; hereabouts we recovered the Roman highway. It is not here as above, completely paved, but at regular intervals a line of stones is carried across the road in the manner of a step, to prevent the washing away of the earth from above, and to serve as a resting place in the descent. On the right hand of the road, a shallow tank, of considerable size, walled round with thick and good masonry, is placed on the side of the hill; and below it, at only a few yards distance, are the remains of a large square building, which we took to be a Roman military station; there was another above on the brink of the precipice. We found several mile-stones; all those which were legible were of the time of Trajan.

The valley of the Arnon is less covered with shrubs, than that of most of the other streams in this country, which is probably owing to the violence and frequency of the torrents. There are, however, a few tamarisks, and here and there an oleander growing about it; it is not more than three paces wide where the Roman road comes down upon the stream, and there remains a single arch, measuring 28 feet 9 inches in perpendicular height, and 31 feet 6 inches in span; the remnants of the other arches of the bridge have all disappeared. The descent occupied one hour and a half. In our ascent up the opposite side, we followed, for the most part, the ancient road, and found some more Roman mile-stones; one of the time of Marcus Aurelius. We found the road on this side as steep as on the other, and it was remarkable in this pass, that looking from either side to the other, there appeared no possible mode of ascent. We had now passed from the land of the Moabites into that of the Amorites. As far as the eye could follow the course of the stream from the heights, the valley is neither of a size or nature that could ever have admitted of cultivation, or have given room for the placing of any village or city on its banks; which makes it probable, that the places, supposed to have stood upon the river, were in reality in the adjacent district.

We found the territory of the Amorites a flat down, of smoother and even, turf than that of Moab, and with much fewer stones scattered over it. We soon recovered the ancient road, and in forty-five minutes reached Diban, the Dibon of Scripture.\* The extent of these remains is considerable, but not so large as Rabba. The ruins present nothing of interest. In the afternoon we arrived at a camp in the Wady Wale, pitched on the banks of the river, which this year seems to have swollen to a prodigious degree. The oleanders are here more numerous than we have ever seen them; one species, which is very rare, bore a white flower; the rushing of the waters

\* Numbers, xxi, 30; and Jeremiah, xlviii. 18.

had rooted many of them up, and the whole were thrown aslant by the course of the torrent, the marks of which were seen upon them to the height of fifteen feet. On the left bank stands a stone about ten feet high, four feet wide at the base in its broadest part, and not more than one foot at the narrowest; it has been set up by art, being placed contrary to the natural direction of the strata, very near the bank, and at right angles to the stream. We supposed it to be one of those ancient boundary-stones of which we read so frequently in Scripture.\* Across the stream, but at a greater distance from its channel, is a similar stone, bearing obliquely on the path, its broad side parallel to the stream. There are no signs of sculpture on them, nor is there any appearance of their having ever been wrought. There is in this same valley another rude work, that may be referred to a remote period; it is about a quarter of a mile higher up than the two boundary-stones. A knoll, of very moderate height, rises detached near the centre of the valley, upon the right bank of the rivulet. On its summit are the remains of a very large quadrangular platform, constructed of rude stones laid together without cement. It is possible that this may be one of the "altars of the high places." It is still a place in some measure consecrated; there is a tomb at the top with paltry Bedouin votive offerings hanging about it. About a mile lower down the valley, are the remains of a Roman bridge of five arches; all is fallen, and nothing is left but the foundation of the piers. Near this bridge are other ruins. From hence we passed upwards out of the valley. Near the ancient paved road there were several mile-stones, one of which was of the time of *Severus*. We passed at the foot of *Djebel Attarous*, which probably may be *Nebo*, although it is far from opposite *Jericho*. We now entered a fertile plain, covered with corn, and stopped at a camp near the ruins of *Mayn*, which both its name and the neighbouring hot springs, seem to identify with the *Baal Meon* of Scrip-

ture; it stands on a considerable eminence. In the afternoon, we went to a height which commands a fine view of the Dead Sea, and is very nearly on a parallel with its northern extremity. Here we took the following bearings; *Jericho*, N. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N.; Mouth of the *Jordan*, N. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N.; *Rama of Samuel*, N. W. by W.; *Djebel Attarous*, S. W.; *Frank Mountain*, W. N. W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W.; *Sheikh Harn*, S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. Below us was a square ruin which we could not get to; from its position we thought it might possibly be *Herodium*. At sunset we returned to the camp near *Mayn*, from whence there are a great number of ruined sites visible, and amongst the rest, *Heshbon*, bearing N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N.

We engaged a guide from the tents, who undertook to carry us to the hot springs: our route was S. W.; in less than half an hour we reached a tall stone, set up apparently as a boundary-mark, like those in the *Wady-el-Wale*. The direct track is continued round the southern side of a rocky knoll rising to some height, and in a great measure detached from the surrounding hills. Some remarkable objects, of which we got a glimpse, induced us to pass round on the other side of this knoll; they are rude sepulchral monuments of the same nature as those we discovered on our road from *Szalt* to the *Jordan*, on our last tour; yet, as these are rude throughout, without any mark whatever of the tool about them, whereas the others have universally a door in one of the smaller ends, it is possible that they may date from a remoter period, or have belonged to a still ruder people. Their proportions vary considerably, as does their aspect, though the construction is uniform; one flat stone is laid at the bottom, and this, there can be little doubt, covers the grave of the deceased; and, as there is no appearance of the tombs ever having been violated, it probably protects them to this day. They would be a highly interesting object for excavation, as it might possibly lead to the ascertaining of the form of some of the weapons and warlike apparel mentioned in Scripture. It is worthy of notice, that however remote may be

\* "And the border went up to the stone of *Bohan*." *Joshua*, xv. 6.

the period to which these sepulchres are to be referred, the stature of those buried in them is so far from gigantic, that it seems not to have exceeded the middle height of modern times.

Not only is the rocky eminence, upon which we first observed them, covered over on all sides with these barbarous structures, but there are also some few scattered in the fields upon a lower level, and a great many upon the sides of the surrounding hills, insomuch that not less than fifty were in sight at one time. We were puzzled to think to what city this necropolis belonged. Mayn being more than a mile off, in a straight line, would seem too distant. Some which we had passed on our left hand the day before, at a place called Dher, were now visible, upon an eminence at no great distance to the north. Passing on, we found ourselves in an ancient highway, not paved, but edged with stones, and possibly prior to Roman times. Arriving at the brink of a deep descent, towards the Zerka Mayn, we found the track steep, long, and winding. In about two hours from Mayn we reached the bed of the Torrent Zerka Mayn, which we crossed, and kept along it in a westerly direction. We saw some animals which the Arabs called Meddn or Beddn. They are of the goat species, as large as asses, with long knotty horns which stand upright. Some had beards. In colour they resembled the gazelle. In four hours from Mayn we reached the place where it was necessary to dismount, the appearance beyond being that of a precipice. Here a narrow path has been contrived in a zig-zag direction, which makes the descent tolerably safe. In the last stage of the path there is a fine view of the Dead Sea at the end of the ravine, with the Frank Mount and Bethlehem beyond it; the former bearing N.N.W. Looking down into the valley of Calirrhoe, it presents some grand and romantic features. The rocks vary between red, grey, and black, and have a bold and imposing appearance. The whole bottom is filled, and in a manner choked

up with a crowded thicket of canes and aspines of different species, intermixed with the palm, which is also seen rising in tufts in the recesses of the mountain's side, and in every place whence the springs issue. In one place a considerable stream of hot water is seen precipitating itself from a high and perpendicular shelf of rock, which is strongly tinted with the brilliant yellow of sulphur deposited upon it. On reaching the bottom we found ourselves at what may be termed a hot river, so copious and rapid is it, and its heat so little abated. For some way the temperature is kept up by the constant supplies of water of the same temperature which flow into the river. In order to visit these sources in succession, we crossed over to the right bank, and ascending by the mountain side, we passed four abundant springs, all within the distance of half a mile, discharging themselves into the stream at right angles with its course. We judged the distance from the Dead Sea, by the ravine, to be about one hour and a half. Macbean says, that there was a city of the same name in the valley of Calirrhoe; in which we think he must be wrong, since there is not space for a town in the valley as far as we saw it. That Herod must have had some lodging when he visited these springs is true, and there are sufficient remains to prove that some sort of buildings have been erected. The whole surface of the shelf, where the springs are, is strewed over with tiles and broken pottery; and what is most surprising, within a very few minutes, without any particular search, four ancient copper medals were found by our party. All were too much defaced to be distinguishable, but they appeared to be Roman. Our Arab guide here took a vapour bath according to the practice of the country. A bed of twigs and broom was laid across a crevice, whence one of the springs issued at the height of a foot or two from the water. On this he laid himself, wrapped in his Abba, and only remained a few minutes. The effect of the steam upon him was soon very evident. We observed another

of these sweating beds a little further down. We had no thermometer, but the degree of heat in the water seemed very great. Near the source it scalds the hand, which cannot be kept in it for half a minute. The deposit of sulphur is very great, but the water is tasteless to the palate. A very singular plant grows near the hot springs, of the bulk and stature of a tree. Its foliage does not seem to differ from that of the common broom. It bears a pod hanging down from it, about a foot or 14 inches in length, fluted with convex ribs from the end to the point. We never met with this before. After bathing, we returned by the same road, and passing our old camp at Mayn, proceeded to the great encampment of the Benesuckhers, near Madeba. We arrived at night-fall. There were more than 200 tents scattered over a great extent of ground. We alighted at that of the chief Ebn Fayes, which was at least 100 feet long. The chief, and his brother, the same who was with us on our former Djerash expedition, and from whom we escaped to Szalt, received us outside their tent. They were dressed in handsome silk caftans from Damascus. Sheikh Yousouf had previously been invested with an ermine pelisse, and presented an odd figure, having his red-tanned sheep-skin underneath it. The three closed sides of the tent were allotted to the visitors, the two chiefs sitting on the open side, scarcely within the cover of the tent. The elder brother, who has a hair lip, called for his one-stringed fiddle and played to us, singing at the same time. On our inquiring the purport of his song, he said it was on "the death of his father," who we learned had been killed in battle. The notes, though but little varied, were plaintive and harmonious. There was within the tent a messenger from Damascus, whom we had once seen at Kerek. He had arrived in the course of the afternoon to summon or invite Ebn Fayes to go to Damascus to the pasha. It was supposed his object was either to make some arrangement with the Benesuckhers for the safe conduct of the hadj to Mecca,

as the Annasees under Sheikh Narsah were in rebellion; or to endeavour to reconcile the divisions which had taken place among the Benesuckhers, that they might be a check against the Annasees. To the accidental presence of this man, the favourable reception we met with was probably owing; and we were lucky in the absence of Abdel Khader, the prime minister, our former enemy. The wooden dish in which our supper was served, was of such a size as to require four iron handles, and was brought in by three persons.

June 11.—This morning we were told that Ebn Fayes was already on his way to Damascus; his brother remained with us. We requested of him a guide for Oom-i-Rasass; after some hesitation, and a good deal of talk about danger and enemies, one was promised, and an agreement made as to payment. We were to pass by Madeba as we advanced; after breakfast we proceeded. At Madeba, the only object of interest was an immense tank.\* At three we reached Oom-i-Rasass (Mother of Stones); we found the ruins very extensive, and evidently Christian. There were the remains of a stone wall which inclosed the whole city; the cross is often to be met with, but there is no architectural remnant worthy of notice. Mr. Bankes, attended by his janissary, went over them a second time, in search of inscriptions, while we remained under the wall. While walking about the ruins, an armed Bedouin made his appearance and robbed him of his abba.

June 12.—We reached Heshbon in the evening, where we found Sheikh Yousouf, the man from Szalt, and the young prince of the Benesuckhers. Our first object was to see the ruins, and to inspect the celebrated pools; but just as we were starting, we received a message from Ebn Fayes, demanding payment for permission to proceed. We sent word in reply, that

\* Madeba is noticed in Numbers, xxi. 30: "And we have laid them waste unto Nophah, which reaches unto Medeba." And in Isaiah, xv. 2: "Moab shall howl over Nebo, and over Medeba."

we had already paid him on a former occasion. "Tell them," said the young man in reply, "that the first that moves from the tent receives this ball (presenting a pistol) through his body." The firman was now mentioned; he said he cared nothing for firmans; that he considered them only fit for those who were weak enough to obey them; that *he* was Grand Seignior, and everything else here; and that we must pay. After some delay, Ebn Fayes, seeing we were not inclined to give in, sent word that we might proceed. We found the ruins uninteresting; and the only pool we saw was too insignificant to be one of those mentioned in Scripture. In two of the cisterns amongst the ruins, we found about three dozen of human skulls and bones.

*June 13.*—We left Heshbon, passing a stream which, if followed, would probably have led to the pools. We then proceeded along the road to Szalt, and in about four hours arrived at a place called by the natives Arrag-el-Emir. Here are the ruins of an edifice constructed of very large stones, some of which are twenty feet long, and so broad that one stone constitutes the thickness of the wall. The ruin is situated upon a square platform or terrace, of some extent, with a stream below. From the situation, and from the circumstance of large beasts, in relief, being sculptured about it, Mr. Banks believed it to be the palace of Hircanus, who, according to Josephus, being driven across the Jordan by his brother Alexander, king of Jerusalem, had built a palace in this neighbourhood, surrounded by hanging gardens, traces of which are yet visible. There are many artificial caves in a large range of perpendicular cliff near it; some of these are in the form of regular stables, in which feeding-troughs still remain, sufficient for thirty or forty horses, with holes cut in the rock for the head fastenings. Some of the caves are chambers and small sleeping apartments, probably for servants and attendants. There are two rows of these chambers: the upper one has a sort of projecting balcony across the

front of the chambers. There is one large hall finely proportioned, with some Hebrew characters inscribed over the doorway; the whole is approached by a sort of causeway. We spent the remaining part of the day here, and slept at an adjoining camp. On the hill, immediately above the palace, are the remains of a small temple, much in ruins.

*June 14.*—We advanced to Szalt, passing through a richly wooded and picturesque country; we arrived early in the afternoon, and lodged in the castle. We remained at Szalt until the 16th, when we proceeded for three hours in the direction of Amman. Near this place we passed the night in a camp belonging to the party of the Benesuckhers hostile to Ebn Fayes, and we employed the chief part of the next day in examining the ruins of Rabbath Ammon, afterwards called Philadelphia, and now Amman. They stand in a long valley; a stream runs through them, which has been arched over. The ruins are extensive, but there remains nothing of much interest excepting the theatre, which is very large and perfect, and a small odeum close to it. There are the vestiges also of many other Roman edifices, as well as of Christian churches. We did not find any inscriptions.

*June 17.*—We passed the night at an Arab camp, about three miles distant on the road to Djerash. Here old Yousouf was again accused of having stolen cattle from the people; it was said to have happened four years ago. After much dispute he ended the argument by saying, that "he was one of those people who never returned anything after it was once in his power."

*June 18.*—At dawn of day we advanced; in about two hours Yousouf took leave of us to return to Kerek. He had made strong demands for money, both for himself and his nephew Daoud, though at Szalt we had made him a present of two hundred piastres over and above his agreement. He also tried to make us give an exorbitant sum to the guide who accompanied us to Djerash, but failed. Not-

withstanding all this, it must be admitted that he strictly and honestly adhered to his contract with us ; and it is doubtful whether we should ever have succeeded in reaching Wady Mousa, if it had not been for him. His only dishonesty towards us was borrowing money from Mr. Bankes, and refusing to repay it ; but where all are rogues, and cheating and imposition are reckoned honourable and fair, one must not expect too much.

About noon we crossed the Zerka, the Jabbok of Scripture,\* the northern boundary of the Amorites, and at 2 p.m. reached Djerash. We employed this and part of the next day in making those measurements of the public edifices which we had left unfinished before ; most of them were Christian churches. Among many new inscriptions which we found, was one recording the dedication of one of the churches to a Christian saint. Macbean, quoting Eusebius, says, "that the Christians, just before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, were divinely admonished to fly to Pella ;" and Strabo notices, "that it abounded in water ;" from Ptolemy he adds, "that Pella was situated thirty-five miles to the N.E. of Gerasa." Macbean also quotes from Ptolemy and Josephus, "that Gerasse was at the east side of the sea of Tiberias ;" these authorities seem to show that the ruins at Djerash are those of Pella rather than of Gerasa.

June 19.—Intending to proceed to the valley of the Jordan by a place called Rajib, where we expected to find the ruins of Ragaba, we quitted Djerash in the afternoon, and passed through Katty. About half an hour after, we traversed another village, in the mosque of which there are some Roman remains. We entered a very picturesque country, most beautifully varied with hanging woods, mostly of the Vallonia oak, laurestinus, cedar, common arbutus, arbutus Andrachne, &c. At times the country had all the appearance of a noble park ; indeed, nothing could exceed the beauty of

this day's ride ; there were some few spots cultivated with corn. As we advanced, the wood became more dense ; and at dark we stopped at a small open space covered with high grass and weeds. We went with our guide a short distance to endeavour to shoot some wild boars ; we hid ourselves close to the water, where all the trees were marked with mud, left by the hogs in rubbing themselves. We plainly heard some of these animals advancing towards us ; but one of the horses unluckily making a noise, they all ran off. On returning to our bivouac, our guide refused to go for water, fearing the serpents in the high grass. Mr. Legh, in the night, feeling something move under him, rose to see what it was, and found an adder coming up to him from under the edge of his blanket, attracted no doubt by the warmth of his body, as the night air was very cold ; having a knife by him, he cut the reptile in halves. In the morning we found another close to our sleeping place.

June 20.—We started at dawn, and descending through a thick wood, arrived, at ten, at the village of Rajib, which contains no ruins whatever ; though we had previously passed in the wood a Roman architrave, on a small open space, where our guide told us there had once been a village ; no other vestiges of it remain. Rajib is situated a little without, and below the woodlands. At noon we began a rapid descent towards the valley of the Jordan, and reached it in two hours. We saw nine wild pigs in our way ; they were all in one herd. Four hours more, in a northerly direction, brought us to the Bysan ford, and we arrived at that town after dark.

June 21.—We went to Tiberias, and the 23rd visited Mount Tabor on our way to Nazareth. Maundrell overrates the view from this eminence ; we saw nothing striking except the beautiful plain of Esdredon. In a cave, amongst the ruins of the town, on the top of Tabor, we noticed many travellers' names, and, amongst others, that of Mr. Wright, who visited this place, when first lieutenant of the

\* "Even unto the river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon." Joshua, xii. 2

Tigre, with Sir Sydney Smith, and who afterwards died in the Temple at Paris; Sheikh Ibrahim's name was also there.

On the 25th June we went to Acre. During our stay there we witnessed an instance of great barbarity: on going to breakfast at the consul's, we found his Greek servant, who had been very ill for some days before, lying outside the door; and actually expired on the floor before us as we entered the room—unattended by any medical man, and unheeded by every one. The corpse lay neglected for some time before any one could be found to take it away, all refusing to touch it, lest they should be at the trouble and expense of burying it. At last the Turkish authorities interfered and the body was removed.

As we have now been much amongst the Arabs, and have had better opportunities of studying their manners and habits than on our former short journey to Palmyra, some further observations upon them may not be considered out of place. The love of liberty created in the wandering Bedouin, by his erratic habits, is instinctively cherished by him from his earliest infancy. Impatient of every species of control, and proud of his independence, he disowns and scorns the Arab that cultivates the soil. We found these people still deserving of their character for hospitality; but we never heard of the celebrated story of *bread and salt*, mentioned by Volney. If the mere eating of bread and salt with an Arab was a security from imposition, Sheikh Sahlem, when threatening us, would have said, "Had you not eaten bread and salt with me," &c., instead of "Had you not Sheikh Yousouf with you;" for we had feasted with Sahlem in his own tent, before we had the quarrel with him. Mr. Bankes was imprisoned, and Sir Wm. Chatterton robbed, at Palmyra, after eating bread and salt; and we had feasted with Ebn Fayed at Heshbon, before his ill treatment of us. It would certainly be a most noble commendation to advance in their favour were it true. There is a great deal of

good breeding amongst them: a sheikh arriving at another's tent, seats himself opposite his friend to avoid all appearance of pre-eminence, so that either side of the tent is occupied, while the end, the "post of honour," remains vacant. When Mr. Bankes presented the Sheikh of Souf with a dress, he immediately sent it into the harem, without looking at it in the presence of the donor; and the people of Kerck, on our arrival, although our appearance must have been so novel to them, abstained from asking any questions. But although civil, they had a great contempt for us; and observing how awkwardly we ate with our hands—for we never, during the whole tour, saw a spoon, or knife, or fork—they remarked amongst themselves, "Poor fellows! they don't even know how to eat; they eat like camels." If an Arab chief gives you coffee first, he takes none, not choosing to drink after a Christian. Thieving, pilfering, low cunning, lying, and cheating, are not considered as dishonourable acts amongst them. We were all of us robbed of some of our effects. On one occasion, Mr. Bankes's drawing of the grand temple at Petra was purloined, and after some days' negotiation he was allowed to purchase it back again, they having confessed all the time that they had it. Mr. Legh's Bible was also pilfered in the same manner, and never recovered. Mr. Bankes's two paint-boxes were also stolen, and many other articles were lost. Our diet, while we were with them, varied according to the wealth or poverty of the tribe: sometimes we had pillaw of rice, or of wheat, mixed with leban; sometimes mutton, boiled the moment the animal is skinned, and generally in leban, a custom alluded to in Scripture.\* This mode of cooking renders the meat very delicious and tender—far preferable to meat boiled in water: the milk, enriched with the juice of the meat, is poured on the pillaw of rice or wheat. Sometimes we had melted butter, and bread baked on an iron plate in the form of a pan-

\* "Thou shalt not see the a kid in his mother's milk." Exodus, xxiii. 19.

cake to dip into it. The staple of the Arab's food, however, is leban and bread. The milk was usually presented in a wooden bowl, and the liquid butter in an earthenware dish.\* The party being seated round, dipped their bread in, endeavouring to make it imbibe as much as possible. The Arabs were very expert at this, pinching the thin cake in such a form as to make a sort of spoon of it. This mode of eating is alluded to in Scripture.† Occasionally, a bowl of milk only was presented to us, which was passed round in rotation. Once we had milk sweetened and curdled to the consistency of liquid jelly, too thick to be drunk, and very awkward to take up with the hands, though it was the only method of eating it. A rich dish of rice and cream was once given us as a great treat. All the way between Kerek and Petra, we had meat served up alone, without bread or even pillaw of rice or wheat. We could not at all reconcile ourselves to this diet, which we found used in this district only. When the Arabs have an over supply of leban, they have a method of preserving it by pressing out the liquid parts, and drying the curds, which may then be kept for some time. This substance has the appearance of soft chalk; when mixed with water it makes an agreeable acid drink.

When we had pillaw of grain, it often served also for a candlestick, the candle being fixed in the middle of the dish. An Arab, when he wishes to pay you very particular attention, pulls your meat to pieces with his fingers, and throws it to you. We never saw roasted meat among the Arabs, except in Narsah's tent at Palmyra. They have no fruits or vegetables; their wandering life depriving them of such enjoyments. It is their custom, from time immemorial, to lodge and feed all travellers and their horses for one night free of all expense; as the practice is general, it is equally beneficial to all. We never once paid for food

or corn during the whole of our journey; and the expenses of the whole party, eleven persons and as many horses, amounted to 1500 piastres; a piastre is worth nine-pence of our money: this was from the 5th of May to the 25th of June. Each owner of a tent takes it by turns to feed the strangers that may arrive. Their jokes were sometimes rather rough: on one occasion an Arab put a live scorpion inside my jacket; shortly afterwards, I had occasion to make the usual daily search for vermin, and then I discovered the reptile. At the Ghor, when we asked if a poisonous fruit was good, they said it was, though well aware of its bad qualities.

The women weave carpets and cloth for their tents, which are mostly black, and curtains, which are striped white and black. Goats' hair is manufactured for this purpose.\* The women have to do all the hard work; they grind the corn with a hand-mill, bring the water and wood, cook, and in short do all the drudgery, while the men sit down and smoke all day. The children guard the flocks, the girls always having a bundle of wool at their backs for spinning. The form of the tents is oblong. We frequently observed negroes in their camps, apparently not slaves; and some had the short woolly hair of the Africans. It may not be amiss here to mention, that, though we never had any apprehensions of personal danger from the Arabs, yet there are some grounds for the dread these people are held in throughout Syria, as we met with many dead bodies concealed in the country frequented by them; we saw 20 in one of the Roman tombs near Nablous, the mouth of which had been shut up with stones; 3 in one of the theatres at Om Keis; 24 skulls, &c. in the theatre at Bysan, and subsequently 22 in the ruins at Heshbon. Whenever we inquired about them, the Arabs always owned they were the remains of people whom they had murdered, and they did not appear to be in the least ashamed of the deed. To keep

\* "She brought forth butter in a lordly dish." Judges, v. 25.

† "He that dippeth with me in the dish." Matt., xxvi. 23.

\* "And he made curtains of goats' hair." Exodus, xxxvi. 14.



your arms on in a tent, is considered very ill-bred, as implying a distrust in the protection of the roof you are under; and whenever we forgot to disarm, the Arabs always requested us to do so. These people are frequently without water, and sometimes that which they have is dirty and bad, but then they are "lords of the desert," pay no tribute, and have nothing whatever to do with governors of any description. The desert, as an ancient author, I think Diodorus, observes, is their fort, whither they retire as to a place of certain safety on any appearance of attack. The state and equipage of the sheikhs is maintained by means of a revenue derived from a tithe which they exact for all the cattle, camels excepted. This tenth of the innumerable herds and flocks, yields the chiefs a very handsome income. The supper in the tents of Sheikh Narsah and Ebn Fayes was bountiful in the extreme; and, as this profuse hospitality is extended to all strangers, there must needs be ample store to meet so great a demand.

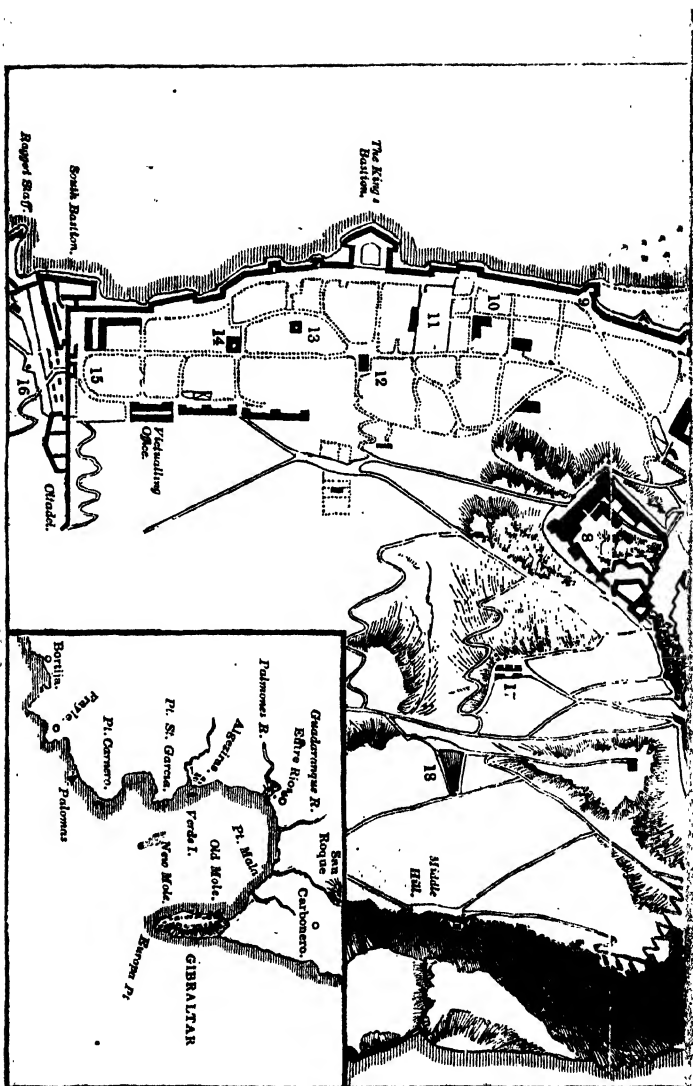
It is surprising, that in so monotonous a life, they have no amusements, no games, no athletic employments, to make some little change in their custom of squatting down and smoking

all day. All their carpets, cushions, sacks, and in short, everything they have, are covered with vermin, so that it is impossible to avoid them. We used to kill from off our clothes from 40 to 100 every day; and of a night, we frequently observed the Arabs searching and shaking their linen over the fire, the vermin making a crackling noise as they fell into the flames. Old Yousouf used to make a singular figure, with his sword drawn, striking them from off his back.

*July 12.*—We embarked on board an imperial brig belonging to Venice for Constantinople, as all with whom we spoke on the subject agreed in opinion, that it would have been madness to have gone to the coast of Asia Minor at this season of the year, when the pestilential air forces all the inhabitants of the coast to quit their habitations, and retire to the mountains during the summer. We have, therefore, deferred this part of the tour for a short time. Our friend Mr. Legh left Acre for Constantinople by land a short time before we did, intending to visit Palmyra, Baalbec, Damascus, and Aleppo. Mr. Banks went by water to Egypt, with the intention of penetrating into Abyssinia by way of the second cataract.

THE END.





HISTORY  
OF THE  
SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR,  
1779 — 1783.

WITH  
A DESCRIPTION AND ACCOUNT OF THAT GARRISON,  
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS.

JOHN DRINKWATER,  
*Captain in the late Seventy-second Regiment, or Royal Manchester Volunteers.*

"Volatile ferrum  
Spargitur, arva nova Neptunia cæde rubescunt."  
Vine.

LONDON:  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.  
1846.



TO  
THE KING.

SIR,

WHEN I solicited the honour of being permitted to place under Your Majesty's protection the following Work, I was not impressed with the idea, that the excellence of the composition, but that the importance of the subject, might in some degree entitle it to that distinction. The History of an Event which reflects so much lustre on Your Majesty's Arms, could not, I apprehended, however feeble the execution, so properly appear under any other auspices.

That Your Majesty may never be less faithfully served, nor less successful against the enemies of Your Crown and People, is the sincere and fervent wish of

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Much obliged and most devoted  
Subject and Servant,

JOHN DRINKWATER.

13th September, 1785.

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following History (as I have presumed to call it) is compiled from observations daily noted down upon the spot, for my own satisfaction and improvement, assisted by the information and remarks of several respectable characters, who also were eye-witnesses of the transactions therein recorded.

Disappointed in my expectations of seeing this subject undertaken by an abler pen, nothing less than a conviction that an accurate detail of this extraordinary Siege might be useful, both in a military and historical view, could have induced me, at this late period, to publish.

In the prosecution of this design, one principal difficulty has occurred. The work is addressed to two classes of Readers: those whose principal object in the perusal of it was entertainment, I apprehended, might find the relation too minute and circumstantial; and that, from the insertion of many particulars, which those of the Military Profession would greatly blame an author for presuming to curtail or omit.

With the former, it is hoped that the necessary connection of some events (which at first may appear trivial) with the great business of the History, will be some apology; and I have endeavoured to diversify the narrative, by such Anecdotes and Observations as will occasionally relieve or awaken the attention. To the latter I shall not attempt any apology. The late Siege of Gibraltar afforded many instances of very singular exertions in the Art of Attack and Defence, the minutiae of which cannot be without their utility to those Officers who make a science of their profession; and they must be sensible, that without pointed exactness, this design could not have been accomplished. In short, it must be remembered, that the History of this Siege is not that of a *Month*, or of a *Year*, but that it embraces a period of near *FOUR YEARS*, exhibiting a series of operations perhaps unparalleled.

To Major Vallotton, the Governor's first aide-de-camp, and Lieutenant Holloway, Aide-de-Camp to the Chief Engineer, I have particular pleasure in this opportunity of returning thanks for the favour of many kind communications; also to other Officers of Rank, whose names I have not their permission to insert. I must also acknowledge having derived considerable assistance, in the two introductory chapters, from the History of the Herculean Straits. Great additions have however been introduced; and I flatter myself upon the whole, that those Chapters will not prove an unacceptable part of the Work, since they will render it as complete a *GENERAL HISTORY OF GIBRALTAR* as most readers will require.

# A HISTORY OF THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

## CHAPTER I.

General History of Gibraltar, since it was first noticed—Fortified under the Saracen Empire—Reduction of the Fortress by Ferdinand of Castile—Retaken by the Moors—Finally recovered by the Christians—Taken by the English—Besieged by the Spaniards in 1705; afterwards in 1727—Succession of Governors to the present time.

GIBRALTAR is situated in Andalusia, the most southern province of Spain. The Rock is seven miles in circumference, forming a promontory three miles long; and is joined to the continent by an isthmus of low sand: the southern extremity lies in  $36^{\circ} 2' 30''$  N. lat., and in  $5^{\circ} 15'$  W. long. from the meridian of London.

Historians, from very early periods, have noticed Gibraltar, or Mons Calpe, by a well-known mythological fiction, denominating it, and Mons Abyla, on the opposite coast of Africa, the Pillars of Hercules. It does not, however, appear that the hill was ever inhabited by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, or Romans, who, in the first ages of navigation, visited the bay, and built cities in its neighbourhood; or that it ever engaged the attention of those intrepid and successful barbarians who so violently subverted the Roman empire, and established a new government in Spain. The period when it began to be remarked for the natural strength of its situation, seems well ascertained to be in the beginning of the eighth century, when the Saracens (then become a powerful nation in the east, and along the coast of Africa) invaded Spain, and soon after made themselves masters of the whole country.

The Gothic kingdom, which had existed in Spain for 300 years, was,

previous to the invasion of the Saracens, distracted with intestine divisions: the nation in general were become effeminate, totally neglecting the military discipline of their ancestors; and their monarch Roderic, a profligate prince, not a little accelerated their ruin by ravishing the daughter of Count Julian, a nobleman of great wealth and influence, and governor of Ceuta, in Africa. Count Julian, to avenge the dishonour done to his family, combined with other discontented chiefs, who had long complained, and were ripe for a revolt. The tyrant was, however, too powerful for whatever opposition they alone could raise; the count, therefore, secretly retired with his family into Africa, and acquainting Mousa (the Saracen governor of the western provinces) with the divided state of the empire, promised, if he would attempt to dethrone Roderic, to assist him with his own interest, and that of his friends.

Mousa, cautious and prudent, communicated the project to his sovereign the Caliph Al Walid Ebn Abdalmalik, who agreed to try the practicability of it; and, to inspect more accurately the state of affairs, sent over a small detachment. 100 horse, and 400 foot, were accordingly embarked in the year 711; under the command of Ebn Zarcas, attended by Count



and other Gothic noblemen: this small force soon passed the Herculean Straits, and landed on the coast near the present town of Algeziras, where, finding no opposition, and the country almost defenceless, the Saracen general ravaged the neighbouring towns, and returned laden with spoils, to report the success of his first expedition.

Mousa, elated with the flattering prospect, the following year assembled an army of 12,000 men, and Tarif was appointed to the chief command. Having supplied himself with provisions and stores, Tarif once more embarked on the rapid Strait, and landed on the isthmus between Mons Calpe and the continent. The object of this invasion being of a more serious nature than that of the former, he determined to secure a communication with Africa, by establishing a post on the coast; and, duly estimating the strong natural situation of Mons Calpe, gave orders to erect a castle on the face of the hill, which might answer the original purpose, and also cover his retreat, in case he should be unfortunate in his future operations. The superior part of this once magnificent pile at present remains; and, from an inscription discovered over the principal gate, before it was pulled down, the period of its being finished is ascertained to be about the year of our Lord 725.

Tarif, leaving a garrison at the foot of Mons Calpe (which was now called by the Saracens, in compliment to their general, Gibel-Tarif, or the mountain of Tarif, and thence Gibraltar), marched into the country, and surprised many towns, amongst which was Heraclea, or Carteia, situated on the coast of the bay, about four miles distant from Gibel-Tarif.

King Roderic, receiving intelligence of Tarif's approach, assembled a numerous body of troops to oppose his progress. Both armies met, after several skirmishes, near Xeres, in Andalusia, and a bloody conflict ensued. The victory was for a long time doubtful; but the Gothic army being raw and undisciplined, and part disaffected and joining the Saracens, Tarif at

length prevailed, and by this victory was soon in possession of the whole kingdom.

The Goths, or Spaniards as we will now call them, were driven by the rapid conquests of the invaders into the provinces of Asturias, Biscay, &c., where, like the ancient Britons, they maintained a strenuous and respectable opposition. By degrees they reassumed their former discipline and valour, while their conquerors declined into luxury and effeminacy: they made several excursions from the mountains, recovering, after many obstinate actions, great part of the northern provinces. This success encouraged them to attempt the total rejection of the Arabic yoke. Measures were concerted among the chiefs, to act with union and with vigour. The infidels were attacked and routed in successive engagements; and the kingdoms of Asturias, Galicia, Leon, Navarre, and Castile, erected under different monarchs.

Gibraltar, during these transactions, increased in importance, though not in an equal degree with the neighbouring city of Algeziras, which had been built, posterior to Gibraltar, on the opposite shore of the bay, and was then become a fortress of great magnificence and strength. This celebrated city seems totally to have obscured Gibraltar in the histories of those times, since very trifling mention is made of the latter till the beginning of the fourteenth century, when we learn that Ferdinand, king of Castile, in the course of his conquests, first took it (with a small detachment) from the infidels.

Gibraltar could not at this period be very strong, as it fell so easy a prey to the Christians, whose army had been, and at that time was employed in the siege of Algeziras. It does not, however, appear that Ferdinand was equally successful in his operations against that city; for we find, in the year 1316, the Moors of Grenada applying to the emperor of Fez for succour: and, to facilitate their reception, Algeziras and other cities on the coast were put into the hands of the Africans. We may therefore conclude that Ferdinand was

obliged to withdraw from before Algeziras, and that he afterwards directed his force against the infidels in a more vulnerable part, which induced them to apply for the assistance just mentioned.

Gibraltar continued in the possession of the Spaniards till 1333, when Abomeliq, son of the Emperor of Fez, was dispatched with further assistance to the Moorish king of Granada, and landing at Algeziras, immediately laid siege to Gibraltar, whilst the Granadians were making diversions elsewhere. Alonzo XI. was then on the throne of Castile; and intelligence was immediately sent to inform him of the descent of the Africans. He was, however, prevented from marching to the relief of Gibraltar by a rebellion in his kingdom, and by the approach of Mahomet, king of Granada, towards his frontiers. Abomeliq commenced his attack on the castle with great judgment and bravery, and the Spanish governor Vasco Perez de Meyra defended it with equal obstinacy; but Perez having embezzled the money which was advanced to victual the garrison, the troops and inhabitants suffered great distress; and no prospect of relief offering, he was compelled, after five months' siege, to surrender.

Alonzo having quelled the rebellion, and obliged Mahomet to retire, was then marching to the assistance of Perez, and was advanced within a short distance of Gibraltar, when he was informed of the capitulation. He was resolved nevertheless to attempt its recovery before the Moors could victual and repair it: he accordingly proceeded, on his route, and encamped before the town five days after it had surrendered. Alonzo parted his army into three divisions; the main body occupied the isthmus, the second he sent by boats to the red sands, and the third climbed up the north of the hill above the town. Several serious attacks had been made on the castle, when Mahomet, king of Granada, joining Abomeliq's forces, their combined army encamped in the rear of the Spaniards, extending across the isthmus from the bay to the Mediterranean. This position hemmed in the

besiegers, debarred them from foraging, and cut off their communication with the country. Alonzo, though thus critically situated, still maintained the siege; but at length, driven to great difficulties for want of provisions, and hearing that some of his disaffected subjects, taking advantage of his absence, were again in arms, he hearkened to an accommodation, and was permitted to retire with his army.

To be thus disgracefully compelled to raise the siege did not agree with the ambitious and impatient temper of Alonzo: he secretly meditated a new attack whenever an opportunity should occur; and this intention was not a little strengthened by his success in the year 1343-4, when Algeziras was taken, after a most memorable siege. In 1349 the tumults and civil wars in Africa afforded him the opportunity he waited for: great preparations were therefore made for this expedition, which was not esteemed of inferior consequence to the preceding siege of Algeziras, as the Moors, since the loss of that city, had paid great attention to the completion of the works, and to the rendering of the place considerably stronger by additional fortifications; the garrison was also numerous and well provided, and of their choicest troops.

Alonzo encamped before Gibraltar in the beginning of 1349, and immediately laid waste the delightful groves, gardens, and houses of pleasure, which were erected in its neighbourhood. The siege was commenced with great bravery, and though the camp of the Castilians was much harassed by the flying squadrons of Granadian horse, yet the castle in the course of several months was almost reduced to a capitulation. At this critical period a pestilential disorder swept away numbers of the besiegers, and among the rest Alonzo, who died, much lamented, on the 26th of March, 1350; and the Spaniards immediately afterwards raised the siege.

The descendants of Abomeliq continued in quiet possession of Gibraltar till 1410, when Jusaf III., king of Granada, availing himself of the intestine divisions which prevailed among the

African Moors, took possession of the place. The inhabitants, however, not relishing the government of their new masters, unanimously revolted the following year against the Granadian alcaide, drove him with his garrison out of the town, and wrote to the emperor of Morocco, to be taken again under his protection. The emperor dispatched his brother Sayd, with 1000 horse and 2000 foot, to their assistance. The king of Granada, being informed that Sayd had garrisoned the castle, marched with an army, and sending his fleet round to the bay, appeared before the place in 1411. Sayd advanced to meet him, but, being worsted in several skirmishes, was obliged to retreat within the castle, and being closely besieged, and reduced to great distress for want of provisions, was at last compelled to submit.

In 1435, Henry de Guzman, Count de Niebla, formed a design of attacking Gibraltar by land and sea; but, imprudently skirmishing with the garrison, from his galleys, before his son John de Guzman arrived with the land forces, he was defeated, and forced to a precipitate retreat; in which confusion he himself lost his life, and many of his followers were killed and drowned.

In 1462, a civil war breaking out in Granada, great part of the garrison of Gibraltar was withdrawn, to assist one of the competitors for the crown: the governor of Tarifa had intelligence of this by a Moor, who had left the town, and embraced the Christian faith. An army was accordingly assembled from the neighbouring garrisons, and Gibraltar was besieged. The inhabitants defended it with great resolution; but fresh troops joining the besiegers, the garrison surrendered to John de Guzman, Duke de Medina Sidonia (son of the unfortunate Count de Niebla), who, hearing that the place was reduced to great distress, hastened to the camp, and arrived just in time to be present when the Moors capitulated. From this period it has remained in the hands of the Christians, after having been in the possession of the Mahometans 748 years. The news of this conquest was so acceptable to Henry IV., of Castile and

Leon, that he added it to his royal titles, and gave it for arms, *Gules*, a castle, *proper*, with a key pendent to the gate, or (alluding to its being the key to the Mediterranean); which arms have ever since been continued. Pedro de Porras was appointed governor; but the succeeding year King Henry made a journey to Gibraltar, and superseded him, giving the command to Don Bertrand de la Cueva, Count Lederma, who placed the trust in the hands of Stephano Villacreces: the Duke de Medina Sidonia, however, afterwards recovered and enjoyed it, till the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1502, when it was annexed to the crown.

In the year 1540, Piali Hamet, one of Barbarossa's captains, surprised and pillaged Gibraltar, making prisoners many of the principal inhabitants; but being met on his return by some galleys from Sicily, the corsairs were all killed or taken, and the prisoners redeemed.

In 1589, during the reign of Charles V., the fortifications of the town were modernised and several additions made by Daniel Speckel, the emperor's engineer; after which the place was thought to be impregnable. From this time there appears a chasm in the history of the garrison till the year 1704, when Gibraltar was wrested (most probably for ever) from the dominion of Spain, by the English, under Admiral Sir George Rooke. This officer had been sent into the Mediterranean, with a strong fleet, in the spring of 1704, to assist Charles, archduke of Austria, in obtaining the crown of Spain; but, his instructions being limited, nothing of importance was done. Sensible of the reflections that would fall on him, for being inactive with so powerful a fleet, he held a council of war, on the 17th of July, 1704, near Tetuan, at which several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack upon Cadiz, which however was thought impracticable for want of a sufficient body of land forces. At length it was resolved to make a sudden and vigorous attempt on Gibraltar.

The 21st of the same month, the fleet arrived in the bay; and 1800 men, English and Dutch, commanded by

the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, were landed on the isthmus. The prince then summoned the garrison; but the governor refusing to surrender, preparations were made for the attack. By daybreak on the 23rd, the ships appointed to cannonade the town, under Admirals Byng and Vanderdussen, with those that were destined to batter the new mole, commanded by Captains Hicks and Jumper, were at their several stations. The admiral made the signal to begin the cannonade, which was performed with great vivacity and effect, so that the enemy, in five or six hours, were driven from their guns, especially from the new mole head. The admiral, considering that by gaining that fortification the town might sooner be reduced, ordered Captain Whitaker, with the armed boats, to possess himself of it; but Captains Hicks and Jumper, who lay next the mole, pushed ashore with their pinnaces, before the rest came up; whereupon the Spaniards sprung a mine, which blew up the fortifications, killed 2 lieutenants and 40 men, and wounded 60. The assailants nevertheless kept possession of the work, and being joined by Captain Whitaker, advanced and took a small redoubt,\* half-way between the mole and the town. The Marquis de Salines, who was governor, being again summoned, thought proper to capitulate: hostages were therefore exchanged, and the Prince of Hesse, on the 24th of July, 1704, took possession of the gates.

Notwithstanding the works were very strong, mounting 100 pieces of ordnance, well appointed with ammunition and stores; yet the garrison, at most, consisted of only 150 men, exclusive of the inhabitants. The marquis marched out with all the honours of war, and the Spaniards who chose to remain were allowed the same privileges they had enjoyed under King Charles II. The loss of the English in this attack was, 2 lieutenants, 1 master, 57 sailors, killed; 1 captain, 7 lieutenants, 1 boatswain, 207 sailors, wounded.

The Prince of Hesse remained governor; and as many men as could well be spared from the fleet were left as a garrison. Sir George Rooke afterwards sailed for Tetuan, to wood and water. This being performed, he steered up the Mediterranean, and on the 13th of August, off Malaga, engaged the French fleet, under the command of Count de Toulouse. The action was long and warm; but many of the English ships, having expended a great quantity of ammunition in taking Gibraltar, were soon obliged to quit the line; which gave the enemy a decided superiority. The engagement ended in a drawn battle; and Sir George returned to Gibraltar, where he stayed eight days to refit; and then supplying the prince with what men and provisions he could spare, sailed thence on the 4th of September, N.S., on his way home, leaving 18 men-of-war under the command of Sir John Leake, at Lisbon, to be in readiness to succour the garrison, if there should be occasion.

The courts of Madrid and Paris were greatly concerned at the loss of so important a fortress as Gibraltar, and, considering its recovery of the last consequence to the cause, the Marquis de Villadarias, a grandee of Spain, was ordered to besiege, and endeavour to retake it. The Prince of Hesse, apprised of their intentions, and being further informed that they were to be assisted by a naval force from Toulon, sent advice to Sir John Leake, requesting assistance and supplies. Sir John prepared for this duty; but in the mean time a fleet of French ships arrived, and landed six battalions, which joined the Spanish army. After disembarking their reinforcements, the French squadron proceeded to the westward, leaving only six frigates in the bay.

On the 11th of October, 1704, the Marquis opened his trenches against the town; and soon afterwards Sir John Leake arrived with 20 sail of English and Dutch ships: hearing, however, that the enemy were preparing to attack him with a superior force, he thought it most eligible immediately to retire and refit, that he might be in

\* The present eight-gun battery.

a better condition to supply and assist the garrison, in a second expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made at Lisbon in his absence. On the 25th he again put to sea; and on the 29th unexpectedly entering the bay, surprised three frigates, a fire-ship, two English prizes, a tartan, and a store-ship. He then landed the reinforcements, and supplied the garrison with six months' provisions and ammunition, at the same time detaching on shore a body of 500 sailors to assist in repairing the breaches which had been made by the enemy's fire. The arrival of the admiral was very opportune and critical; for that very night the marquis had resolved to attack the place by sea and land at five different points; for which purpose he had assembled 200 boats from Cadiz, &c.

Though disappointed in their designs, the Spaniards still entertained hopes of taking the fortress; and supposing the troops would be less on their guard while the fleet was in the bay, they formed the desperate scheme of surprising the garrison, though the British admiral was before the town. The 31st of October, 500 volunteers took the sacrament, never to return till they had taken Gibraltar. This forlorn party was conducted by a goat-herd to the south side of the rock, near the Cave-guard (at that time called the Pass of Locust-trees). Fortune, in the beginning, so far favoured the enterprise, that they mounted the rock, and lodged themselves unperceived the first night in St. Michael's cave; the succeeding night they scaled Charles the Fifth's wall; surprised and put to death the guard at the Signal-house and at Middle-hill, where afterwards, by ropes and ladders, they got up several hundreds of the party who had been ordered to sustain them; but being discovered, a strong detachment of grenadiers marched up immediately from the town, and attacked them with such spirit, that 160 of them were killed, or driven over the precipice, and a colonel and 30 officers, with the remainder, taken prisoners. These brave, but unfortunate adventurers, were to have been supported by a body of

French troops, and some feints were to have been made below to engage the attention of the garrison; but the commanding officers disagreeing, they were left to their fortune.

Sir John Leake was not idle whilst he remained in the bay, but was continually alarming the enemy on their coasts. The 22nd of November he had information, by one of his cruisers, that a strong squadron was fitting out at Cadiz, which would be soon ready for sea; and receiving further intelligence, that a convoy, fitted out from Lisbon for the relief of Gibraltar, was on its way, he prepared to join it off Lagos, in order to protect it past Cadiz; but was confined within the Straits by a westerly wind. The prince, in the mean time, redoubled his exertions to prevent the enemy's designs, who flattered themselves, that on the arrival of their fleet from Cadiz, Sir John would be obliged to retire, and the garrison surrender to their united attacks. Their fire was continued with additional vivacity, many cannon in the place were dismounted, and the works were materially injured in different parts.

Affairs were in this situation, when part of the long-wished-for succours arrived on the 7th of December; and two days following, the remainder came in with near 2000 men, with proportionable ammunition and provisions. They sailed from Lisbon under convoy of four frigates, and thought themselves safe on discovering, off Cape Spartel, a fleet of men-of-war, under English and Dutch colours: expecting to meet Sir John, with the combined fleet, at the entrance of the Straits, they endeavoured to join them, but fortunately were becalmed: they then hoisted out their boats to tow the ships, when, perceiving the men-of-war extend themselves in form of a half moon, in order to surround them, they began to suspect some deception, and accordingly made a private signal, which totally frustrated the enemy's measures, who were thereby discovered, and, striking their false colours, endeavoured to fall upon the transports; but these latter, being lighter vessels,

escaped by their oars, and, night coming on, steered for the bay, with the loss of only two transports. It was now thought no longer necessary to detain the fleet in the bay, or on the coast; especially when Monsieur Pointis was so near, with a superior force. Sir John accordingly arrived at Lisbon the latter end of the year.

The Spanish general being reinforced with a considerable body of infantry, made an attack, on the 11th of January, 1705, with 60 grenadiers on the works at the extremity of the King's lines; but, two officers and several others being killed, the rest retreated. This repulse did not, however, discourage him; for, early on the succeeding day, the attack was renewed by 500 or 600 grenadiers, French and Walons, supported by 1000 Spaniards, under Lieutenant-General Tuy. Their disposition was to storm a breach which had been made in the round tower, at the extremity of the King's lines, and another in the intrenchment on the hill. The retrenchment which covered the latter breach, with part of the intrenchment joining the precipice of the rock, was defended at night by a captain, three subalterns, and 90 men; but it was customary for the captain to withdraw, with two subalterns and 60 men, at daybreak. The round tower was defended by 180 men, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel. The marquis, by deserters from the garrison, had obtained intelligence of the strength of these posts, and concerted his attack accordingly. The detachment for the upper breach mounted the rock at dead of night, and concealed themselves in the clefts till the captain had withdrawn. They then advanced to the point of the intrenchment, and, throwing grenades on the subaltern and his party, obliged them to retreat. At the same time 300 men stormed the round tower, where Lieutenant-Colonel Barr made a vigorous defence, though the enemy having passed the breach above, annoyed him on the flank with great stones and grenades: observing, however, the Spaniards marching down to cut off his retreat from the town, he retired, and by getting over the para-

pet of the King's lines, descended into the covered way, where the English guards were posted. By this time the garrison was alarmed; all the regiments assembled at their proper posts; and Captain Fisher endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy with 100 men, but was repulsed and himself taken prisoner. Lieutenant-Colonel Moncal, at last, with 400 or 500 men, charged them with such bravery, that they were repulsed, and the tower was retaken after it had been in their possession upwards of an hour. Soon after this attack, six companies of Dutch troops, and 200 English soldiers, were received by the garrison, with provisions and stores.

The Spaniards and French were still obstinately bent on the recovery of Gibraltar. The Marquis de Villadarias was superseded by the Marshal Tessé, a French general; and Monsieur Pointis was directed to co-operate with the marshal in blocking up the port with a powerful fleet. The marshal joined the army with four fresh battalions, besides eight companies which had been sent before. The ordnance, which from constant use had been greatly injured, were totally exchanged; and the works, as they then stood, were put in the best repair.

The English ministry had been informed of the enemy's new arrangements; and, sensible of the importance of Gibraltar, ordered a reinforcement, under Sir Thomas Dilkes and Sir John Hardy, to join Admiral Sir John Leake at Lisbon. The junction being effected, and his own fleet refitted, Sir John, on the 6th of March, sailed with 28 English, 4 Dutch, and 8 Portuguese men-of-war, having on board two battalions. Happily for the besieged, the incessant rains about this period had retarded the marshal's operations, and greatly distressed Monsieur Pointis, several of whose ships were forced from their anchors by a strong westerly wind, and driven to the eastward. He, with the remainder of his squadron, was quitting the bay, when the British admiral entered the Straits, and about half past five, on the morning of the 10th, was almost abreast of Cabrita Point. Si

John Leake, discovering five sail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from the garrison, concluded that the town was safe, and immediately gave chase. Three French ships of the line were taken, and Admiral Poin-  
 tiff's ship and another run ashore and burnt. Sir John afterwards looked into Malaga, where some of the ships that had been driven from the harbour had taken shelter; but, hearing the report of the guns, they had made the best of their way to Toulon. Sir John, finding the pursuit of them in vain, returned on the 19th to Gibraltar, which was now so well supplied, that Marshal Tessé withdrew his troops from the trenches, and formed a blockade; drawing an intrenchment across the isthmus, to prevent the garrison from ravaging the country.

In the course of this siege, the enemy did not lose fewer than 10,000 men, including those who died of sickness, &c. The garrison lost about 400.

The Prince of Hesse remained in the place while the batteries were repaired: he made also some additions to the fortifications, and left the garrison much stronger than it was before the siege. The prince then joined the Archduke Charles at Lisbon, where the combined fleets of England and Holland were assembled, to support that prince in obtaining the crown of Spain.

As the archduke was resolved to try his fortune with the Earl of Peterborough, in Valencia and Catalonia, the Prince of Hesse was sent back to Gibraltar, to prepare part of the garrison to embark, and soon after was followed by the fleet; upon whose arrival, in August, 1705, the archduke was received by the garrison as lawful sovereign of Spain, and proclaimed by the title of Charles III. Having taken on board the English guards, and three old regiments, leaving only two new battalions in the town (as there was no danger to be apprehended from the enemy), they proceeded, on the 5th of August, for Valencia. His Majesty then appointed Major-General Ramos, who had been present during the siege, governor of Gibraltar; and sent with him about 400 men for its greater

security. General Ramos afterwards resigned his government, and was succeeded by Colonel Roger Elliot; during whose government Gibraltar was made a free port, by a special order from her Majesty Queen Anne.

The following was the governor's manifesto on the occasion:—

“By the Hon. Roger Elliot, Colonel of one of her Majesty's regiments of foot, and Governor of the city and garrison of Gibraltar.

“Whereas her Majesty of Great Britain, &c. hath been graciously pleased, by her warrant to me, dated 19th February last, to confirm her former declarations for the freedom of this port, and to regulate and command me not to permit any duty or imposition whatsoever to be laid or received for any ship or vessel, or for any goods, wares, merchandise, or provisions, imported or exported out of this port; but that the same be free and open for all ships and vessels, goods, wares, merchandise, and provisions: these are to make known and publish her said Majesty's royal will and pleasure; and all persons concerned are hereby strictly required to take notice thereof, not presuming to demand or receive any duty or imposition whatsoever for any ship or vessel, or for any goods, wares, merchandise, or provisions, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

“Given at Gibraltar, April, 1706.”

Colonel Congreve was commandant before 1714. He was succeeded by Colonel Cotton. In 1720 Gibraltar seems to have been threatened by the Spaniards. Ceuta, a Spanish fortress in Barbary, had then been besieged many years by the Moors; and a formidable force, commanded by the Marquis de Leda, was assembled in Gibraltar Bay, under pretence of relieving it, but with a secret intention of first surprising Gibraltar; for which purpose they had procured scaling-ladders, &c. &c. This armament was not fitted out so secretly but that the British ministry had timely notice, and, suspecting some finesse, dispatched orders to Colonel Kane, governor of Minorca, immediately to embark a part of his gar-

riou, and repair to Gibraltar, under convoy of the fleet in the Mediterranean. On his arrival he found Gibraltar in a very critical situation; the garrison consisting only of three weak battalions, commanded by Major Hetherington, who, except Major Batteredoux, was the only field-officer in the place. Many officers were absent, only fourteen days' provisions in the stores, and many Spaniards in the town, with a fleet before its walls. Such was the feeble posture of affairs when he opportunely arrived with 500 men, provisions, and ammunition. The British commodore acted afterwards in so spirited a manner, that the Marquis de Leda was obliged to sail for Ceuta, though he continued of opinion that the garrison might have been taken by a general assault.

This scheme proving abortive, Gibraltar remained unmoled till the latter end of the year 1726, when the Spaniards, who had kept a watchful eye on the garrison, assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Algeziras. On the 20th of January following, they encamped on the plain below St. Roque, and began to erect a battery on the beach to protect their camp. Admiral Hopson was then at anchor in the bay, with a very formidable fleet; but, as he had not received any intelligence of hostilities having commenced between the courts of Great Britain and Madrid, he was with reluctance compelled to overlook the transporting of provisions, artillery, and ammunition from Algeziras (where they had formed their depôts) to the camp. Brigadier Kane, who had been a second time ordered from Minorca to Gibraltar, lay also under similar embarrassments with the admiral. The operations of the enemy, however, tending towards a direct attack upon the garrison, he thought it prudent to order the Spaniards out of the town, and forbid their galleys anchoring under his guns.

It must be understood that Gibraltar had undergone considerable alterations since the siege of 1705: several works had been erected on the heights above the lines, which were distinguished by the name of Willis's batteries; the

Prince's lines were also extended to the extremity of the rock; and an inundation with a causeway was formed out of the morass that was in front of the grand battery.

The Count de Las Torres commanded the Spanish forces, amounting to near 20,000 men; and soon after his camp was formed, he advanced within reach of the garrison. The brigadier thereupon dispatched a parley, to desire "That he would withdraw from the range of his guns, otherwise he should do his utmost to force him." The count answered, "That, as the garrison could command no more than they had power to maintain, he should obey his Catholic Majesty's orders, and encroach as far as he was able." Notwithstanding this insult, as war had not been formally declared, the brigadier waived commencing hostilities, till the Spaniards, by their proceedings, should oblige him, in defence of his command.

In the beginning of February, Brigadier Clayton, the lieutenant-governor, arrived with reinforcements, on board Sir Charles Wager's fleet; and a council of war was immediately summoned, but the result was a determination not to fire upon the Spaniards. The 10th of February, the enemy brought materials for batteries to the old windmill, on the neutral ground; upon which the lieutenant-governor again collected the sense of the admirals and field-officers; when in the second council it was unanimously agreed that the Spanish general had made open war in encroaching so far on the liberties of the garrison. This being their opinion, Brigadier Clayton sent a parley to the count, to know the reason of his breaking ground: to which the count replied, that "he was on his master's ground, and was not answerable to any other person for his conduct." As this answer directly indicated the hostile intentions of the Spaniards, the lieutenant-governor, in the evening, withdrew the out-guard, and the succeeding day in the afternoon opened the old mole and Willis's batteries on their workmen. They persisted, nevertheless, in carrying on the work; and at



night a large party marched down to the Devil's Tower, where they immediately broke ground, and began a communication with their other work. This party were greatly annoyed in marching to their post, but were soon under cover of the rock, where the guns could not be depressed to bear upon them.

Numbers of the enemy deserted to the garrison, by whom, on the 17th, the lieutenant-governor was informed that they were constructing a mine, in a cave under Willis's, with an intention, if possible, to blow up that battery. The engineers on this intelligence reconnoitered the cave; which, after some difficulty, they discovered, with a sentry at the entrance; and a party was immediately stationed to annoy the communication with musketry. On the morning of the 22nd, the count opened on the garrison, with seventeen pieces of cannon, besides mortars. The day following Brigadier Kane left the garrison, to detach a reinforcement from Minorca. In the mean time Sir Charles Wager and Admiral Hopson, with the fleet under their command, were constantly distressing the enemy, by intercepting their homeward-bound ships; and the prizes which were brought into the bay greatly benefited the besieged. The 3rd of March, the enemy opened a new battery of 22 guns on the old mole and town; and on the 8th, another of 15 guns, bearing also upon the old mole, which, it seems, proved a troublesome battery to the western flank of their approaches.

The lieutenant-governor continued a constant and well-directed fire from all the batteries that bore upon their works: but the ordnance in general being old were bursting daily on the batteries; by which accidents the garrison experienced more casualties than from all the fire of the enemy. The 27th, Col. Middleton's regiment arrived, also six companies and a half of Col. Hay's, with two engineers, a captain of artillery, and several bombardiers, gunners, and matrosses, with 140 recruits for the other regiments.

The admirals, the 2nd of April, formed the design of bombarding Alge-

ziras, whence the enemy were constantly supplied with various articles of ammunition; but the ships, after getting under way, were becalmed, and obliged to come to anchor; after which the navy never gave themselves any further concern about annoying them in that quarter. On the 10th Colonel Cosby arrived in the Solebay, with 500 men, from Minorca; and two days following the admirals sailed to the westward, leaving Commodore Davies behind, with six men-of-war and the sloops. Sir Charles did not return during the siege. The 16th, the lieutenant-governor ordered two serjeants, with ten men each, to advance from the spur-guard, under the rock, and along the causeway, and alarm the enemy in the trenches; giving them directions to retire when they found their guards sufficiently alarmed, when he intended to salute them with grape, &c. from Willis's and the lines. These orders were executed, and the enemy instantly beat to arms; but the bombardier appointed to give the signal to the batteries, firing too soon, the enemy saw through the design, and retired without any considerable loss.

Lord Portmore, the governor, arrived on the 21st, with a battalion of guards, and another of the line; also Colonel Watson, of the artillery, with several noblemen as volunteers. The 26th the count opened a new battery against Willis's and the extremity of Prince's lines. Their batteries now mounted sixty cannon, besides mortars. In the beginning of May the garrison had intelligence that the enemy designed an assault: precautions were accordingly taken, and the guns on the lower defences loaded with grape. The Spaniards added still to their approaches, and raised various communications to and from their advanced batteries. Towards the 16th and 20th their firing abated, but their engineers proceeded in advancing their trenches. On the 31st a vessel arrived with 375 barrels of powder from Lisbon. June the 3rd the Solebay came in, with a further supply of 980 barrels of powder and 500 thirteen-inch shells, from Mahon. The firing continued till the

12th, when about ten at night Colone. Fitzgerald, of the Irish brigade, beat a parley, and being admitted into the garrison, delivered letters to Lord Portmore from the Dutch minister at the court of Madrid, with a copy of the preliminaries of a general peace, whereupon a suspension of arms took place and all hostilities ceased on both sides.

The garrison lost in the whole about 300 killed and wounded; and 70 cannon, with 30 mortars, burst during the siege. The enemy's casualties could never be ascertained. In killed, wounded, &c. it was computed they lost near 3000 men.

When Lord Portmore and the count agreed to a cessation, the Spaniards of course were compelled to forsake the mine under Willis's: their parties, however, taking possession of it a second time, his lordship considered it as a breach of the articles of cessation, and represented it accordingly. The count afterwards withdrew; the works were dismantled and levelled, and the troops retreated to their different cantonments.

The Spaniards during this siege never made the least attempt to cut off the communication by sea; so that the garrison was regularly supplied with provisions and fascines from Barbary, and had a regular correspondence with England.

In 1728 the Parliament of Great Britain addressed his Majesty King George II., to take effectual care, in the treaty then pending, to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. Overtures had been made by his Majesty George I. to restore the former to Spain, if the parliament would have consented to such restitution; but the minister, finding an opposition, declined proceeding in the business. In 1730 Lieut.-Gen. Sabine was governor of Gibraltar. The Spaniards during his government erected the forts and lines across the isthmus, about a mile from the garrison, which effectually prevent any communication with the country, and, as we have experienced, are of considerable advantage in case of a siege. The western

fort, called St. Philip's, entirely commands the best anchorage on the side of the bay next the garrison. Lieut.-Gen. Columbine succeeded General Sabine, and he was succeeded by Lieut.-Gen. Hargrave.

General Bland was appointed governor in 1749, at which time a general relief of troops took place. The establishment at that period was four battalions of infantry and a company of artillery. Lord George Beauclerk and the Hon. General Herbert were severally commandants in the absence of General Bland; and in 1755 Lieut.-Gen. Fowkes was deputed governor. Lord Tyrawley succeeded him, in whose absence the Earl of Panmure was commandant. Earl Home was afterwards governor, and died there in 1761. During the government of this nobleman, about the year 1760, an incident occurred, which, as it alarmed the garrison very much at that time, is deserving of notice. Two British regiments had been a very considerable time on that station, and, from the continuance of the war, saw little prospect of being relieved. Amongst these a conspiracy was formed by some disaffected persons to surprise, plunder, and massacre their officers, and in short all whom they judged to be averse to their designs. After securing the money which was intended for the payment of the troops, they meant to purchase for themselves a secure retreat, by surrendering this so much wished-for fortress into the hands of Spain. The numbers who joined the conspirators were not fewer than 730. An accidental quarrel in a wine-house defeated this dangerous project, and produced a discovery. Reed, a private in the seventh regiment, was executed on the grand parade as the ringleader; and ten others were condemned.

After the death of Lord Home, Colonel Tovey and Major-General Parslow were each commandants, till the Hon. Lieut.-Gen. Cornwallis was appointed governor. During this general's absence from the garrison, Colonel Irwin was commandant; and

General Cornwallis leaving Gibraltar a second time, Major-Gen. Boyd,

lieutenant-governor, commanded. In this general's government the garrison was considerably strengthened with three new bastions on the sea-line, and additional improvements at the southward.

In 1776 the Right Hon. General George Augustus Elliott was appointed

governor of that important fortress, and joined his command in 1777.

In 1787 General Elliott, who had been honoured in 1783 with the Order of the Bath for his glorious defence of Gibraltar, returned to England, and Major-General O'Hara was appointed commandant during his absence.

## CHAPTER II.

Description of the Rock, with the Fortifications and Town of Gibraltar—Remains of Moorish Architecture—Natural Curiosities—Climate—Vegetation—Fish; and whence supplied with Cattle, &c.—Military establishment—Description of the Bay—Algeziras—Some accounts of the ancient City of Carteia—St. Roque—Conclusive Remarks.

As the History which is to be the subject of the following pages will be more in detail than the preceding narrative, it may on some accounts be necessary, and cannot on any, I flatter myself, be disagreeable, to present the reader with a short description of this celebrated rock, and the fortifications which have been erected for its defence.

The promontory, or rock, at the foot of which stands the town, is upwards of 1300 feet in height; projecting into the sea several miles from the continent, with which it is connected by an isthmus of low sand. This appearance makes it not improbable that Mons Calpe in former ages has been totally surrounded by the sea. The north front of the peninsula, which presents itself to the main land, is of various heights. The breadth of the isthmus, at the foot of the rock, is about 900 yards; but it grows considerably wider towards the country. Across this isthmus (which, with Gibraltar and the opposite coast, forms the bay) the Spaniards have drawn a fortified line at about a mile's distance from the garrison, extending 1700 yards, and embracing both shores: a fort of masonry is erected at each extremity, mounting 23 or 24 guns each; these forts are of different forms, and are called Fort St. Philip and Fort St. Barbara. The former of them commands the best and the usual anchoring place of our shipping and small craft, and, by forming a cross fire with Fort St. Barbara on the neutral ground, prevents all communication between the garrison and the country.

The rock, as I have mentioned before, is upwards of 1300 feet perpendicular above the level of the sea; and is separated by a ridge from north to south, dividing it into two unequal parts. The western front or division is a gradual slope, interspersed with precipices; but the opposite side, looking to the Mediterranean, and the north front facing the Spanish lines, are both naturally very steep, and totally inaccessible. It is this peculiar circumstance which forms the chief strength of Gibraltar.

The town is built at the foot of the north-west face of the hill, and is fortified in an irregular manner. The communication with it from the isthmus is by a long narrow causeway (serving as a dam to an inundation), which is defended by a curtain, with two bastions, mounting 26 pieces of cannon, a dry ditch, covered way, and glacis well mined. These, with the causeway, are warmly flanked by the King's, Queen's, and Prince's lines; works cut in the rock with immense labour, and scarped to be almost inaccessible. Above the lines are the batteries at Willis's, and others at different heights, until they crown the summit of the rock, where several batteries are erected for cannon and mortars. These batteries, the lowest of which is upwards of 400 feet above the neutral ground, mount between 50 and 60 pieces of heavy ordnance, and entirely command the isthmus below. Exclusive of what are here mentioned, additional works of a singular nature were projected in 1782, which, with others in the lines, on a similar plan, that are (1789) executing under the direction of

Major-General O'Hara, will render Gibraltar almost impregnable in that quarter. The old mole, to the west of the grand battery, forms also a very formidable flank, and, with the lines, a cross-fire on the causeway and neutral ground. This battery has been found so great an annoyance to the besiegers, that, by way of distinction, it has long been known under the appellation of the Devil's Tongue. Indeed, the ordnance in the lines, upon the grand battery, and the old mole, all together, exhibit so formidable an appearance to a spectator on the causeway, that the entrance into the garrison is called by the Spaniards the Mouth of Fire.

From the grand battery, along the sea-line, looking towards the bay, the town is defended by the North, Montague's,\* Prince of Orange's, King's, and South bastions; the line-wall or curtains between which mount many cannon and mortars. Montague's, Prince of Orange's, and King's bastions have been erected lately. The latter is a very complete piece of fortification, commanding the bay from New to Old mole heads, and mounting 12 thirty-two pounders and four ten-inch howitzers in front, 10 guns and howitzers on its flanks, and has casemates for 800 men, with kitchens and ovens for cooking. Montague's is much smaller, mounts only 12 pieces of cannon, but has a casemate for 200 men, communicating with the Old mole. In 1782 the engineers began a cavalier upon his bastion for 2 guns; but it was not finished till after the grand attack in September. Another work of this nature was likewise erected in the beginning of the blockade, for 5 guns, on the north bastion of the grand battery.

\* These bastions and the connecting curtains were so much injured in the last siege, that it was thought necessary to take them down, and strengthen this part of the town fortifications by an extensive line of new works projecting to a considerable distance into the sea; the foundations of which were laid in 1788. Many officers, however, doubt whether the substantial defences of Gibraltar are improved by these alterations. Some additions were likewise made in the same place to the Grand battery and at Land Port, where they were more wanted.

The town on the sea-line is not less protected by natural defences than by fortifications. A shoal of sharp rocks extends along the front far into the bay, and prevents ships of large burthen from approaching very near the walls.

From the south bastion (which is considerably higher than the rest of the works, in order to protect the town from the eminences on the red sands) a curtain extends up the face of the hill, and concludes, at an inaccessible precipice, the works of the town. In this curtain is the South-port gate, before which, and the south bastion, is a dry ditch, with a covered way and glacis. At the east end, on the declivity of the hill, above the gate, is a large flat bastion connected with the curtain, and mounting 13 guns, bearing on the bay, &c. This work is covered by a demi-bastion that joins the precipice. Above the precipice, an old Moorish wall is continued to the ridge of the rock; in the front of which a curtain with loop-holes and redans (built in the reign of the Emperor Charles V., and called after his name) extends to the top, effectually cutting off all communication in that quarter. Between the Moorish and Charles the Fifth's walls is the signal-house; whence, on a serene and clear day, the guard have an unbounded view of the Mediterranean, and can just observe a part of the Atlantic Ocean over the Spanish mountains. Signals formerly were made at this post on the appearance of top-sail vessels from east and west; but soon after the commencement of the late war we discovered that the Spanish cruisers were more frequently informed of the approach of our friends by our signals than by their own. The signals were therefore discontinued during the siege, but were resumed after the general peace of 1783.

The above account comprehends a general description of the fortifications of the town, avoiding too minute a detail of each work. I shall therefore proceed in describing, in the same general manner, the works to the southward.

From the south bastion a line-wall

is continued along the beach to the New mole, where an irregular fort is erected, mounting 26 guns. This line-wall is divided by a small bastion of 8 guns; and in its rear is a retired work, called the Princess of Wales's lines, in which are several strong batteries for the sea. Near the south bastion, though without the town, is a wharf called Ragged Staff, where the supplies for the garrison are usually landed, being convenient from its vicinity to the victualling-office and store-houses in the town. The communication to this quay is by spiral wooden stairs, and a drawbridge opening into the covered way; in front of which is a small work of masonry mounting 2 guns. At the foot of the stairs is the basin, where shipping take in water. Two tanks are also appropriated to this purpose near the eight-gun bastion.

Within the New mole there is depth of water sufficient for a ship of the line to lie alongside the wharf and heave down. At the mole head is a circular battery for heavy metal, joined to the New mole fort by a strong wall, fraised; having a banquette for musketry, with two embrasures opening towards the bay. This mole, with the Old mole at Waterport, were built for the accommodation of trading vessels: the former, however, is generally occupied by men-of-war; and the latter, not having more than six feet at low water, only admits small craft to the wharfs: merchantmen of large burthen are obliged therefore to anchor about half or three quarters of a mile from Waterport, in seven or eight fathoms. But in time of war this anchorage is commanded by the Spanish forts: they are consequently, in case of a rupture with Spain, under the necessity of removing to the southward of the New mole, where the ground is so rocky and foul that they are often in imminent danger during the strong southerly winds. From the New mole fort to the north end of Rosia Bay, the rock is difficult of access; nevertheless a parapet is continued, and batteries are erected, as situations dictate. The

works at Rosia are strong, and flank each other. They are close along the beach, which is low, and have a retired battery of 8 guns in the rear.

The rock continues to ascend from the south point of Rosia Bay, by Parson's Lodge (behind which, upon an eminence, is a new battery *en barbette*, on traversing carriages), to Camp-guard, and Buena Vista; so called from the beautiful prospect which is there presented to a spectator of the bay and the neighbouring kingdoms of Barbary and Spain. A line-wall is raised, notwithstanding the rock being inaccessible, with cannon at different distances. At Buena Vista there are several guns *en barbette*, which have great command; and the hill towards Europe is slightly fortified, which gives it the appearance, at a distance, of an old castle repaired. The rock then descends by the Devil's Bowling-green, so named from the irregularity of its surface, to Little Bay. At this post, which is totally surrounded with precipices, there is a barbet battery, flanking the works to the new mole: thence the rock continues naturally steep for a considerable distance, when the line-wall and batteries recommence, and extend in an irregular manner to Europa Point, the southern extremity of the garrison, though not the southern point of Europe. The rock from this point is regularly perpendicular to Europa's advance, where a few batteries, and a post at the Cave-guard, terminate the works. The fortifications along the sea-line at Europa do not, however, constitute the principal strength of that part of the garrison. The retired and inaccessible lines of Windmill-hill have great command, and, being situated within musket-shot of the sea, are very formidable, and of great consequence in that quarter.

The preceding description, it is hoped, will be sufficiently explanatory. The new bastions on the sea-line were planned and executed by, and under the direction of the chief engineer, Major-General Sir William Green, Bart. Lieutenant-General Robert Boyd laid the foundation-stone of the King's bas-

tion, in the absence of General Cornwallis, the governor. The garrison also underwent considerable alterations whilst he commanded: Windmill-hill was fortified, and other changes were effected at the southward. The improvements on the northern front were carried on under the direction of General George Augustus Eliott since he was appointed to the government. The communication, or gallery leading to St. George's Hall, above Farrington's battery; Queen's-lines battery, and communication; two works of the same nature, which extend under the

Queen's battery (Willis's\*), and in the rock above Prince of Hesse's bastion; are all so singularly contrived, and of so formidable a nature, that all direct attacks by land, henceforward, may be considered as quixotism and insanity.

Before the interior part of the place is described, it will not be improper to conclude the description of its outer works, by inserting an abstract of the guns, howitzers, and mortars mounted upon the different batteries. The original, from which this was copied, was taken in the beginning of March, 1783.

Nature of Ordnance	Cannon.								Mortars.				Howitzers.			
	Pounders.								Inch.				Inch.			
	24	18	12	9	6	4	3		13	10	8	4	10	8	5	1
	32	26														
Serviceable Ordnance, mounted	77	122	104	70	16	23	38		29	1	6	34	19	9	0	
Field Artillery	0	0	0	4	0	6	8		0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
Serviceable Ordnance, dismounted	0	27	9	0	0	0	15		0	2	7	31	0	0	0	
	77	149	113	74	16	31	61		29	3	13	65	19	9	4	

Total serviceable in the garrison, 663 pieces of artillery.

The town of Gibraltar is built on a bed of red sand, similar to those eminences without Southport, which originally extended from Landport to the foot of the ascent to the south barracks. The buildings, before the town was destroyed in the late siege, were composed of different materials, principally of tapia;† though, since the English have been in possession of Gibraltar, many have been built of the rock-stone, plastered, and blue-washed on the outside, to break the powerful rays of the sun, which otherwise would be too glaring, and prejudicial to the eyes. The modern houses were in general covered with tiles; but the flat terraced roofs remained in those erected by the Spaniards, and in some, the mirandas or towers, whence the inhabitants, without removing from home, had a beautiful and extensive prospect of the bay and neighbouring coasts.

\* The gallery under the Queen's battery has been continued by General O'Hara, and now communicates with the Prince's lines: it is called the Union Gallery.

† A cement consisting of mortar made of sand, lime, and small pebbles, which being well tempered and wrought together in a frame, acquires great strength and solidity.

Of the buildings that are most deserving notice, the old Moorish castle is the most conspicuous. This antique structure is situated on the north-west side of the hill, and originally consisted of a triple wall, the outer inclosure descending to the water's edge: but the lower parts have long since been removed, and the grand battery and Waterport fortifications erected on their ruins; and the first, or upper wall, would long ago have shared the same fate, had it not been found of service in covering the town from the *Asthmus*, in case of a siege. The walls standing at present form an oblong square, ascending the hill, at the upper angle of which is the principal tower, where the governor or alcaide formerly resided. The ruins of a Moorish mosque, or place of worship, can be traced within the walls; as also a neat morisque court, and reservoir for water: but the latter cannot, without great difficulty, be discovered by a stranger. A large tower on the south-east wall has long been converted into a magazine for powder; and in different places quarters were fitted up, before the late siege, for officers and

two companies of soldiers. This castle was erected, as I have mentioned before, by the Saracens or Moors, on their first invading Spain; and the present venerable remains are incontestable proofs of its magnificence whilst it continued in their possession.

The other principal buildings are the convent, or governor's quarters; the lieutenant-governor's house, which is a modern structure; the admiralty house, formerly a monastery of white friars; the soldiers' barracks, victualling-office, and store-house. Besides these, there are the Spanish church, the atarazana, or galley-house, and some other buildings, formerly of note, but now in ruins from the fire of the Spaniards during the late siege.\*

At the southward are the South barracks and the Navy hospital. The former a stately building, delightfully situated, with a parade in front, and two pavilions detached; the whole capable of quartering 1200 men, and officers proportionate. The latter a capacious pile, well adapted to the purpose for which it was intended: it has an area in the centre, with piazzas and a gallery above, by which the sick may enjoy the sun, or shade, as they think proper: there are apartments for 1000 men, with pavilions at each wing for the accommodation and convenience of the surgeons and their attendants. This hospital was originally erected for the navy, in case a British fleet should be stationed in the Mediterranean; but, on the Spaniards bombarding the town in 1781, the governor removed into it the sick of the garrison. At some distance, in the front of the South barracks, are two powder magazines, in which the supplies from England are usually deposited, before they are distributed to the other magazines. These last were the chief, I might say almost the only buildings remaining on the rock after the late siege; and their preservation was owing to their being kept in constant repair by workmen purposely appointed for that duty.

\* Since the peace of 1783, the greatest part of the town has been rebuilt, and (which is much to be regretted) on the old foundations and plan.

Beside the remains of Moorish architecture which have already been mentioned, the following have been esteemed not unworthy of notice. Within the town we find the galley-house, and part of the Spanish church; also the bomb-house, adjoining the line-wall: and at the southward, ruins of Moorish buildings are discernible on Windmill-hill, and at Europa. The former are situated on an eminence, but no antiquarian can determine to what use they were appropriated: some are of opinion they were burying-vaults for persons of rank; others suppose them a prison; whilst, in the garrison, the whole is generally known by the name of the Inquisition. At Europa, opposite the guard-house, may be traced the remains of a building erected by the Moors, but used by the Spaniards as a chapel, and called Nuestra Señora del Europa. Along the water's edge, without the fortification, are also several ruins of Moorish walls; and towards Europa Advance is a Moorish bath, called by the garrison the Nuns' Well. It is sunk 8 feet deep in the rock, is 72 feet long, and 42 feet broad, and to preserve the water, has an arched roof, supported by pillars. To the left of this bath is a cave, under Windmill-hill, known by the name of Beef-steak Cave, which was a common residence for many of the inhabitants during the late siege.

The hill abounds in cavities, that serve as receptacles for the rain. None, however, is so singular and worthy of notice as St. Michael's Cave, on the side of the hill, in a line with the South barracks, about 1100 feet above the level of the sea. At the entrance are the remains of a strong wall. The mouth is only 5 feet wide; but on descending a slope of earth, it widens considerably, and, with the assistance of torches, the openings of several smaller caves are discovered. The outer cave is about 200 feet long, and 90 broad. The top appears to be supported by pillars of vast magnitude, formed by the perpetual droppings of petrifying water, the whole bearing great resemblance to the inside of a gloomy Gothic cathedral.



The several gradations in the progress of these petrifications are easily discovered. In some may be observed small capitals, descending from the roof, whilst proportionable bases rise underneath: others again are formed of very small diameter; and a third class, infinitely large, seem to support the roof of this wonderful cavern. Visitors are generally conducted to view this cave; and numbers, with the assistance of ropes and torches, have attempted to explore the depth; however, after descending about 500 feet, they have been obliged to return, by the gross vapours which issued from beneath. It was in this cave that the Spaniards concealed themselves in the siege of 1727, when a party of them, unperceived, got into the garrison, at the Cave-guard, near Europa Advance, but afterwards failed in their enterprise.

There are several other caves on different parts of the hill, in which the water possesses the same petrifying qualities. One under Middle-hill, called Pocoroca, was fitted up, previous to the bombardment, for the governor's reception; but was afterwards converted into a powder magazine, being very convenient for the batteries on the heights.

Amongst the natural curiosities of Gibraltar, the petrified bones, found in the cavities of the rocks, have greatly attracted the attention of the curious. These bones are not found in one particular part, but have been discovered in various places at a considerable distance from each other. From the rocks near Rosia Bay (without the line-wall) great quantities of this curious petrification have been collected, and sent home for the inspection of naturalists. Some of the bones are of large diameter; and, being broken with the rock, the marrow is easily to be distinguished. Colonel James, in his description of Gibraltar, mentions an entire human skeleton being discovered in the solid rock at the Prince's lines; which the miner blew to pieces: and in the beginning of the late blockade, a party of miners, forming a cave at Upper All's Well, in the lines, produced several bones that were petrified to the

rock, and appeared to have belonged to a large bird: being present at the time, I procured several fragments; but in the bombardment of 1781 they were destroyed with other similar curiosities.

The hill is remarkable for the number of apes about its summit, which are said not to be found in any other part of Spain. They breed in places inaccessible to man, and frequently appear in large droves with their young on their backs, on the western face of the hill. It is imagined they were originally brought from Barbary by the Moors, as a similar species inhabits Mons Abyla, which, on that account, is generally called Ape's-hill. Red-legged partridges are often found in coveys; woodcocks and teal are sometimes seen, and wild rabbits are caught about Europa and Windmill-hill. The garrison orders forbid officers to shoot on the western side of the rock; parties, however, often go in boats round Europa Point to kill wild pigeons, which are numerous in the caves.

Eagles and vultures annually visit Gibraltar from Barbary, in their way to the interior parts of Spain. The former breed in the craggy parts of the rock, and, with the hawk, are often seen towering round its summit. Moschetoes are exceedingly troublesome towards the close of summer, and locusts are sometimes found. The scorpion, centipes, and other venomous reptiles, abound amongst the rocks and old buildings; and the harmless green lizard and snake are frequently caught by the soldiers, who, after drawing their teeth, treat them with every mark of fondness.

With regard to the climate of Gibraltar, the inhabitants breathe a temperate and wholesome air for most part of the year. The summer months of June, July, and August are excessively warm, with a perpetual serene and clear sky: the heat is however allayed, in a great measure, by a constant refreshing breeze from the sea, which usually sets in about ten in the forenoon, continuing till almost sunset; and, from its invigorating and agreeable coolness, is emphatically called

the Doctor. The cold in winter is not so excessive as in the neighbouring parts of the country. Snow falls but seldom, and ice is a rarity; yet the Granadian mountains in Spain, and the lofty mountains in Africa, have snow lying on them for several months. Heavy rains, high winds, and most tremendous thunder, with dreadfully vivid lightning, are the attendants on December and January. The rain then pours down in torrents from the hill, and, descending with great rapidity, often chokes up the drains with large stones and rubbish, and sometimes does great injury to the works; but these storms are never of long duration: the sky soon clears up; the heavy clouds disperse; the cheering sun appears, and sufficiently compensates for the horrors of the preceding night. It is during this season that the water that serves the garrison for the ensuing summer is collected. The aqueduct, which conducts it to the fountain in the centre of the town, is extremely well executed; and was constructed by a Jesuit, when the Spaniards were in possession of Gibraltar. It is erected beneath the bank of sand, without South port, beginning to the southward of the eight-gun bastion, and, collecting the rain-water that filters through the sand, conducts it to the South port, and thence to the fountain. The water, thus strained and purified, is remarkably clear and wholesome.

The appearance of the Rock is barren and forbidding, as few trees or shrubs, excepting palmettos, are to be seen on the face of the hill; yet it is not entirely destitute of vegetation; wild herbs, of different kinds, spring up in the interstices of the rocks, when the periodical rains set in, and afford some trifling nourishment to the bullocks, sheep, and goats that browse upon the hill. The first rains generally fall in September or October, and continue at intervals to refresh the garrison till April or May. When they cease, and the powerful rays of the sun have withered the little verdure that appeared on the hill, nothing offers to the eye but sharp uncouth rocks, and dried palmetto bushes. The soil col-

lected in the low ground is, however, extremely rich and fertile, producing a variety of fruits and vegetables. Colonel James, in his elaborate history of the Herculean Straits, enumerates no less than 300 different herbs which are to be found on various parts of the rock. Gibraltar consequently must be an excellent field of amusement to a botanist.

The garrison, before the blockade of 1779, was chiefly supplied with roots and garden-stuff from the gardens on the neutral ground, which, being on a flat, could almost constantly (even in summer) be kept in a state of vegetation. The proprietors of these gardens were obliged to relinquish them in 1779, when the Spaniards erected their advanced works: from that period General Eliott encouraged cultivation within his own limits by every possible indulgence. Many plots at the southward were enclosed with walls, the ground cleared of stones and rubbish, and soil collected from other parts; so that with assiduity and perseverance, after some time the produce during the winter season was so increased as to be almost equal to the consumption; and probably, in the space of a few years, the garrison may be totally independent, in this article, of any assistance from the neighbourhood.

Gibraltar, being nearly surrounded by the sea, is exceedingly well supplied with fish: the John-doree, turbot, sole, salmon, hake, rock-cod, mullet, and wranger, with great variety of less note, are caught along the Spanish shore, and in different parts of the bay. Mackerel are also taken in vast numbers during the season, and shell-fish are sometimes brought from the neighbouring parts. The Moors, in time of peace, supply the garrison with ox-beef, mutton, veal, and poultry, on moderate terms; and from Spain they procure pork, which is remarkable for its sweetness and flavour. Fruits of all kinds, such as melons, oranges, green figs, grapes, pomegranates, &c., are brought in abundance from Barbary and Portugal: and the best wines are drank at very reasonable prices.

The present military establishment

of Gibraltar (1st of January, 1790) consists of six companies of artillery, nine regiments of the line, and a company of artificers, commanded by engineers; composing an army of upwards of 4000 men, officers included. Before the late bombardment, the troops were quartered in the barracks at the southward, and in quarters fitted up out of the old Spanish buildings in town. The officers were distributed in the same manner; but in case of reinforcements, and that government quarters were not sufficient for their accommodation, billet-money was allowed in proportion to rank, and the officers hired lodgings from the inhabitants.

The regiments, on their arrival in the garrison, are entitled to salt provisions from the stores, in the following proportion.\* One ration for each serjeant, corporal, drummer, and private, consisting of 7 lbs. of bread, delivered twice a week, beef 2 lbs. 8 oz., pork 1 lb., butter 10 oz., peas half a gallon, and groats 3 pints: every commissioned and warrant officer, under a captain, receives two rations, a captain three, a major and lieutenant-colonel four, a colonel six. In times of profound peace, officers generally receive a compensation in money for their provisions, or dispose of them to the Jews, of whom there are great numbers in the garrison, who are always ready to purchase, or take them in barter. The troops are paid in currency, which, let the exchange of the garrison be above or below par, never varies to the non-commissioned and privates. A serjeant receives weekly, as full garrison pay, one dollar, six reals, equal to ninepence sterling, per diem; a corporal, and drummer, one dollar, one real, and five quartils, in sterling about sixpence per diem; and a private, seven reals, or fourpence half-penny sterling per diem. Officers receive their subsistence according to the currency: thirty-six pence per dollar is par. During the late

bombardment, the exchange, for a considerable time, was as high as forty-two pence, by which those gentlemen who were under the necessity of drawing for their pay, lost sixpence in every three shillings; and it seldom was lower than forty pence whilst the siege continued. The coins current in Gibraltar are those used in Spain. All accounts are kept in dollars, reals, and quartils: the two former, like the pound sterling, are imaginary; the latter is a copper coin.

The bay of Gibraltar, formed by the headlands of Cabrita and Europa points, is commodious, and seems intended by nature to command the Straits: there are opportunities, however, when a fleet may pass unobserved by the garrison; for such is the impenetrable thickness of the mists, which usually prevail during the easterly winds, that many ships have baffled the vigilance of the cruisers, and gone through unnoticed; the south-westerly winds, particularly at the equinox, are also often attended with such thick and rainy weather, that vessels have passed through and got into the bay without being seen.

Since Gibraltar has been in the possession of the English, the Spaniards have erected, in different parts of the bay, several batteries and forts for the protection of their small craft in war, and to prevent their coast from being annoyed. At Cabrita, which is a bold rocky point, are a barbet battery and watch-tower, whence, during the blockade, signals of flags by day, and lights at night, were made to inform the Spanish cruisers at Algeziras, &c. of the approach of any vessel towards the bay. These watch-towers are distributed, at short distances, along the coast for a considerable extent, to alarm the country, in case of a visit from the Algerines, or when any other extraordinary circumstance happens. To the northward of Cabrita are two others, with a fort at the northernmost tower, which is called San Garcia: the point on which the latter are erected projects, with a long reef of dangerous shoals and rocks, considerably into the bay. The town and island of Algezi-

\* The garrison of Gibraltar is now put on the same footing as all other British garrisons abroad, in respect to rations of provisions as well as rates of pay.

ras, with their batteries, then appear in view.

Algeziras lies opposite to Gibraltar, about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles across the bay; and, since the late siege, has greatly increased in consequence and wealth. The town was built and fortified by the Saracens about the year 714, two years after their establishment at Gibraltar. It is remarkable for being the place where those invaders first disembarked, when they so rapidly overturned the Gothic empire in Spain; and, as well as Gibraltar, was erected to preserve a communication with Africa. Whilst the Moors maintained their conquests, it consequently became a city of great importance and strength. We find, during the successive wars which took place between the Moors and the Spaniards, Algeziras was frequently besieged by the kings of Castile; and, when Gibraltar so easily fell into the hands of the Christians in 1310, this city resisted all their efforts. At length, after a most obstinate siege in 1344, Algeziras was compelled to surrender to the victorious arms of Alonzo XI. The siege continued twenty months, and most of the potentates in Europe interested themselves in the event, by sending succours to the Christian besiegers. The English under the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Derby, Leicester, Salisbury, and Lincoln, particularly distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct during this memorable contest. It is worthy of remark, that cannon are said to have been first made use of in this siege, by the Moors against the assailants; and the English, profiting by the knowledge gained on this occasion, afterwards used them at the glorious battle of Cressy. The Spaniards continued masters of the town till 1369, when the Moors of Granada surprised the city; but being unable to retain it, they demolished the works, and carried away the inhabitants captive.

Whilst the Moors kept possession of Gibraltar, which was now in its turn become a city of importance, the Spaniards never attempted to rebuild Algeziras; and still less did they esteem it

an object worthy their attention, after Gibraltar fell into their hands. The town, therefore, remained in ruins and desolate, excepting a few fishermen's huts, till the Spaniards, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, thought proper, after the final cession of Gibraltar to Great Britain, to repeople and secure it by a few batteries towards the sea, which also might occasionally protect their cruisers in time of war. Since that period, from the constant intercourse and trade which subsisted between it and Gibraltar before the war of 1779, Algeziras is become a town of some consequence and wealth; and, as a writer has justly expressed, "like a phoenix, has risen out of its own ashes, after being for ages in ruins."

The New Town is built to the northward of the old city (whose venerable ruins still remain), and is defended to the southward by a battery of 9 or 10 guns, erected on an island some distance from the shore. To the northward of the town is another battery of 6 guns, and a little farther, on an eminence, one of 22, which was raised by Admiral Barcelo, when he was apprehensive of an attack from Sir George Rodney in 1780. Between the island and the town, small craft find tolerable shelter; but ships of war, or of large burthen, anchor to the northward. The lands round the town are much cultivated, and, with the shipping, form, in the spring, a pleasantly variegated and beautiful prospect to a spectator at Gibraltar. A detachment or regiment of infantry is constantly on duty here, who, with those of the Spanish lines and neighbourhood, are under the orders of the commandant at St. Roque.

To the northward of Algeziras are the rivers Palmones and Guadarranque: the former is the broader and deeper of the two, and was the principal retreat of the Spanish gun and mortar boats, when they wanted repairs, after bombarding the garrison. Admiral Barcelo in this river also prepared the fire-ships he sent over in June, 1780. On the east banks of the Guadarranque, near Racadillo Point, where

there is a small fort or tower, are the venerable ruins of the once famous city of Carteia. This celebrated place, scarcely a stone of which is now left to inform posterity where it stood, is reported to have been built by the Phœnicians, in the first ages of navigation, when those adventurers visited the extreme parts of the then known world. Historians mention it under the names of Carteia, Heraclia, and Calpe Carteia. When the Carthaginians became a powerful nation, and aimed at the sovereignty of Spain, Carteia maintained its independence for some time, till Hannibal, according to Livy, stormed the city, and demolished most of its works. When Scipio obliged the Carthaginians to quit Spain, Carteia was a place of little importance; but the Romans finding it a convenient station for their navy, the city was increased with a Roman colony, and once more began to rise into splendour and magnificence. After the memorable battle of Munda, Cneius Pompey fled to Carteia, but, being pursued, was obliged to leave it precipitately. As the Roman empire declined, so did Carteia; and probably, soon after the irruption of the Goths and Vandals, it became almost desolate and waste. On the invasion of Spain by the Saracens, that nation undoubtedly dismantled the buildings of this famous city for materials to erect Gibraltar and Algeziras. The remains of a quay are still visible, with some few ruins of public buildings, apparently Roman; and the country peasants, in tilling the ground, often find various antique coins, which curious antiquarians have not thought unworthy of a place in their cabinets.

Half-way between the Guadarranque and the garrison is another fort and tower, called Point Mala, or Negro Point, to the northward of which is the inland village of St. Roque. This is a small insignificant town, though delightfully situated, at about five miles distance from Gibraltar. It was built by the Spaniards, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the garrison of Gibraltar surrendered to Sir George Rooke. The Spanish commandant of the Lines generally makes it his resi-

dence; and during the siege under the Duke de Crillon, the Count d'Artois and the Duke de Bourbon had apartments in the town. Previous to the war of 1779 it was often frequented by the officers from Gibraltar; and in the spring and summer seasons British families resided there for several months, some for the benefit of their health, others for pleasure. The combined army, during the late siege, encamped on the plains below St. Roque, and landed all their ordnance and military stores a little to the westward of Point Mala, near the Orange-grove.

I cannot help remarking in this place, that, among the evils of the late siege, the garrison have to regret the interruption of that friendly intercourse which before subsisted between them and the neighbourhood, and which is now prohibited by the Spanish government. When the communication was free and unlimited (except in point of introducing a contraband traffic in Spain), the most friendly intimacy subsisted between the British military and the Spaniards resident in the adjacent villages. Parties were reciprocally visiting each other, and the officers constantly making excursions into the country. These excursions, with others to the coast of Barbary (which in the season superabounds with various species of game), were pleasing relaxations from the duties of the garrison, and rendered Gibraltar as eligible a station as any to which a soldier could be ordered.

On the whole, whether we consider Gibraltar as commanding the entrance of the Mediterranean, and consequently as capable of controlling the commerce of the Europeans with the Levant; or whether we consider it as almost impregnable by nature, and consequently as most susceptible of the improvements of art, its situation is, perhaps, more singular and curious than that of any fortress in the world. These circumstances, and the degree of consequence which it confers on its possessor, in the opinion of the Barbary states, have not failed to excite the attention and alarm the interests of most maritime nations in Europe; and, with the multitude at

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least, it has always been an object of political importance. Politicians, however, there have been, of no inferior rank, who have thought very differently of its value and utility. On this delicate subject I will frankly confess my inability to decide. I shall, therefore, without further apology, leave these speculations to men of more leisure and experience, and proceed to matters better adapted to my capacity and information.

## CHAPTER III.

Commencement of the War in 1779 between Great Britain and Spain—State of the Garrison of Gibraltar at that period—Ambiguous conduct of the Spaniards—Enemy encamp before the Garrison—Form a Blockade—Many Inhabitants leave the Place—Motions of the Enemy—Erect additional Batteries in their Lines—Fired upon from the Garrison—Continue their Operations—Loss of the Peace and Plenty Privateer—Provisions extremely scarce in the Garrison—Spirited behaviour of the Buck Cutter Privateer—Description of the Straits—Fidelity of a Moor—Great Distress in the Garrison—Relieved by some fortunate Occurrences—Arrival of Sir George Rodney and the British Fleet—Tetuan—Anecdote of Prince William Henry—Ceuta—Departure of the Fleet.

ALTHOUGH the Spaniards had been thrice defeated in their attempts to recover Gibraltar, they continued to view that garrison with a jealous eye, determined, if we may judge from their late conduct, to seize the first eligible opportunity of wresting it, if possible, from the dominion of Great Britain.

The war of 1762 was too unexpected on the part of Spain, and conducted with too great success by the British minister, to admit of such an enterprise as the siege of Gibraltar. The period was not, however, far distant when the contest between Great Britain and her colonies seemed to promise as favourable an opportunity as their warmest wishes could have anticipated; particularly when, in addition to the civil war, they found hostilities taking place between Great Britain and France. The close of the year 1777, when the news of the convention of Saratoga first arrived in Europe, was the period which they embraced to introduce themselves into the dispute. Hostilities had then been carried on for near six months between Great Britain and France: Spain therefore judged the opportunity favourable to offer her mediation, proposing such an arrangement as she must be assured would not be agreeable to the principal belligerent powers. Great Britain had no sooner refused her acquiescence than the court of Madrid espoused the part of France; and, on the 16th of June, 1779, the Spanish ambassador, the Mar-

quis d'Almodovar, presented to the court of London his hostile manifesto.

The principal design of the court of Madrid, in entering into this war, was evidently the recovery of Gibraltar. Before any reply was given by the British ministry to their proposals for a pacification, overtures had been privately made to the Emperor of Morocco to farm the ports of Tetuan, Tangier, and Larache, by which means Gibraltar might be cut off from its principal supplies. This conduct seemed to argue a confidence that her terms in the mediation would be refused; and the considerable dépôts of military stores which were collected in her arsenals undoubtedly pointed out that the siege of that garrison was her first and immediate object. On the 21st of June, 1779, the communication between Spain and Gibraltar was closed, by an order from Madrid.

Two days previous to this event General Eliott, the governor, accompanied by many field-officers of the garrison, paid a visit to General Mendoza, the commandant of the Spanish lines, to congratulate him on his promotion. Their reception at St. Roque was far from agreeable; and it was remarked that the Spanish general appeared embarrassed during their stay, which might proceed from his knowledge of what was to follow. The visit was short, and the governor had scarcely returned to the garrison when Mr. Logie, his

Majesty's consul in Barbary, arrived from Tangier, in a Swedish frigate, with certain intelligence of the intended rupture between Great Britain and Spain. Mr. Logie's information proceeded from a Swedish brig, which on her passage to Tangier had fallen in with the French fleet, of about 28 sail of the line, off Cape Finisterre, when the master being ordered on board the Admiral, M. d'Orvilliers, he learned that they had been cruising for some time in that latitude, expecting the junction of the Spanish fleet from Cadiz. From the amicable assurances held out by the Spaniards, we could not persuade ourselves in the garrison that a rupture was so near; but the mail from the garrison being refused on the 21st of June,

and being acquainted at the same time that the intercourse between Gibraltar and the neighbourhood was no longer to be permitted, we had sufficient confirmation of Mr. Logie's intelligence. We afterwards learned that the courier who brought from Madrid the order to shut up the communication, had been detained by accidents on the road; otherwise it was not impossible that he might have arrived during General Elliott's visit at St. Roque.

As the fortress of Gibraltar after this event became a little world of itself, it may not be unacceptable to commence the history of the siege with a state of the troops in garrison at that period, and the commanding officers of the different corps.

General G. A. Elliott, Governor.  
Lieutenant-General R. Boyd, Lieutenant-Governor.  
Major-General de la Motte, commanding the Hanoverian Brigade.

	Off.	Staff.	S.	D.	Rank & File.	
Artillery . . .	25	0	17	15	428	Col. Godwin, Command. of Artill.
12th Regiment . .	26	3	29	22	519	Lieut.-Col. Trigge.
58th . . .	25	4	29	22	506	Major Kellet.
56th . . .	23	4	30	22	508	Major Fancourt.
58th . . .	25	3	29	22	526	Lieut.-Col. Cochrane.
72nd, or R. M. V.	29	4	47	22	944	Lieut.-Col. Gledstanes.
1st Battalion } Hardenberg's . .	16	13	42	14	367	Lieut.-Col. Hugo.
2nd Battalion } Reden's . . .	15	12	42	14	361	Lieut.-Col. Dachenhausen.
3rd Battalion } De la Motte's . .	17	16	42	14	367	Lieut.-Col. Schlippergill.
Engineers, with a Company of Artificers . . }	8	0	6	2	106	Colonel Green, Chief Engineer.

209 59 313 169 4632—making an army of 5382 men.

On the communication being closed, a council of war was immediately summoned, to advise concerning the measures to be pursued on the occasion. Preparations had been privately made for the defence of the garrison, when intelligence was first received of the probability of a war. The objects, therefore, at this time to be considered were, how to procure constant supplies of provisions from Barbary, and in what manner the correspondence between England and Gibraltar was to be conducted. Mr. Logie's presence in Barbary was very essential to both these points: he consequently returned to Tangier on the 22nd, having concerted with the governor proper signals, by which he might communicate intelligence across the Straits. Admiral Duff also, on the 22nd, removed the men-of-war under his command from

their usual anchorage, off Waterport (where they were liable to be annoyed by the enemy's forts), to the southward, off the New mole. His force at that time consisted of the Panther, of 60 guns, Captain Harvey, on board of which was the flag; three frigates, two of which were on a cruise; and a sloop of war.

It is natural to suppose that the garrison were not a little alarmed at this unexpected procedure of the Spaniards. The northern guards were reinforced, and the pickets cautioned to be alert, in case of alarm. Landport barriers were shut, and an artillery officer ordered to Willis's batteries, to observe the movements of the enemy, and protect the Devil's-tower guard, which was ordered to be very circumspect and vigilant.

Whilst the friendly intercourse sub-



sisted between the garrison and the neighbourhood, several British families and officers had permission to reside at St. Roque, Los Varios, and other small villages a few miles distant; but immediately on the communication being closed, General Mendoza sent them peremptory orders to remove; and the time limited for their departure was so short, that some of them were obliged to leave most of their effects behind. Those officers whose curiosity had led them into the interior parts of the country were positively refused liberty to return to the garrison; they were therefore conducted to Cadiz, and had passports granted them to leave the kingdom by other routes. Col. Ross and Capt. Vignoles of the 39th, with Capt. Lefanue of the 56th, nevertheless contrived to join their corps, by assuming disguises, and risking the passage in a row-boat from Faro (a port in Portugal) to Gibraltar: others also attempted, but unfortunately were intercepted in their voyage.

The Childers sloop of war, on the 24th, brought in two prizes from the west, one of which (an American) Capt. Peacock captured in the midst of the Spanish fleet, then at sea. The conduct of the Spaniards on this occasion was extremely ambiguous. Every circumstance that fell under our own immediate observation convinced us that they now intended hostilities against Great Britain; and from Mr. Logie's intelligence we had every cause to think that this fleet was out to join the French admiral. Their permitting our cruisers, therefore, to capture a friend (as they might then call the Americans), under the protection of their fleet, we must either consider as a finesse, or suppose that they had not received orders to act offensively. The Childers left two of our frigates watching the motions of the Spanish fleet. It was somewhat singular that a Mr. Suasé, (an American major, who had been prisoner in the garrison a little time before, along with others of his countrymen, but had made his escape), and two deserters from Gibraltar, should be recognised through their disguises, on board the American prize.

The major was remanded to his old confinement in the Navy Hospital, and the latter were punished according to their deserts.

Though the motions of the enemy did not indicate any immediate design of attacking the garrison, and the closing of the communication might be only in consequence of hostilities having commenced between Great Britain and Spain, yet our intelligence, and their late deceitful conduct, gave us great reason to suppose that they intended some attempt on Gibraltar. Dépôts of earth, &c. were therefore collected in various places; empty hog-heads and casks were bought from the inhabitants, for the purpose of filling them with earth, to strengthen and repair the fortifications; and other precautions were taken for the defence of the place. On the other hand, the enemy employed what troops they had then on duty, in the lines and neighbourhood, in drawing down cannon from St. Roque, &c. to *animate* the forts (in which few ordnance were mounted during the peace), and in arranging matters to strengthen and support their posts.

In the beginning of July, the *Enterprise* frigate, Sir Thomas Rich, Bart., returned with a fleet of small craft, laden with live-stock and fruit, from Tangier; in consequence of which, fourteen days' fresh provisions were issued to the troops. The engineers continued preparing materials in their departments, towards completing the works of the garrison; for which purpose strong parties from the line were granted them daily, under the command of overseers. About 300 Jews and Genoese were also employed in levelling heaps of sand, near the gardens, on the neutral ground, in order that, if the enemy should approach, they might not receive any protection and cover from our lower batteries. The pickets of the garrison were ready, on the grand parade, to support these parties in case they had been molested; but though they were at work within half musket-shot of the enemy's advanced guards in the Micquelet huts, yet not the

least attempt was made to disturb them.

On the 3rd of July a detachment of about 180 men from the British line was ordered to join the artillery, to be taught the practice of the great guns. The artillery in garrison were only five companies; a number not adequate to the different duties in case of a siege: this reinforcement was therefore added, and proved afterwards of great service in that department. Three English sailors came in an open boat, on the 4th, from Cadiz, and brought intelligence that an embargo was laid on all English vessels in that port. In the evening we observed the Spaniards relieve the guards in their lines.

The Spaniards, in time of peace, always stationed a regiment of cavalry at St. Roque, with another regiment or detachment of infantry at Algeiras; parties from which did duty at their lines; and no additional body of troops, or ships of war, had yet appeared near the garrison. On the 5th, however, in the afternoon, a Spanish squadron of two seventy-fours, five frigates, and other vessels, to the number of eleven, hove in sight from the west, and lay-to some time off the garrison. Whilst they remained in this situation, the governor thought it prudent to make some new disposition of the ordnance at the southward, and to caution the regiments in the South barracks, the 12th and 72nd, to be alert. The captain of Europa guard, who, before, usually joined at retreat-beating, was also ordered to his command. In the afternoon three privateer cutters arrived from the westward. A schooner, under Portuguese colours, stood across from the enemy to reconnoitre the first that came in, and on her return was fired upon from Europa batteries, which was the first hostile shot from the garrison. The enemy's squadron, in the evening, drove to the eastward; and at night the Enterprise frigate arrived from Tetuan with Mr. Logie the consul. In the interval of this gentleman's departure from the garrison, a ship of the emperor's had arrived at Gibraltar to be

repaired; but Admiral Duff being backward in granting the stores, the governor thought proper to send for Mr. Logie to explain to the admiral the necessity there was of complying with the emperor's request. To refuse such trifling assistance at that important time, he considered might be productive of serious consequences to the garrison. The Enterprise frigate accordingly sailed to Tetuan to bring over the consul. About sunset, the evening of the 5th, the frigate left Tetuan to return, and was discovered by the enemy's squadron, part of which immediately gave chase. Sir Thomas Rich, however, from his superior knowledge of the tides, escaped, though the wind was contrary. When he arrived within view of the garrison, not making the concerted night-signals for fear of being discovered by the pursuers, the officer at Europa saluted him with several shot, but fortunately they did not take effect.

The following day, the 6th of July, a packet was received from England, by way of Lisbon and Faro, informing the governor that hostilities had commenced between Great Britain and Spain. A proclamation in consequence was published in the evening for capturing all Spanish vessels, &c., and letters of marque were granted for that purpose to the privateers in the bay. Early on the morning of the 8th, a soldier of Reden's deserted from the Devil's-tower guard, and some time afterwards was followed by a serjeant of the 39th, who was one of the overseers attending the inhabitants employed beyond the gardens. In the evening General Mendoza, with several officers, advanced from the lines as far as the Miquelet huts, and, after reconnoitring about an hour, returned.

The Spanish commodore continued cruising in our neighbourhood till the 8th, when he stood under an easy sail for the westward. Before they quitted the Mediterranean they brought to a Portuguese schooner, bound from Tetuan to the garrison, and made very earnest inquiries concerning the state of our provisions. The 9th, the Ame-

rican prisoners, detained at this time in the garrison, were distributed amongst the privateers; and the following day, in company with the Childers sloop of war, they brought in four small prizes.

Admiral Duff having received intelligence that a large fleet of small vessels was to sail from Malaga with wine and provisions for the Spanish grand fleet, the Childers was ordered, on the 11th, to cruise to the eastward, and give information, by signal, when they appeared, with the strength of their convoy. Whilst she was on the lookout, her boat gave chase to a settee, and was fired at from Fort St. Barbara, which was the first hostile shot from the enemy. About eleven o'clock the signals were made of the expected Spanish convoy being in sight, and soon after, of their force. Our admiral, however, only cautioned the navy to be ready, and went to Windmill-hill to reconnoitre them personally. About four in the afternoon the convoy, consisting of about 60 sail of different burthens, under charge of five xebecs, from 20 to 30 guns each, were abreast of Europa Point. The privateers which had accompanied the Childers in the morning, were then towing in a prize taken from the midst of their fleet; and they, as well as the Childers, kept up a smart running fire on the Spanish commodore; which was seconded at the same time from the garrison batteries at Europa Point and Europa Advance. The Panther (the admiral's ship, with the flag on board) and the Enterprise were still at anchor; but at sunset Sir Thomas Rich had permission to slip, and the Panther soon after got under way. On the appearance of the frigate the enemy were confused, and instantly steered for Ceuta. The Childers and privateers pursued, followed by the frigate, and soon after by the Panther. Night was now advancing apace, and in a short time we lost sight of the ships. A few broadsides now and then gave us hopes that our friends had come up with them; and we could not help flattering ourselves, from the inferior force of the convoy, that daylight

would exhibit the majority of them in our possession. In the morning, however, we discovered the admiral standing towards the bay with five or six small prizes, and not one other of the enemy in sight: whence we concluded that they had worked back to their own coast, or escaped through the Straits in the night whilst our ships were off Ceuta. We afterwards learned that the squadron which appeared on the 5th was sent to convoy this valuable fleet past Gibraltar, lest the British admiral should intercept them, and prevent their grand fleet from receiving these much wanted supplies; but the convoy being by some unforeseen delays detained, the Spanish commodore quitted the station on the 8th.

Two line-of-battle ships were observed cruising behind the rock on the 13th, and at night they went into Ceuta. The 16th the enemy blocked up the port with a squadron of men-of-war, consisting of two seventy-fours, two frigates, five xebecs, and a number of galleys, half-galleys, and armed settees: they anchored in the bay, off Algeziras, and being judiciously arranged, and keeping a vigilant lookout, the garrison became closely blockaded. This was the first motion of the enemy that discovered any direct intentions of distressing or attacking Gibraltar. At night Waterport guard was reinforced with a captain and ten privates. Till the 18th of this month nothing material occurred, when a small convoy of settees, &c. arrived at the Orange-grove, laden with military stores, which the enemy began soon afterwards to disembark.

Mr. Logie having prevailed on the admiral to grant the stores necessary for repairing the emperor's ship, and his presence in Barbary being absolutely necessary, as well to procure provisions as to conduct the correspondence between Great Britain and the garrison, he returned on the 19th, on board a Moorish row-galley, which had arrived from the emperor with dispatches relative to the ship under repair. The galley was interrupted in her return by the enemy's cruisers, and

detained from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, when she was permitted to proceed to Tangier. During the embargo Mr. Logie was concealed in a small scuttle, down the run of the galley, having previously made up the governor's dispatches, and concerted signals, in a loaf, which was entrusted to a Moor, to be delivered at Mr. Logie's house in Tangier, in case he himself should be discovered, with an order for the Moor to receive a gratuity if he delivered it safe.

Early in the morning of the 20th a Portuguese boat arrived with fowls and charcoal from Tangier. Another, attempting to come in, was taken by a half-galley, and carried to Algeziras. Sixty pounds of fresh beef were delivered the same day to each regiment for the use of the officers; the artillery and engineers received in proportion, and the navy were included in this distribution. The following day orders were issued for the troops to mount guard with their hair unpowdered; a circumstance trifling in appearance, but which our situation afterwards proved to be of great importance, and which evinced our governor's great attention and prudent foresight in the management of the stores.

So superior a naval force as the enemy now had in our neighbourhood alarmed Admiral Duff, who was apprehensive that they would make some attempts on the king's ships. Signals were therefore agreed upon between the fleet and the garrison, that, in case the enemy should make an attack in the night, the latter might afford the ships every assistance and protection. Three lights in a triangle were fixed upon by the navy, to distinguish them from the enemy. The 22nd the navy manned their boats, and captured a settee, within a short distance of the enemy's xebèques: she proved of little value, but the exploit reflected great credit on the party employed. The same day arrived a boat with cattle, &c. from Tangier. In the course of the 22nd several officers, attended by a party of men, were observed tracing out ground on the plain below St. Roque, apparently for a camp; and it

was remarked that the Micquelets in the advanced huts on the neutral ground were relieved by regular troops. These Micquelets are of the same description with our revenue officers, and were stationed to prevent the smuggling of tobacco from the garrison into Spain.

A Portuguese boat, with letters, arrived early in the morning of the 24th; also a schooner with charcoal and fruit from Tangier. Between 200 and 300 men landed the same day at the Orange-grove, with an intention, as we conjectured, of taking charge of the stores which the enemy were disembarking there. The 25th they pitched a tent on the plain for the working party employed in clearing the ground. I should have mentioned, that on the 12th a Hanoverian soldier deserted, and this day two of the same brigade followed his example. The enemy, on the 26th, began to form a camp on the plain below St. Roque, about half a mile from Point Mala, and three miles from the garrison. Fifty tents were pitched, and a detachment of cavalry and infantry soon after took possession. The same day the Illerim, a Swedish frigate, which had been in the bay some weeks before, arrived, though opposed by the enemy. The Swedish captain politely brought to on their firing a gun; but being told he must not anchor under the walls of the garrison, he resumed his course, telling them he must go to Gibraltar, and they should not prevent him. Some shots were exchanged, but none took effect.

The Spanish camp being daily reinforced with additional regiments of cavalry and infantry, and large parties being still employed in landing ordnance and military stores at Point Mala, the governor thought proper, on the 29th, to establish the following staff officers, namely, Captains, Valotton, of the 56th regiment—Patterson, of the artillery—Porch, of the 12th regiment, and Eveleigh, of the engineers, to be aides-de-camp to himself, as commander-in-chief; Captain Wilson and Lieutenant Buckeridge, of the 39th regiment, aides-de-camp to Lieutenant-Gen. Boyd; Lieutenant Weinzezy, of the Hanoverian Brigade, aide-

de-camp to Major-Gen. de la Motte; Major Hardy, of the 56th regiment, quartermaster-general; Captain Horsburgh, of the 39th regiment, who was town-major, adjutant-general; Captain Burke, of the 58th regiment, town-major; and Lieutenant S. Wood, of the 56th regiment, assistant town-major. At the same time all the horses, except those belonging to field and staff-officers, were ordered to be turned out of the garrison, unless the owners, on inspection, had 1000 lbs. of feed for each horse; and, to enforce the latter order by example, the governor directed that one of his own horses should be shot.

In the afternoon of the 30th, one of the enemy's *sebeques* manned her yards, and fired a salute. Immediately afterwards we observed she had hoisted a flag at the mizen top-mast head, instead of a broad pendant; from which ceremony we concluded that the naval commandant had been promoted, or that he was superseded by an admiral.

In the beginning of August, the corps in garrison were ordered to give in returns of their best marksmen, and also of those men who had ever been employed in making fascines. Those officers unmarried, or without families, who drew double rations for two commissions, were ordered at the same time to draw rations only for one commission. Two Dutchmen came in on the 2nd, unperceived by the enemy's cruisers, laden with rice and dried fruits: the rice, and a part of the fruit, the governor purchased, for the use of the troops. The enemy's camp by this time was considerably increased, and we numbered 26 cannon behind the fort at Point Mala.

A Venetian arrived on the 5th, though fired at by the enemy. She (with the Dutchmen) remained no longer than was necessary to take on board some of the inhabitants, who, apprehensive that the garrison would be besieged, thought it eligible to seek an asylum in time. Indeed about this time scarcely a boat or vessel left the port without being crowded with Jews or Genoese, who preferred a residence in Barbary, or Portugal, to remaining in Gibraltar, where the necessities of

life became every day more scarce. Early on the 6th came in a Portuguese schooner, from Tangier, with 44 bullocks, 27 sheep, and a few fowls; and two days following, another arrived with onions, fruit, and eggs: the latter brought letters for the governor, but no news from England. From this day nothing material occurred till the 10th, when the enemy's cruisers captured a boat belonging to the garrison.

As affairs began to wear a more serious aspect, a general activity reigned throughout the garrison, promoted not a little by the example of the governor, who was usually present when the workmen paraded at dawn of day. The engineers were busily employed in putting the works at Willis's in the best repair, and in erecting new batteries on the heights of the north front. A considerable extent of ground above the town was cleared and levelled, to encamp the different regiments, in case the enemy should fire upon the town. Parties were likewise detached to collect shrubs, &c., from the face of the hill, for fascines; and the artillery were daily engaged in completing the expense magazines with powder, ranging the different ordnance, and preparing everything for immediate use in their department. The navy were not less diligent. A new battery for 22 guns was begun in the Navy Yard, as a resource in case the enemy's operations should make it necessary to lay up the ships; and the stores were removed from the New mole to the Navy hospital.

Towards the middle of August, the motions of the enemy were no longer mysterious; every succeeding day confirmed us in the opinion that their object was to distress the garrison as much as possible. The blockade became more strict and severe, their army was in force before the place, and their present plan seemed to be to reduce Gibraltar by famine. Our stock of provisions, they concluded, was small; and their squadron under Admiral Barcelo, who commanded in the bay, could prevent succours being thrown in by neutral vessels; whilst their grand fleet, united with that of France, would

be superior to any which Great Britain could equip, in her then critical situation. This scheme, every circumstance considered, was specious; and, had not the garrison fortunately received a supply of provisions, &c., in April, 1779, the troops undoubtedly would have been reduced to the greatest distress, and the place might probably have been in imminent danger, before the ministry could dispatch a fleet to its relief. The situation of the garrison was becoming every day more interesting: only forty head of cattle were now in the place; and from the vigilance of the enemy, there was little prospect of constant supplies from Barbary: two bullocks were ordered, therefore, to be killed daily for the use of the sick. The inhabitants had been warned in time to provide against the calamities which now impended: the standing orders of the garrison specified, that every inhabitant, even in time of peace, should have in store six months' provisions; yet by far the greater number had neglected this precaution. These unfortunate people, as they could not expect to be supplied from the garrison stores, were in general compelled to seek subsistence by quitting the place; some, however, were induced to weather out the storm by the property they had in the garrison, which was probably their all, and which they could not remove with themselves. Those of this description, on application, obtained leave to erect wooden huts and sheds at the southward, above the Navy Hospital, whither they began to remove their valuable effects, &c., that they might be secure from the annoyance of the enemy, in case the town should be bombarded.

Fifteen or sixteen covered carts, on the 15th, arrived at the enemy's camp, and unloaded timber, planks, &c., at their laboratory tents. They continued landing stores on the beach, which employed a great number of carts to convey them to their dépôts; and at night we generally observed a number of lights, and frequently heard a noise like that of men employed on some laborious duty: this might proceed from dragging cannon, as we observed, on

the 17th, they had *animated* all the embrasures in Fort St. Philip.

Early on the 17th, the enemy attempted to cut out a polacre, which was anchored off the Old mole; but retired on a gun being fired at them from the garrison. The small craft, after this circumstance, removed to the New mole, as the men-of-war had done some time before. The 18th, in the morning, two parties of workmen came from the camp, and were employed at Forts St. Philip and St. Barbara: covered carts continued constantly going from Point Mala to the laboratory tents, supposed to be laden with shot. The following morning a Spaniard came in an open boat to Waterport, with onions and fruit, having a pass for Ceuta: he was examined by the quartermaster-general, and allowed to sell his cargo and purchase tobacco, but was not permitted to land: at night he was ordered to return, which he did about eight o'clock. He informed us the camp consisted of between 5000 and 6000 men, which were to be immediately completed to 15,000. The 20th, the enemy formed a new camp, to the left of the stone quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair: we imagined it to be intended for the Catalan troops, as they are usually encamped separate from the rest of the Spanish forces. The same day our marksmen were embodied into a company of two non-commissioned officers and 64 men: and the command was given to Lieutenant Burleigh, of the 39th regiment.

The enemy, on the 21st, had more men than usual employed in making fascines: they likewise were very busy in piling shot, and had a party at work in the covered way of Fort St. Philip. A number of carts daily brought shot (as we imagined) to the lines, particularly to Fort St. Barbara. The 23rd, the corps of engineers were formed into three divisions, and several officers of the line appointed to join them as assistant engineers and overseers. The same day some experiments were made with *red-hot shot*: this practice was continued on the 25th, when some carcasses were also thrown, and much approved. The 27th, we observed a

fascine-work begun upon the glacis, north of Fort St. Philip, which afterwards proved to be a mortar battery. A great number of carts continued to be employed in the enemy's camp, and vast quantities of stores were constantly landing beyond Point Mala. In the course of the 30th, the Childers and an armed schooner attempted to cut off two half-galleys becalmed in the bay; but the enemy's xebeques, getting under way, obliged them to desist. At night upwards of 80 covered carts came down to the enemy's lines.

From the time the enemy first appeared encamped before the garrison, troops had been continually joining them from all quarters. Their camp consisted of two lines (independent of the Catalonians), extending from Point Mala, in an oblique direction, into the country, towards the Queen of Spain's Chair. The streets were in a direction nearly parallel to the bottom of the bay. The guards in their lines and advanced posts were, as the camp increased, proportionably reinforced; but no act of hostility had yet taken place in that quarter, though the governor continued the garrison-guard at the Devil's-tower. Their forts were repaired and put in the best order of defence. Laboratory tents for the artillery were pitched in front of their camp, and magazines erected for military stores, which were frequently brought by fleets of small craft, conveyed by men-of-war from Cadiz, Malaga, and other ports in the neighbourhood.

On the 5th of September a soldier of Hardenberg's deserted from a working party employed in scarping the rock, under the lines. He was fired upon from Willis's, but got off. Besides the party engaged in rendering the lines inaccessible, our engineers were daily strengthening them with palisades, &c. Traverses were also erected along the covered way, grand battery, and line-wall above Waterport, where a strong boom of masts was laid, from Old mole head to the foot of Landport glacis. About this time the regiments began to practise grenade exercise. The day on which

the Hanoverian deserted, a Moorish galley came over from Algeziras, where she had been detained ten days. The crew reported that the Spanish camp was very sickly. It is supposed this vessel came to order home the ship which had been some time repairing in the New mole, as the following day both of them left the garrison for Tangier: a xebeque, however, speaking them off Cabrita Point, the Moors were conducted to the Spanish admiral.

The enemy's workmen in the lines appeared at this time to be about 500. They were principally engaged in filling up with sand the north part of the ditch of Fort St. Philip, completing the mortar battery before mentioned, and raising the crest of the glacis of their lines in different places. From the noise often heard during the night, and the number of lights seen, we judged that they worked without intermission. Two waggons, drawn each by 12 mules or horses, arrived at the lines on the 8th, which we conjectured brought fixed ammunition. The 11th, we observed that they had begun several fascine-works on the crest of their lines, apparently for mortar batteries; and had raised several traverses for the protection of their guard-houses. Waggon and carts continued bringing fascines and other materials to the lines from the camp. The same day, a row-boat, fitted out by the Jews, brought in a Dutch dogger laden with wheat: a very valuable supply in our situation.

The operations of the enemy now began to engage our attention. They had been permitted to pass and repass unmolested for some time; but the governor did not think it prudent to allow them to proceed any longer with impunity. A council of war was consequently summoned on the 11th, to confer on the measures to be pursued. The council consisted of the following officers:—The governor, the lieutenant-governor, Vice-admiral Duff, Major-general de la Motte; Colonels Röss, Green, and Godwin; with Sir Thomas Rich, Bart. In the evening it was reported that their opinion was not to

open on the enemy whilst they continued within their lines: but this rumour was only propagated to deceive the garrison; for on the succeeding morning, being Sunday the 12th of September, the artillery officers were ordered to the batteries on the heights; and the Devil's Tower guard being withdrawn, the governor opened on the enemy from Green's Lodge (a battery made since the blockade commenced), Willis's and Queen Charlotte's batteries. Their advanced guards in the Micquet huts, and in the stone guard-houses, were in a short time compelled to retire, and the workmen assembled in the lines obliged to disperse. The covered waggons returned to the camp without depositing their ladings; and so general a panic seized the enemy at this unexpected attack, that their cavalry galloped off towards the camp, and for some hours scarce a person was to be seen within the range of our guns. The forts were too distant to be materially damaged; and the governor's intention being only to disturb their workmen, the firing after a few hours slackened, and a shot was only discharged as the enemy presented themselves. A brass gun in the Queen's battery (Willis's) run with eight rounds.

The mortar batteries that had been discovered in the enemy's lines, some few days previous to our firing, had caused no small alarm amongst the inhabitants; those, therefore, who had huts in Hardy Town, at the southward, immediately removed their most valuable effects, fully convinced that the Spaniards at night would return the fire.

That the duty of the batteries might be performed with spirit, in case the enemy persisted in carrying on their works, a captain, 3 subalterns, and 52 men of the artillery, were ordered to take in charge Green's Lodge, Willis's, and other batteries on the heights. The firing was continued the subsequent days, as circumstances directed. The 16th, our artillery made three attempts to reach the enemy's laboratory tents, or artillery park (as henceforward they will be called), from a sea-mortar at Willis's. The first and

second shell burst immediately on leaving the mortar; the third went its range, but fell a little short of the fascine park. The artillery at this period used the old shells, the fuses of which were in general faulty; and this was the cause that the experiment did not answer on the first and second trials. We observed, the same day, that the Spaniards had pitched some additional tents a little beyond Point Mala: they also began to erect a pier, or wharf, for the convenience of landing their stores and supplies.

Whilst the governor kept a watchful eye on the enemy's operations, molesting their workmen as much as possible from Willis's, proper precautions were taken in the town to render a bombardment less distressing, in case they retaliated, which, indeed, their preparations gave us reason to think would not be long deferred. The pavement of the streets, in the north part of the town, was ploughed up; the towers of the most conspicuous buildings were taken down, and traverses raised in different places, to render the communications more secure. The enemy appeared to bear our fire very patiently in their lines: their parties continued working on the mortar batteries; the stone sentry-boxes were pulled down, and the guard-houses unroofed; a boyau, or covered way, was likewise begun, to make a safe communication from the lines to their camp.

Our firing was still continued; but their parties were at too considerable a distance (being near a mile) to be materially annoyed by our shot; and the works being surrounded with sand, the large shells sunk so deep that the splinters seldom rose to the surface. An experiment was therefore recommended by Captain (now Major) Mercier, of the 39th regiment, namely, to fire out of guns 5½-inch shells, with short fuses; which were tried on the 25th, and found to answer extremely well. These small shells, according to Captain Mercier's method, were thrown with such precision, and the fuses cut by calculation with such exactness, that the shell often burst over their heads,



and wounded them before they could get under cover. This mode\* of annoyance was eligible on several other accounts: less powder was used, and the enemy were more seriously molested; the former was an advantage of no small consequence, since it enabled the governor to reserve, at this period, what might be probably expended to the greater benefit of the service on a future occasion. It will also account for the extraordinary number of shells which were discharged from the garrison.

In the afternoon of the 26th a soldier of the 72nd regiment deserted from a working party out at Landport. He took refuge behind one of the Miquelet huts, and, notwithstanding our endeavours to dislodge him, remained there till night, when it is imagined he proceeded to the lines. Our firing was now very trifling. The enemy continued making additions to their boyau and the works in the lines; but the latter were chiefly done in the night. Indeed, since our firing, their operations within our reach had been principally carried on during the night, at which time, or very late in the evening, they also relieved their guards.

In the beginning of October, the enemy's army, according to our intelligence, consisted of sixteen battalions of infantry, and twelve squadrons of horse, which, if the regiments were complete, would amount to about 14,000 men. Lieutenant-General Don Martin Alvarez de Sota Mayor, was commander-in-chief. We continued our fire, varying as objects presented themselves.

The great command we had over the enemy's operations from Green's Lodge, induced the engineers to mount still higher, and endeavour to erect a battery on the summit of the northern front of the rock: a place therefore was levelled, and a road for wheeled carriages begun at Middle-hill. The 4th, a soldier of the 58th attempted to desert from Middle-hill

guard, but was dashed to pieces in his descent. The artillery were too impatient to have a gun mounted on the summit of the rock, to wait till the new road was finished: they accordingly determined to drag a twenty-four pounder up the steep craggy face of the rock; and in a few days, with great difficulty and prodigious exertions, they were so successful as to get it to the top. The 9th, a party of the navy attempted to cut off two Spanish polacres, becalmed between Algeiras and their camp. Our seamen spiritedly boarded one, and were on their return with the other, when two galleys from Point Mala gave chase, maintaining a smart and well-directed fire as they advanced, and gained so considerably on the prizes that the captors were reluctantly obliged to quit them, and betake themselves to their boats. The Childers sloop-of-war was ordered out to protect them, and fortunately was in time to stop the progress of the galleys. The tiller of one of our barges was carried away by a shot, but no other damage was received.

The platform on the summit of the rock was completed on the 12th; and, the gun being mounted, the succeeding day we saluted the enemy's forts with a few rounds of shot and shells. This gun was mounted on a traversing carriage, and was distinguished by the name of the Rock Gun. From that post we had nearly a bird's-eye view of the enemy's lines, and, with the assistance of glasses, could distinctly observe every operation in their camp. In the afternoon of the 16th a servant of Mr. Davies (the agent-victualler of the garrison), under pretence of looking for a strayed goat, obtained leave to pass Landport barrier, and immediately went over to the enemy. The desertion of this man gave us some concern, as probably, to ensure a favourable reception, he might have taken with him some memorandums of the state of our provisions.

The enemy's parties had not been remarkably active in the beginning of the month; but about the 17th and 18th, their workmen in the lines were more numerous than usual, which produced a more animated fire from

\* The enemy, we were informed, attempted this practice, but never could bring it to perfection.

our batteries. As our artillery by this time were accustomed to fire from heights, the small shells did considerable execution amongst their workmen, many of whom we observed were carried off. On the evening of the 19th, the governor was at Willis's, to see an experiment of a light ball, invented by Lieutenant Whitham, of the artillery. It was made of lead, and, when filled with composition, weighed 14 lbs. 10 oz. This ball, with 4 lbs. of powder, was fired at six degrees of elevation, out of a thirty-two pounder, upon the glacis of their lines: it burst well; and the experiment would have been repeated, had not a thick fog suddenly arisen. The governor was at Willis's the succeeding morning, to see a second; when, the fog being totally dispersed, the light ball answered his expectation. The enemy, during the night, had been uncommonly noisy; but when the light balls were fired, no parties were discovered at work. Nevertheless, at day-break, to our great surprise we observed 35 embrasures opened in their lines, forming three batteries; two of 14 each, bearing on our lines and Willis's, and one of 7, apparently for the town and Waterport. They were cut through the parapet of their glacis, and situated between the barrier of the lines and Fort St. Philip. The embrasures were all masked, and many of the merlons were in an unfinished state: the governor ordered the artillery to direct their fire on these works, and on the seven-gun battery in particular, where they had a party finishing what was left imperfect in the night.\* In the afternoon, a Venetian was brought to by a gun from Europa, and came in: two galleys attempted to cut her off, but in vain.

Our workmen now became exceedingly diligent; new communications and works were raised in the lines, which were reinforced at night, with a subaltern and 43 men; the alarm-posts of the regiments were also changed,

\* From the distance of these batteries, we did not imagine they would ever materially injure the garrison; but the cannonade and bombardment of 1781 convinced us of our error

and other arrangements took place. On the night of the 20th, we imagined, from the noise in the enemy's lines, that their carpenters were platforming the new batteries, the merlons of which they had cased and capped with fascines. Their boyau now extended from the fascine park, almost to the barrier of the lines. The 23rd, a prize settee, laden with rice, was sent in from the eastward: she was taken by a privateer belonging to Mr. Anderson, of the garrison, the captain of which thought the cargo would be useful to the inhabitants; and indeed this supply was truly seasonable. No vessel or boat had arrived for six weeks (excepting the Venetian, on the 20th instant), and every article in the garrison began to sell at a most exorbitant price: this trifling addition of provisions was therefore well received by the miserable Jews and Genoese, though the rice sold for 21 dollars 6 reals per cwt., which, at 40*d.* sterling the dollar, is 3*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

The enemy's artillery, on the 26th, decamped from their old ground, before the right wing of their front line, and took post near the Catalonians, where they were reinforced with a detachment that had lately joined. The following night, the Dutch dogger, which had brought us the supply of wheat some weeks before, sailed for Malaga: she took 73 Genoese and Spanish passengers. The next day our artillery got up to Middle-hill two twenty-four pounders, to be in readiness for a new battery, which was erecting below the rock gun. Another twenty-four-pounder was taken to the same place, on the morning of the 25th. Our firing still continued, as the enemy's parties were daily bringing down timber and other materials for their new batteries.

The 30th, an English privateer, called the Peace and Plenty, 18 six pounders, ——— M'Kenzie master, attempting to get in from the eastward, ran ashore half-way between Fort Barbara and the Devil's Tower. Some of the crew came on shore on the neutral ground; the remainder, with the master, were brought off by the admiral's boats: and on the night of the 31st, she was burnt. As there was some-

thing extraordinary and unaccountable in the circumstances attending the loss of this vessel, I cannot resist the temptation of relating them more at large. In the morning she was bearing down under a fine sail and leading wind, for Europa advanced guard, as two xebeques were cruising off Europa Point. One of the xebeques, about nine, got within shot of her: a few rounds were exchanged, and the privateer was apparently resolved to fight her way in; but on a sudden she altered her course, and ran ashore under the enemy's guns, about 400 or 500 yards from the garrison. The boatswain was killed, and several others wounded from the fort, before our boats arrived to their relief.

Towards the conclusion of the month, the small-pox was discovered in the garrison, amongst the Jews. The governor, apprehensive that it might spread amongst the troops, and be attended with dangerous consequences, ordered those who had never been affected with that disorder, to be quartered at the southward till the infection should disappear; and every precaution was taken to prevent its communicating. In the evening of the 31st, the new battery below the rock gun was finished: it mounted four twenty-four pounders, and was called the Royal battery.

November was not introduced by any remarkable event. The fire from our batteries was variable, 'as their workmen were employed. Considerable deposits of fascines, with planks and pieces of timber, were formed in the Spanish lines; and other parts of their glacis were raised with fascines and sand for additional mortar batteries. The 3rd, the enemy began to form merlons at Fort Tonara, on the eastern shore, which, joined with the circumstances of their erecting two fascine batteries on the beach, between Fort St. Philip and Point Mala, and one near the magazine at the Orange grove, gave us reason to suppose that they expected a fleet in their neighbourhood. Few workmen were at this time to be seen in their lines: a party was trimming up the boyau: and numbers were employed about the landing-place

in disembarking stores; which appeared to be their chief employment.

Provisions of every kind were now becoming very scarce and exorbitantly dear in the garrison; mutton 3s. and 3s. 6d. per pound; veal 4s., pork 2s. and 2s. 6d., a pig's head 19s., ducks from 14s. to 18s. a couple; and a goose a guinea. Fish was equally high, and vegetables were with difficulty to be got for any money; but bread, the great essential of life and health, was the article most wanted. It was about this period, that the governor made trial what quantity of rice would suffice a single person for twenty-four hours, and actually lived himself eight days on four ounces of rice per day. General Elliott was remarkable for an abstemious mode of living, seldom tasting anything but vegetables, simple puddings, and water; and yet was very hale, and used constant exercise: but the small portion just mentioned would be far from sufficient for a working man kept continually employed, and in a climate where the heat necessarily demands very refreshing nourishment to support nature under fatigue.

Two deserters came in, with their arms, on the night of the 11th. They belonged to the Walon guards, a corps in the Spanish service, composed principally, if not entirely, of foreigners. The following morning they were conducted to Willis's, whence they had a view of the enemy's works, which they described to the governor. The Spanish army were under arms on the 12th, in the front of their camp, and were dismissed by corps as the general passed.

The 14th, arrived the Buck cutter privateer, Captain Fagg, carrying 24 9-pounders. The abilities and bravery of a British sailor were so eminently conspicuous in the captain's conduct previous to his arrival, that even our enemies could not help bestowing on him the encomiums to which his merit entitled him. About eight in the morning, the privateer was discovered in the Gut, with a westerly breeze. The usual signal for seeing an enemy was made by the Spaniards at Cabrita Point; and Admiral Barcelo, with a

ship of the line, one of 50 guns, a frigate of 40, two xebèques, a settee of 14 guns, with half-galleys, &c. &c. to the number of 21, got under way to intercept her. On the first alarm a xebèque at anchor off Cabrita had weighed, and stood out into the Straits: the cutter nevertheless continued her course; but observing the whole Spanish squadron turning the Point, she suddenly tacked, and stood towards the Barbary shore: the xebèques, frigate, and lighter vessels pursued, but were carried down to leeward by the irresistible rapidity of the current, whilst the cutter in a great degree maintained her station. As it may appear very extraordinary to readers unacquainted with nautical affairs, that the privateer should not be equally affected by the current, it may be necessary to inform them, that a cutter, or any vessel rigged in the same manner, from the formation of her sails can go some points nearer the wind than a square-rigged vessel; which advantage, on this occasion, enabled Captain Fagg to turn better to windward, by stemming the current, whilst the Spaniards, by opposing their broadsides, were carried away to the eastward. But to resume the narrative: Barcelo, who had his flag on board the 74, was the last in the chase, and, perceiving his squadron driving to leeward, prudently returned to the Point, to be in readiness to intercept her in the bay. The 50-gun ship also laid her head to the current, and keeping that position, drove very little in comparison with her friends. Affairs were thus situated when Captain Fagg, persuaded that the danger was over, boldly steered for the garrison. The 50-gun ship endeavoured to cut her off from the eastward, but was compelled to retire by our batteries at Europa: and Barcelo got under way to intercept her from Cabrita Point; but finding his efforts ineffectual, he was obliged to haul his wind, and giving her two irregular broadsides, of grape and round, followed his unsuccessful squadron to the eastward. The cutter insultingly returned the Spanish admiral's fire with her stern-chase, and soon after anchored under our guns.

The expectations of the troops and inhabitants, who were spectators of the action, had been raised to the highest pitch: few doubted but she was a king's vessel; and as no intelligence had been received from England for many weeks, their flattering fancies painted her the messenger of good news: probably the forerunner of a fleet to their relief. But what was their despondency and disappointment, when they were informed that she was only a privateer, had been a considerable time at sea, and put in for provisions! Though our condition in the victualling-office became weekly more and more serious, yet the governor generously promised Captain Fagg assistance. What indeed could be refused to a man by whose boldness and skilful manœuvres the port was once more open, and the bay and Straits again under the command of a British admiral? Only two or three half-galleys returned to Cabrita Point; the rest of their squadron were driven far to leeward of the rock.

Assuming the liberty of a short digression in this place, it may be necessary to inform the reader of the extent and breadth of the Straits of Gibraltar, and acquaint him at the same time with the opinions of different writers concerning the perpetual current that sets into the Mediterranean Sea, from the great Atlantic Ocean, which has so long engaged the attention of many celebrated natural philosophers.

The Straits of Gibraltar (formerly known by the name of the Herculean Straits) are about twelve leagues in extent, from Cape Spartel to Ceuta Point, on the African coast, and from Cape Trafalgar to Europa Point, on the coast of Spain. At the western entrance, they are in breadth about eight leagues, but diminish considerably about the middle, opposite Tarifa (a small fishing-town on the Spanish coast, originally a place of great consequence and strength), though they widen again between Gibraltar and Ceuta, where they are about five leagues broad.

Philosophers, who have communicated their sentiments on the extraordinary phenomenon of a constant cur-

rent, differ widely in accounting for the disposition of that continual influx of waters, which, it is natural to suppose, would, without some consumption or return, soon overflow the boundaries of the Mediterranean Sea. The ingenious Dr. Halley was of opinion, that this perpetual supply of water from the vast Atlantic Ocean was intended by nature to recruit what was daily exhaled in vapour: others again think, the waters that roll in with the centre current are returned, by two counter-streams, along the African and Spanish shores. That there are two counter-streams is without doubt; but their rapidity and breadth bear little proportion to the principal current. A third class suppose a counter-current beneath, and of equal strength with the upper stream; and this opinion appears confirmed by a circumstance related by Colonel James, in his description of the Herculean Straits, of a Dutch ship being sunk in action by a French privateer off Tarifa, which some time afterwards was cast up near Tangier, four leagues to the *westward* of the place where she disappeared, and directly against the upper current. This hypothesis receives also additional support from the repeated disappointments which have been experienced by many naval officers, in attempting to sound the depth of the Straits with the longest lines: for the opposition between the currents might carry the line in such directions as to defeat the intention of this experiment.

These facts seem strongly to indicate a recurrency to the westward; which, though it may not be so rapid as the upper stream, yet, with the assistance of the currents along the Spanish and Barbary shores, and the necessary exhalations, may account for the Mediterranean Sea never increasing by the constant supply received from the Atlantic Ocean. The rapidity of the superior current renders the passage from the Mediterranean to the westward very precarious and uncertain, as ships never can stem the stream without a brisk *Levanter*, or easterly wind. Vessels, therefore, are often detained

weeks and sometimes months, waiting for a favourable breeze; in which case they find a comfortable berth in the bay of Gibraltar.—To return to my narrative.

Two frigates, on the night of the 14th, joined the enemy's small craft in the bay, from the west. It was thought from some preparations that were made on board our men-of-war the succeeding evening, that Admiral Duff intended an attempt to cut out or destroy these ships: a council was held in the navy, and the practicability of such an enterprise debated; but nothing was done.

The bay being again open, the night of the 19th a Moorish settie came in, with 39 bullocks and a few sheep: the former were so weak and poor, that many of them died on the beach as soon as they were landed: they were, however, a most acceptable supply. The patron informed us that a vessel had sailed the preceding night for the garrison, with 40 bullocks, 50 sheep, and 30 goats; which we imagined was taken by the galleys at the Point. The following day, a Swede stood in for the garrison, with a signal at her fore-top-gallant mast-head, by which she was known to be laden with provisions, and consigned to an inhabitant. Off the Point she was boarded by a row-boat, and conducted immediately to Algiziras. The 23rd the governor proportioned the fuel to the officers. This article was now become scarce and important. The coals in the garrison were few: what fuel, therefore, was issued at this period, was wood from ships bought by government, and broken up for that purpose, but which had so strongly imbibed the salt water, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could make it take fire.

A small boat arrived on the 24th, with a packet from Mr. Logie: this packet was landed at Mogadore in South Barbary, by the *Fortune* sloop-of-war, Captain Squires. If I rightly recollect, it was upon this occasion that the following successful stratagem was effected, through the fidelity of a Moor entrusted by Mr. Logie to carry the dispatches to that part of the coast, whence, to prevent interception, he

thought it prudent to send them to Gibraltar. The Spaniards, acquainted with the importance of these dispatches, wished to prevent them coming to our hands; and accordingly offered 1000 cobs (about 225*l.* sterling) to the Moor, to induce him to betray his trust, and pretend he had been robbed on his way to the coast. The faithful Moor immediately acquainted the consul with the offer, who directed him to promise that he would comply. In the interval Mr. Logie prepared false dispatches, in ciphers, signed and dated them from St. James's, and affixed a seal from the cover of a letter from Lord Hillsborough to himself: these were inclosed in the usual form, and directed to General Eliot. The Moor received part of the bribe, and delivered up the fictitious packet: Mr. Logie on his return appeared much distressed by the accident, and the next evening sent the real dispatches to Gibraltar.

The wind veering round to the southward, on the 26th Admiral Barcelo returned from Ceuta to his old anchorage off Algeziras, and the port again became closely blockaded. A deserter came in, on the morning of the 30th, from the lines; he belonged to the Walon guards; and about five in the afternoon, another Walon deserted to us. They fired several muskets at the latter, and he turned about and returned the shot: three horsemen then pursued him, but were driven back by our artillery. After the first gun-fire, two more came in of the same corps.

The enemy's operations continued to be confined to the completion of their batteries, and the finishing of their boyau. In their camp we observed them busily employed in erecting huts for the accommodation of their troops against the winter rains, which now had begun to set in. On the other hand, the governor made every necessary addition to the works. Waterport covered way was doubly palisaded, and a battery for three guns erected on the projecting quay; a work of masonry, to mount two guns, was built at Ragged-staff; and traverses of casks and earth were raised on the different roads, on the north front, to secure the commu-

nications. Some improvements were also made in the batteries and works at Europa.

December commenced with the capture of a Genoese polacre, becalmed off Europa. Our sailors found about 22*l.* in money on board, with some letters, from which we learned that the enemy sustained some loss in the lines from our fire. The 4th, the enemy beat a parley, and sent in a mule (belonging to Colonel Green, the chief engineer) which had strayed to their lines; an instance of politeness which we did not expect. The 8th, another deserter came in; he was pursued, but we protected him. The subsequent day we observed several men about the western and eastern advanced stone guard-houses, which we imagined were posted there to prevent desertion. Our artillery endeavoured to dislodge them with round shot, but did not succeed. The 10th, the enemy fired several rounds, from Fort St. Philip, at our fishing-boats in the bay. Four soldiers of De la Motte's regiment, quartered on Windmill-hill, attempted, on the 13th, to desert: search was however immediately made for them, and two were retaken. Those who escaped were supposed to have got down by a rope-ladder, left by the party employed in cutting brush-wood for fascines. The next day another of the enemy endeavoured to come over to us, but, being pursued by two horsemen, was cut down and secured. One of the horses belonging to the pursuers was killed by our fire, and the rider much bruised with the fall. The succeeding day this unfortunate man was executed on a new gallows, erected near their artillery park, and the body, according to custom, hung till sunset.

The governor, on the 19th, ordered that no guns should be fired from the garrison at the enemy's shipping, if the distance required more than 6° elevation; except when ships were chasing or engaged. On the 20th, the Buck, having refitted, sailed on a cruise to the eastward. We were afterwards informed that she unfortunately fell in with a French frigate, which, after a few broadsides, captured the Buck;

but before she could be got into port, she sunk from the damage received in the action. On the night of the 26th, we had a most violent storm of rain, with dreadful thunder and lightning. The succeeding morning a vast quantity of wood, cork, &c. was floating under our walls: the rain had washed it from the banks of the Palmones and Guadarranque. And it was wafted by the wind over to our side of the bay. Fuel had long been a scarce article: this supply was therefore considered as a miraculous interference of Providence in our favour.

The enemy, the 27th, fired four guns from Fort St. Philip: one of the shot struck the extremity of Prince's lines. Whether these were fired to frighten our fishermen, who were dragging their nets near the farther gardens, without Landport, or only as an experiment, we could not say, as they immediately ceased on our returning the fire from Willis's. The day following, came in three deserters; and the same morning the Fly packet-boat arrived from Tangier, with 40 goats, fowls and eggs, but no mail: this cargo, though trifling, was highly acceptable. The deserters informed us that the enemy were almost overflowed in their lines, from the late excessive rains: in some places, particularly near the new batteries, the water was two and three feet deep; and their efforts to drain it off had hitherto been ineffectual. The 28th, a soldier of Hardenberg's deserted down the back of the rock.

January, 1780, did not commence with any very interesting events. A squadron of men-of-war passed through to the west on the 2nd: it being hazy, we could not distinguish of what nation they were; but many thought them Spaniards from Carthagenia. On the evening of the 5th, a fire broke out in the enemy's camp, which, we afterwards learned, destroyed four officers' marquees, and six or seven huts. The following day, after gun-fire, two Walons deserted to us: they brought information that upwards of forty mortars were mounted in the lines, and that all their batteries were completed with cannon.

A Neapolitan polacre was luckily driven under our guns on the 8th, and obliged to come in. On board we found about 6000 bushels of barley, a cargo (circumstanced as we were) of inestimable value. The bakers had long been limited to the quantity of bread daily to be issued to the inhabitants, and sentries were placed at the wickets where it was delivered, to prevent confusion and riot. The strongest, nevertheless, had the advantage; so that numbers of women, children, and infirm persons returned to their miserable habitations, frequently without tasting, for some days, that chief, and perhaps necessary support of life. The inhabitants were not the only sufferers in this scene of distress; many officers and soldiers had families to support out of the pittance received from the victualling-office. A soldier, with his wife and three children, would inevitably have been starved to death, had not the generous contribution of his corps relieved his family. One woman actually died through want; and many were so enfeebled that it was not without great attention they recovered. Thistles, dandelion, wild leeks, &c. were for some time the daily nourishment of numbers. Few supplies arriving from Barbary, and there appearing little prospect of relief from England, famine began to present itself with its attendant horrors. Had there been a glimmering hope of assistance from home, it would have enabled many to support themselves under this accumulation of distress; but, alas! we seemed entirely abandoned to our fortune.

Not only bread, but every article necessary to the support of life, was hard to be procured, and only to be purchased at exorbitant prices. Veal, mutton, and beef sold from 2s. 6d. to 4s. per pound; fresh pork, from 2s. to 3s.; salt beef and pork, 1s. 3d. per pound; fowls, 18s. per couple; ducks, 21s.; firewood, 5s. per cwt.; a pint of milk and water, 1s. 3d. Vegetables were extremely scarce: a small cabbage cost 1s. 6d., and a small bunch of the outward leaves sold for 5d. Irish butter, 2s. 6d. per pound; eggs, 6d. each; and candles, 2s. 6d. per

pound. The best fish was most exorbitantly dear, considering on what terms the garrison had been formerly supplied. It is natural to suppose, from the rock being almost surrounded with the sea, that we should have a constant resource in this article. The contrary was, however, the case: our fishermen were foreigners, and being under no regulation, they exacted, by degrees, most extravagant sums for what some months before we should have refused with disgust.

This extreme scarcity of provisions, it may well be imagined, could not fail to exercise the invention of individuals. A singular mode of hatching chickens was about this time successfully practised by the Haudverians; and, as it may be acceptable to some readers, the process, as communicated by a friend, is here inserted. The eggs were placed, with some cotton, wool, or other warm substance, in a tin case of such construction as to be heated either by a lamp or hot water; and, by a proper attention to the temperature of heat, the eggs were commonly hatched in the usual time of a hen's sitting. A capon (however strange it may appear) was then taught to rear them. To reconcile him to this trust, the feathers were plucked from his breast and belly; he was then gently scourged with a bunch of nettles, and placed upon the young hatch, whose downy warmth afforded such comfort to the bared and smarting parts, that he, from that period, reared them up with the care and tenderness of a mother.

Early in the morning of the 10th, a squadron of ships was seen to the east, which had passed through in the night; five were of the line, and one under jury-masts: supposed to be Count d'Estaing's fleet from the West Indies. The same day a soldier of the 58th regiment was executed for stealing: he was the first man who had suffered since General Eliott had been governor. The day following, the enemy fired, from Fort St. Barbara, on a clergyman performing the last office over the corpse of a soldier of the 72nd regiment, at the burial-ground near the governor's

meadow. The party immediately retired, though not before they had deposited their charge. As this conduct convinced us that the enemy would not permit us to bury our dead without the garrison, a part of the red sands behind the Princess of Wales's lines was appropriated to that purpose.

The 12th, they surprised us again with ten shot from Fort St. Philip; several came into town, and did some trifling damage amongst the buildings. The inhabitants, whose alarms had not totally subsided since the middle of September, when the governor opened upon the enemy, were now perfectly convinced they meant to return our fire; and accordingly began, on the first report of their guns, to remove themselves to the southward. Some in the greatest confusion endeavoured to secure their valuables in town; but the firing ceasing, the fugitives, before night, summoned up sufficient courage to return. A woman, passing near one of the houses, was slightly hurt. It was singular that a female should be the first person wounded by the enemy at this remarkable siege. In the evening, the commanding officers had orders to inform their corps that the governor was under the necessity of curtailing the weekly allowance of provisions. Disagreeable as this intelligence was, and particularly when we consider the distress which many experienced even with the full allowance, the men received it without the smallest appearance of discontent. Convinced of the necessity, they acquiesced with cheerfulness; indeed, to do them justice, in all the vicissitudes of this trying period the garrison submitted, without murmuring, to every necessary regulation, however displeasing. It was fortunate for many that this short allowance of provisions did not continue long: nay, it remained a doubt with some whether, at the time, the governor was not apprised of a relief being near, and did not enact this regulation solely to make trial of the disposition of his troops. If so, how satisfactory a circumstance must it have been to find the army under his command accord with so much good humour to what might be



considered as a real hardship, however indispensable!

Admiral Duff, on the 13th, gave orders to the men-of-war and armed vessels to be prepared, in case a convoy was near, to afford every protection to any straggling ships that might attempt the port before the main body arrived. This caution confirmed us in the opinion of a convoy being expected; and a general joy was diffused throughout the garrison at the flattering, though probably distant prospect. Two days after, a brig, which with other vessels seemed to be going through to the east, suddenly altered her course, and, notwithstanding she was opposed by the enemy, anchored under our walls. A ship with the British flag, entering the bay, was so uncommon a sight that almost the whole garrison were assembled at the southward to welcome her in; but words are insufficient to describe their transports on being informed that she was one of a large convoy which had sailed the latter end of the preceding month for our relief. The distressed Jews, and other inhabitants, were frantic with joy; and the repeated huzzas from all quarters for some time prevented further inquiries. We afterwards learned that she had parted company with the convoy in the Bay of Biscay, and off Cadiz had discovered nine sail of large ships, which the master concluded were Spaniards stationed there to oppose their entrance. The latter part of their information gave us much uneasiness. The enemy, we concluded, would have good intelligence of the force of the British convoy. If, therefore, any opposition was intended, a superior squadron would consequently be stationed at the entrance of the Straits. These reflections damped, in a great degree, the pleasure we before experienced, and made us apprehensive that the relief was not so near as we at first expected. The prospect of it had, however, a very visible effect on the price of provisions, which immediately fell more than two-thirds.

Since it was probable that straggling ships might attempt the port before the body of the convoy approached, the

Childers sloop-of-war and armed vessels were ordered to cruise in the bay to protect them from the enemy's small-craft. Previous to the arrival of the brig, a soldier of the 58th regiment deserted from a party employed behind the rock in gathering shrubs, &c. for fascines. The 16th, a Walon deserted to us, by whom we were informed that the enemy had everything prepared in their lines to bombard the town. At another time we should have been greatly alarmed at this intelligence; but our thoughts were too much engaged with the pleasing though uncertain hopes of relief to reflect on the consequences of a bombardment. In the evening our apprehensions concerning the convoy were totally dispelled by the arrival of a brig laden with flour, which communicated the joyful news that on the 8th of January Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney had captured, off the coast of Portugal, a Spanish 64-gun ship, five of 32 and 28 guns, with fifteen merchantmen, belonging to the Caracca Company, going from Bilbao to Cadiz; and that, with a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line and a large convoy of merchant-ships and transports, he was proceeding to our relief. Every idea of opposition at this information immediately vanished; and we anticipated the flattering prospect of seeing the British flag once more triumphantly displayed in the Mediterranean.

The weather on the 17th was very hazy; but clearing up the succeeding day, one of the prizes arrived without any opposition from the enemy. The midshipman who brought her in informed us, that when he parted with the fleet on the 16th, Sir George was engaged with a Spanish squadron off Cape St. Mary's: and that, just before they lost sight of them, a ship of the line blew up; but he was at too great a distance to distinguish whether she was friend or foe. In the evening one of the armed Caracca prizes came in, but no further particulars of the engagement could be learned. Our anxiety concerning the event of the action was, however, removed a few hours afterwards by the appearance of the convoy itself off Eu-

ropa. The wind, at that critical time, unfortunately failed them; and the vivid flashes of lightning, by which we had discovered the fleet at the first, only served to exhibit them to us driving with the current to the eastward of the rock. The Apollo frigate, Captain Pownall, with one or two merchantmen, nevertheless got in about eleven; and by the former the governor and garrison were acquainted with the agreeable tidings of a complete victory over the Spanish admiral, who, with three others of his squadron, was taken: one was run ashore, another blown up in the engagement, and the rest dispersed.

We now found that the plan for relieving Gibraltar had been conducted at home with such secrecy and prudence that the enemy never suspected that Sir George meant to convoy the transports to the Straits with so strong a fleet. By their intelligence from Brest, they understood he was to separate in a certain latitude, and proceed with the main body of the men-of-war to the West Indies. Thus deceived, they concluded that the transports with their convoy would fall an easy prey to their squadron, which consisted of eleven men-of-war, all chosen ships from their grand fleet.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 19th, the enemy unmasked one of their 14-gun batteries. The guns, with those in the fort, were all elevated, and the lines reinforced with two regiments of infantry. The governor, notwithstanding these appearances, ordered a royal salute to be fired at six o'clock from Willis's. The Panther man-of-war was decorated, and also fired a salute on account of this victory. About seven the Edgar arrived, with the Phoenix prize of 80 guns, having on board the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara y Huarte. This ship had lost her mizen and main top-masts, but seemed little injured in the hull. The admiral, who was wounded in the engagement, was conducted on shore in the evening to lodgings in town, and had every attention and compliment paid him which were due to his rank. At night, Admiral Digby, in the Prince George, worked round Europa

with eleven or twelve ships; but Sir George remained with the crippled prizes, and with the main body of the fleet, off Marbella, a Spanish town, formerly of note, sixteen leagues to the eastward of Gibraltar.

The 20th, being the anniversary of the King of Spain's birthday, Admiral Barcelo's ships were decorated according to custom. When the colours were struck in the evening, the flag-ship, with her consort of 50 guns, was hauled close in land; and the next day a large party began to erect a battery on the shore for their protection; being apprehensive, probably, of an attack from the British fleet. The night of the 21st, the enemy unmasked the other batteries in the lines, which again caused a general disturbance amongst the inhabitants. Everything seemed now prepared to fire upon the town. The convoy continued beating up; but the prizes were so damaged in their rigging that they could not be expected to make the bay till the wind veered round to the east. Early on the 22nd, several men-of-war, in coming into the bay, were carried down under the enemy's batteries near Point Mala, which occasioned a general alarm in their camp. Drums beat to arms, and their artillery opened in an instant. The boats of the fleet, however, were ordered to their assistance, and the ships were towed back without receiving much damage. One man was killed and two wounded on board the Terrible; all of them Spanish prisoners.

Sir George, on his arrival off the coast of Barbary, had sent intelligence to Mr. Logie to prepare supplies for the garrison. Three vessels therefore sailed in the course of the 22nd for Tetuan to bring over what was at hand. The consul had provided cattle, fascines, pickets, &c. in readiness for the ships when they arrived; but, to his surprise, the ships sent in the hurry of business, under convoy of the Bedford, were transports fitted up for the reception of troops, with many weeks' provisions on board; and before the berths could be removed to admit the supplies, the wind came easterly, and the ships were obliged to return without them. This

oversight was of great detriment to the garrison, as at this period we might have procured fresh provisions, which with economy would have served for some months. The garrison vessels were afterwards sent for these articles; but after Sir George Rodney's departure, most of them were detained by the vigilance of the enemy's cruisers.

We learned by the Childers, on the 23rd, that Sir George was at anchor, with the prizes, in Tetuan Road; and waited only a favourable wind to join the remainder of the fleet in the bay. As the town of Tetuan has frequently been mentioned in the preceding pages, and probably will as often occur in the course of the subsequent, the reader will perhaps not be displeased to find in this place a short description of it. Tetuan is a very ancient town in Barbary, situated to the south-east of Ceuta, about six miles from the sea, on a river which meanders beautifully through a pleasant country; but which has a bar at the entrance, that renders it unnavigable for large ships. Small vessels get up about two miles, as far as Marteen, which is the quay and port of Tetuan. The town is walled round with square towers at different distances to flank the curtains. It is built on the gentle slope of a hill; and the houses being white, with flat roofs, have the appearance at a distance of an encampment. The buildings are so contrived that a person may go from one end of the town to the other without descending into the streets, and in this manner their women, by occupying the upper stories, visit each other without being exposed to the sight of the male sex in the streets below.

The town has a manufactory, and carries on a considerable trade, principally in barter; the road is, however, so exposed towards the east, that ships cannot remain there during the Levant winds. The Moors exchange cattle, poultry, and fruit for other articles; and when there is a truce between the powers, supply several parts of Spain with provisions. The oranges of Tetuan are esteemed the largest and best flavoured of any in that part of the globe.

The enemy, we imagined, were not

a little alarmed by the casual appearance of our ships on the morning of the 22nd, as, for several days after, they were busy in removing cannon from their artillery park to the different batteries along the coast. At Algeziras the top-masts and yards of the men-of-war were struck, and the ships hauled as close in land, under the protection of the new battery, as the depth of water would admit. Several Spanish officers were now permitted to return on their parole to Spain. The 24th, the Childers sailed back to Tetuan; and soon after arrived a British letter of marque from Newfoundland, laden with salt-fish.

Whilst the fleet remained in the bay the governor and garrison were often honoured with the presence of the royal midshipman, Prince William Henry;\* and when that youthful hero, on his return, laid his early laurels at the feet of his royal father, he presented, at the same time, a plan of the garrison, in the relief of which he had made his first naval essay. In that plan were delineated the improvements which the place had undergone, and the new batteries erected on the heights since the commencement of the blockade.

The mention of his royal highness brings to my recollection an anecdote of him, which occurred whilst the fleet was in the bay. The Spanish admiral, Don Juan Langara, one morning visited Admiral Digby, to whose charge the prince was entrusted, and Don Langara was of course introduced to his royal highness. During the conference between the admirals, Prince William retired; and when it was intimated that Don Juan wished to return, his royal highness appeared in his character of midshipman, and respectfully informed the admiral that the boat was ready. The Spaniard, astonished to see the son of a monarch acting as a petty officer, immediately exclaimed, "Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the sea, when the humblest stations in her navy are supported by princes of the blood."†

His late Majesty, King William IV.

† In consequence of learning that doubts

Three of the enemy, on the 25th, deserted to the garrison; a fourth, attempting to desert, was retaken, and another was shot by the pursuers within musket-shot of our lines. We fired from Willis's at the horsemen who followed them, and wounded two of their horses. The deserters said it was reported that the enemy intended bombarding the town the succeeding day. For several preceding months we had reason, from their operations, to think such an event not improbable. Seven or eight mortar batteries had been distributed along their lines, in which, according to our intelligence, were upwards of forty mortars; these, with the cannon bearing on the garrison from their gun batteries, amounted in all to upwards of 100 pieces of ordnance. They, therefore, were not unprepared for such service; but whether the circumstance of the Spanish admiral and officers being lodged in the town might not at that time in some degree influence their conduct, or whether they were overawed by the strong naval force in their neighbourhood, they deferred the bombardment to a more distant period.

Sir George arrived in the Sandwich from Tetuan on the 25th; and the following day the prizes and remaining men-of-war were all at anchor in the bay. A council of war was immediately held on the admiral's arrival; but the subject of their debates was not made public. Late in the evening of the same day a Newfoundland vessel with fish, coming in, approached so

close to the enemy's coast, that our guard-boats were obliged to bring her to her proper berth.

The Fortune sloop carried over to Point Mala, on the 26th, the Spanish wounded prisoners: Admiral Langara, with his suite, still remained in Gibraltar. Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney landed on the 27th at Ragged Staff, and, after visiting the Spanish admiral, dined with the governor. Prince William, with Admiral Digby, &c., likewise dined at the convent. The same day the governor ordered those soldiers' wives and children who were not provided with twelve months' provisions to prepare to leave the garrison with the fleet; 250 lbs. of flour, or 360 lbs. of biscuit, was stated as sufficient for one person. By this regulation many useless hands were sent home, which would have been a vast burthen on the garrison, circumstanced as we afterwards were. The evening of the 28th the Childers sailed for England with despatches from the admiral; but meeting with a gale of wind at west, she was compelled to return, after losing her fore-yard and throwing four guns overboard. At night came in a deserter from the Walon guards.

About noon, on the 29th, a large ship appeared from the westward: on doubling Cabrita Point she was discovered to be an enemy. Signals were instantly made for the Edgar and two frigates to attack her. In the mean time the Spaniard seemed greatly confused, but at last worked close in land, between two barbets batteries at the Point. Several broadsides were exchanged between her and the Edgar, whilst the frigates attacked the batteries. They were, however, after some time recalled, the admiral being apprehensive that they might sustain greater damage from the land than the object in action would excuse. The same day the second battalion of the 73rd regiment, or Lord M'Leod's Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel George M'Kenzie, disembarked from on board the fleet at the New Mole, and took possession of the casemates in the King's bastion, &c. This

had been expressed respecting the authenticity of this anecdote, the author wrote, in 1833, to Sir Herbert Taylor, then private secretary to the King, and received from him the following reply:—

"My dear Colonel,—I have taken the earliest opportunity of submitting to the King the memorandum you left with me at St. James's Palace respecting the passage at page 90 of [p. 44 of the present edition] your valuable and interesting work, the 'History of the Siege of Gibraltar,' to which it refers; and I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, by command of his Majesty, that the anecdote there given is correctly stated in every respect, and therefore that any alteration of it which may have been suggested is uncalled for.

"Windsor Castle, 24th March, 1835."

regiment was intended for Minorca; but General Elliott thought proper, with the advice of the admirals, &c., to detain them. Their strength at this time was 30 officers, 6 staff officers, 50 sergeants, 22 drummers, and 944 rank and file: an excellent reinforcement in our situation, since the scurvy had already begun to appear among us. Colonels Picton and Mawhood, with many other officers, joined their corps also by this fleet. On the night of the 29th, came in three more Walons. The Minorca convoy sailed on the 31st, under the Marlborough, Invincible, &c. The wind changing to the east in the evening, the Childers made another attempt to pass the Straits; which she effected, and carried home dispatches giving authentic accounts of the preceding victory.

Sir George, when he captured the Caraca fleet, judged that the cargoes of several would be useful to the garrison: he therefore brought with him what ships he thought would be serviceable, and landed their freights along with the supplies which government had sent out. A great number of guns of heavy metal, and some hundred barrels of powder, were also purchased from the Spanish prizes by the governor, notwithstanding he had received a large supply of the latter by the convoy. The artillery (whose constant practice it was to try the strength of powder on the batteries) afterwards compared the quality and strength of the British and Spanish powder, and found the former greatly superior.

In the beginning of February, the wind from the S. W. blew a strong gale, which, from the foulness of the anchorage off Rosia Bay, &c., involved the fleet in great distress. Some of them were in very imminent danger of being forced upon the rocks, particularly one of the Spanish prizes, which, without doubt, would have experienced that fate, if seasonable assistance had not been sent her, and the wind had not abated. The 3rd, Admiral Barcelo again hoisted his flag and ensign, having secured his ships by a strong boom, and completed the battery on the land, which mounted 22 guns. Merlons were

also added to the fort on the island, which before was *en barbet*.

Three deserters came in on the 5th: they were immediately sent on board the fleet, where the others had been ordered the preceding day, to take their passage for England. These men gave dismal accounts of the enemy's sufferings in camp, where universal discontent prevailed on account of the great scarcity and dearth of provisions. We little doubted the truth of this intelligence: the neighbourhood of their camp, from our own knowledge of the country, was not capable of subsisting so large an army; consequently they were obliged to be supplied with provisions, &c. from places at a distance, and these resources since Admiral Rodney's arrival had been cut off. Our cruisers, in truth, not only obstructed these supplies, but also prevented the garrison of Ceuta from receiving the refreshments from Spain which their situation made necessary; and our intelligence from Barbary mentioned that that garrison was in a similar, if not worse condition than their opposite friends. If Sir George, therefore, had continued some time longer in the Mediterranean, our enemies probably would have been reduced to greater difficulties than we ourselves had experienced.

As the fortress of Ceuta is in some degree connected with the subject of the present narrative, it may not be improper to relieve the reader's attention by a brief description of it. The town of Ceuta is situated on the coast of Barbary, about 15 miles to the southward of Gibraltar. In the æra of the Romans it was a town of some note, but on the decline of that empire fell, like others, to the dominion of the Goths and Moors. Ceuta remained in the possession of the latter till the year 1414, when John I., King of Portugal, with a formidable force, surprised and took it. The Moors afterwards made many attempts to recover it, but in vain; and ever since, it has remained in the possession of the Christians. Upon the demise of Henry of Portugal, in 1578, that crown was seized upon by the Spaniards; Ceuta conse-

quently became a Spanish garrison: and when the Portuguese revolted, under John, Duke of Braganza, in 1640, and again established themselves into a distinct kingdom, Ceuta did not, with the rest of the empire, return to its natural allegiance, but continued in the hands of the Spaniards, by whom it has been held ever since.

Being a promontory projecting into the sea, the situation of Ceuta is not much different from that of Gibraltar. The town, which is built on the neck of land that joins it to the continent, is strongly fortified in the modern manner. The suburbs are at some distance, in order to be more out of reach of the shells, in case of an attack from the land; and they extend to the foot of a mountain, at the extremity of the peninsula, on which are erected a watch-tower and castle, surrounded with a fortified wall, about a league in circumference. The fortifications are kept in good repair by slaves, who are sentenced to this punishment from the different prisons in Spain; and a strong garrison is kept in the fortress, to prevent a surprise from the Moors, who, like the Spaniards with respect to Gibraltar, have a watchful eye over it. The city is regularly furnished with provisions from the opposite ports in Spain; and being destitute of water, which was formerly conducted by an aqueduct from the neighbourhood, is supplied with that article from Estepona, a small Spanish fishing-town about nine leagues to the eastward of Gibraltar.

Another deserter came in on the 10th of February. The day following, the invalids and women embarked on board the fleet. By the 12th the supplies were all landed, and the rigging of the Spanish prizes being repaired, the fleet prepared to return. The same day a flag of truce brought over some English prisoners: one of them, the master of

a merchantman, which had been taken in her voyage to the garrison, informed us that the boom at Algeziras was a twenty-two-inch cable-rope, buoyed up by casks, to prevent our sending fire-ships among their shipping.

The Spanish admiral having regulated with Sir George Rodney everything concerning the exchange and release of prisoners, was permitted on the 13th to return upon his parole into Spain. He was conducted with part of his suite, in the governor's carriage, to the Spanish lines, where he was received by his friends, and with them proceeded on to the camp. The succeeding day, the remainder of the Spanish officers were taken by the Fortune sloop, and landed at the Orangegrove. Lieutenant Williams, of the navy (who, after taking possession of one of the Spanish prizes in the action off St. Mary's, was obliged to run her ashore near Cadiz, and surrender himself prisoner), returned with another officer, on board the sloop, to the garrison. The liberal and polite behaviour of the navy and the governor to Don Langara and his countrymen made a sensible and lasting impression on their minds, and was confessedly of great advantage to the English prisoners in Spain; particularly to those taken in our neighbourhood, who ever afterwards were treated with great attention and humanity.

In the evening of the 13th, the British fleet got under way, excepting the Edgar and the Panther ships of the line, the Enterprise and Porcupine frigates, which were left behind, as great part of their crews had been removed to man the prizes. The enemy, on their appearing in motion, immediately gave the alarm, which was communicated by signals from their towers along the coasts towards Cadiz. At dusk few of our ships were in sight from the upper part of the hill.

## CHAPTER IV

The Spaniards renew the Blockade—Attempt to Burn our Shipping by Nine Fire-Ships, but miscarry—Gun Boats—Garrison again distressed—Enemy effectually cut off the Supplies from Barbary—Break Ground in advance from their lines—Scurvy very prevalent—Greatly relieved by the use of Lemons—Mode of using this Vegetable Acid—Garrison obtain a few supplies from Minorca—Enemy retarded in their operations—Spirited action between the Enemy and an English Polacre—Garrison obliged to quit the Gardens on the neutral ground—Tangier—Speedwell Cutter arrives after a spirited engagement—A Spy discovered—Mr. Logie, the British Consul in Barbary, expelled the Emperor's dominions—Cruel treatment which he and the other British subjects experienced—Cause of this event—A Memorial from the Officers of the Garrison—Great distress of the Troops—The Kite cutter, Captain Trollop, arrives with intelligence that the British fleet is at the entrance of the Straits.

THE garrison might now be considered in a very perfect state of defence. The scurvy indeed had begun to affect many, and threatened to become more general; but we flattered ourselves that the enemy would give up their intention of starving us to a surrender, and, by relaxing in their vigilance at sea, might afford us an opportunity of receiving constant supplies of those articles most essential to health. Our stores and magazines were full; a reinforcement had joined the garrison; and new spirits were infused into the troops, since they were convinced, from the powerful force sent to their relief, that they were not forgotten in the multiplicity of objects which necessarily engaged the attention of our friends at home.

Admiral Duff having returned on board the fleet to England, the command of the squadron that remained in the bay consequently devolved on Captain Elliott of the *Edgar*, who, on the 14th of February, hoisted his broad pendant as commodore.

The 16th of the same month, Admiral Barcelo removed the boom at Algeziras, and warped out to his former anchorage, immediately detaching his small craft to Cabrita Point, to intercept any ships that might attempt coming in. In the afternoon, the enemy executed two men in camp, who, it was ima-

gined, had been retaken in attempting to desert: their bodies were not cut down until the 20th. This punishment seemed, however, to have little effect; for at night three others came in, having swum round Fort Barbara. The multitude of deserters from the Spanish lines during the whole of the siege, is one of the circumstances least capable of a satisfactory explanation. What could these unhappy men expect in a confined and blockaded garrison, and even at a time when they could not fail to be acquainted with the distress and difficulties under which we laboured? The very act of escaping was attended, with innumerable dangers; and, should the garrison afterwards fall into the hands of the enemy, they were certain to meet with the severest punishment. There is, however, a kind of heroism in the passions; disgust, or resentment, will prompt men to overlook dangers and difficulties, which, in the line of their duty, would be esteemed insurmountable.

A Venetian, came in from the west, on the 21st; she spoke the British fleet all well to the west of Cape St. Vincent. The subsequent day, a Dutch prize, laden with flour, was sent in by the Maidstone privateer, which arrived herself on the 23rd. Several other vessels came in during the intermediate time to the 27th; when a Spanish

squadron of four line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and a xebecque, joined Admiral Barcelo from the west, and again blocked up the port. From the patched and disorderly appearance of their sails and rigging, it was conjectured that they were fitted up in haste, and solely for the duty of the blockade: it gave us however some uneasiness to find them again likely to adopt their former system.

At daybreak, on the preceding day, we discovered a vessel at anchor off Waterport, which we fired upon, supposing her to be a Spaniard: she immediately sent her boat to Ragged Staff, and informed us that she was of Naples, and bound to London; that she had touched at Mihorea, and had on board two English discharged soldiers, and two women passengers. The boat returned, and soon after went on shore at Fort St. Philip, where it remained about half an hour. In the evening the enemy fired a shot at the vessel; upon which she sent her boat a second time ashore: we answered the shot from Willis's; nevertheless at night she went over unperceived to Algeziras.

In the beginning of March, three regiments decamped from the enemy's army, and took different routes. On the night of the 2nd, two Genoese sailors, who had formerly belonged to a privateer of the garrison, came over to us in a small boat from Algeziras. The following day a Spanish convoy under a commodore arrived in the bay, from the west. The governor, on the 11th, ordered the garrison to be victualled monthly (bread excepted) in the following proportion: for a soldier, each first and third week, 1 lb. of pork, 2½ lbs. of salt fish, which had been purchased from the Newfoundland ship; 2 pints of peas; 1 lb. of flour; ¼ lb. of raisins; 1 lb. of rice; 5 oz. of butter; 1½ pint of oatmeal. Second and fourth week, 1½ lb. of beef; 2 lbs. of fish; 2 pints of peas; 1 lb. of rice; 5 oz. of butter; 1½ lb. of wheat; 1 lb. of raisins. The salt cod being indifferent of its kind, and the soldiers not having proper vegetables to dress with it, proved very pernicious. This

article continued to be delivered for near seven months; and undoubtedly, in a great degree, promoted that dreadful disorder, the scurvy, which, before Sir George Rodney arrived, had made its appearance, and afterwards became very general and fatal. The governor, however, in this new distribution, considered the hospital, whose proportion of salt meat was less, and more nourishing articles issued instead.

Notwithstanding the repeated assurances from the Spaniards, that the English prisoners in our neighbourhood should be exchanged for those taken with Admiral Langara, none were yet sent in agreeably to that admiral's promise: Commodore Eliott was therefore under the necessity of making a formal demand, and to enforce it told them, if they did not comply, he should expect the Spanish admiral would return with the officers then upon their parole. This convinced them the commodore was no longer to be trifled with; accordingly, on the 12th, about 390 British seamen were received on board the Fortune sloop, and distributed amongst the men-of-war, whose crews, as I have mentioned before, were sent to man the Spanish prizes. The same day a Moorish sloop came in from Malaga, and brought intelligence that the enemy had fitted up several fire-ships in the bay. In the evening three of the 72nd absented themselves from their corps; search was made the succeeding day, and two of them were discovered asleep in a cave, behind the Sugar-Loaf Point. They had cut up their working-dresses into shreds, which were tied together to favour their descent down the rock; and it is imagined the following night they would have repeated their attempt to get off. One of these men was afterwards executed, but the other was pardoned.

The Fly packet arrived the 14th, with an English mail. In the afternoon the Maidstone came in, with a settce prize, which the captain had cut out of Malaga road. A privateer, called the Alert, beat in from the west on the 15th, notwithstanding an easterly wind. A prize following her was



taken off Cabrita Point. The 17th, the enemy sent in 41 British seamen, who were distributed as before.

The enemy at this time were not particularly employed. Some new arrangements were made in their artillery park; and in their camp they were busy, collecting brush-wood for fascines, which caused various conjectures in the garrison concerning their future operations. A salute and feu-de-joie were fired in their camp on the 19th, supposed to be occasioned by the birth of a son to the princess of Asturias. The night of the 23rd, the Alert sailed with dispatches for England; and on the 29th we received from the enemy more English prisoners. In the course of the month the garrison lost four men by desertion.

April was not remarkable for any events of moment. On the 2nd, the Porcupine frigate, Sir Charles Knowles, Bart., sailed to the eastward on a cruise. The 5th, arrived the Fly packet: she reported that a merchantman, bound to the garrison, had been obliged by a north wind, when she was almost arrived in the bay, to pass to the eastward, and put into Tetuan, where she waited a favourable opportunity to renew her attempt. The Fortune sloop, on the 6th, took over to the enemy 300 Spaniards, who had been confined as prisoners for some time in our Navy hospital. She returned with nine British, and two days after took over 280 prisoners. The night of the 12th a sloop, with two settees, came in from Tangier: the former brought a packet from Mr. Logie; and the latter, cattle, and other acceptable articles. The following day we observed the enemy forming a bridge of pontons across the mouth of the river Guadarranque. At night, the Hyena frigate, Captain Thompson, arrived in thirteen days from England. She was chased by the enemy's cruisers, and fired at, but received very little damage. The 20th, the Edgar, Commodore Elliott, and the Hyena, with a privateer, sailed to the west, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in the bay. Admiral Barcelo seemed to suspect their intention; for instantly on their appearing under

sail, he made a signal for his squadron to pursue. The Edgar and her consort were, however, out of sight before the Spaniards got abreast of Cabrita Point.

Towards the conclusion of the month, the enemy were more active in their camp, and sometimes in the lines; to which place they brought down a great quantity of fascines. They were chiefly employed in raising the boyau, and making repairs, which were, however, so trifling, that our artillery did not disturb them. Besides the arrivals already noted, we received supplies by two or three boats from the Barbary coast; and in the course of the month, three deserters came over from the enemy, one of whom swam to Landport from Tessa's battery, about half-way between Fort Philip and Point Mala.

May was not less barren of interesting occurrences than the preceding month. Several deserters attempted to get in, but some were so unfortunate as to be overtaken by their pursuers. These wretches were generally executed the succeeding day, but the example did not deter others from similar attempts.

The 4th, the Fly returned with fowls, leather, and fruit. Two days following, the enemy's army were under arms in two divisions, and performed a sham engagement. One division took post on the eminence above the stone quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair, and was attacked by the other from below. After a smart cannonade, and brisk discharge of musketry, the party above gave way; but the night prevented our observing the conclusion. The succeeding day, the Fortune received from a Spanish flag of truce 47 prisoners, very few of whom were British. At night small arms were discharged on the neutral ground, supposed to be at some deserters who were coming off. One Walon reached the barrier, and informed us that several of his comrades agreed to follow him. The 10th, two men were executed in the Spanish camp; probably, the same who were retaken.

Another deserter, belonging to the regiment of Estremadura, came in on

the 11th, and was remarkable for being the first native of Spain who deserted. The Spanish infantry in general is raised upon a local establishment. Each district is required, by an ancient law called the *Quinta*, to furnish a certain proportion of troops; and the men are enrolled for about seven or eight years' service, after which time they are permitted to return to their respective provinces; and as the Spaniards are all strongly attached to their native spot, desertion is consequently less common with them than with any other troops. Most of the men who deserted to us, came from those regiments in their service which are composed of foreigners.

A Swede was brought to from Europa, the 15th, and obliged to come in. We were much disappointed in her lading, which was salt. We had a few days before received some supplies from Tangier; and on the 18th two boats arrived from Tetuan, with fowls and oil: the latter reported that the *Fly* packet, which had left us on the 11th, was driven ashore on the Barbary coast by the enemy's cruisers, who, after the crew had quitted her, took possession. We were much concerned at this intelligence; for the *Fly* was a fast sailer, and had been very fortunate in frequently passing in and out unobserved. The 20th, came in a Moorish sloop from Malaga, with butter, raisins, and leather: the latter article was much wanted; indeed, so scarce was it become in the garrison, that several officers, and most of the men, had been necessitated to wear shoes made of canvas, with soles of spun-yarn.

A letter of marque arrived on the 25th from Leghorn, with wine, oil, and other articles: a very valuable cargo to the garrison. On the 30th the enemy's army were again under arms. Their manœuvres on that day were the attack and defence of a convoy. Their parties, as in the last month, continued arranging the ordnance in their artillery park, and bringing down to the lines materials for the repair of their works. Our artillery, however, took little notice of them.

† In the beginning of June we received some seasonable supplies by the arrival of three boats from Tetuan and one from Tangier. By the latter we had intelligence that the *Fox* packet, from Faro, and a sloop, were at that place waiting an opportunity to get in; and by this, or one of the former vessels, Mr. Logie gave information that the enemy had prepared several fire-ships to burn our shipping in the bay. Two months before, he had intimated to Commodore Elliott that the Spaniards had five fire-ships in readiness for immediate use; and that they had once made an attempt to send them over, but the wind failed. Repeating the intelligence, therefore, at this time, was peculiarly fortunate, as the next night they attempted to put in execution their design. The same day, a Spanish ship of the line sailed from Algeziras to the eastward.

Our naval force at this period consisted of the *Panther*, of 60 guns, Captain Harvey (who, since Commodore Elliott's departure, commanded in the Mediterranean); the *Enterprise* frigate, Captain Lesley; two armed vessels commanded by lieutenants, with several armed ordnance transports, and other ships belonging to merchants. On the morning of the 7th, a little after midnight, the *Enterprise*, which was anchored to the northward off the New mole head, discovered several sail approaching her from the opposite side of the bay: they were hailed, but, before satisfactory answers could be received, several fireworks and inflammable substances were thrown on board, and six fire-ships suddenly appeared in the form of a crescent, bearing down upon her and the ordnance-ships in the New mole. Captain Lesley, with immediate presence of mind, instantly fired three guns to alarm his friends, and, cutting his cable, drove closer in shore. The *Panther* and shipping, on the appearance of the enemy, immediately commenced a brisk cannonade to retard their progress; and, manning their boats, the officers and seamen, with their usual intrepidity, grappled the ships; and, notwithstanding the fierceness of the

flames, towed them, clear of our vessels, under the walls, where they were afterwards extinguished. Beside these six, which were intended for the New mole, three others were lighted and directed towards the Panther, at anchor off Bucna Vista; but one was towed off by the boats, and the other two were at so great a distance that they drove out to sea to the eastward.

The garrison was as early alarmed as the navy. The drums beat to arms; the guards were all upon their defence; and the pickets, with the different regiments, assembled at their posts, and continued under arms till daybreak. The artillery from the batteries seconded the fire from the ships; but the darkness of the night prevented any certain knowledge of the effect. The wind, which was favourable for their purpose in the beginning of the night, fortunately grew still when they were most in need of it. The largest of them, nevertheless, which was of the size of a large Indiaman, or 50-gun ship, would certainly have got into the New mole amongst the ordnance-transports, had not a few bar-shot, from a 32-pounder at the Mole head, turned her round, and then the current carried her into Rosia bay.

The navy on this occasion cannot be too highly commended for their courage, conduct, and alertness. Their intrepidity overcame every obstacle; and though three of the ships were linked with chains and strong cables, and every precaution was taken to render them successful, yet, with uncommon resolution and activity, the British seamen separated the vessels, and towed them ashore with no other injury to themselves than a few burns and bruises. The design altogether, to do justice to the ingenuity of Don Barcelo, was well projected, and his squadron judiciously stationed at the entrance of the bay to intercept our men-of-war in case they had attempted to escape from the fire-ships. We afterwards were informed that Admiral Barcelo proposed to Don Alvarez to draw off our attention from the southward by opening his land batteries on the town. Without doubt such a proceeding would

garrison in some measure from the shipping; but as the navy had the principal nay, I may say, the sole honour of opposing the fire-ships, their endeavours would not have been less strenuous, nor of course less successful.

The hulls of the fire-ships were soon after broken up and sold to the inhabitants for fuel, and proved a most seasonable relief. Firing was become a more important article than before, which may appear very extraordinary to the reader, when he looks back to the short time which had elapsed since the departure of Sir George Rodney's fleet; but it is necessary to inform him that the colliers intended for the garrison were too late in coming round from the Downs to join at Spithead—Sir George Rodney therefore sailed without them.

The morning of the 8th, arrived the Fox packet, and another vessel from Faro; and in the course of the 10th and 12th, four boats came in from Tetuan and Tangier with various cargoes. The patrons reported it was current at Tangier that we killed 14 or 15 men in the attack of the fire-ships, and that the Spaniards had several more fire-ships ready in the bay, with which it was not improbable they might make a second attempt. Our navy were consequently very vigilant, and kept a good look-out. For some weeks past we had been remarkably successful in receiving these small and very acceptable supplies. Their cruisers, however, now began to be more alert, and appeared to be stationed with better judgment. On the 15th, a boat was taken coming in, but her consort escaped; and on the 20th, another arrived from Tangier, which brought intelligence that a large ship, with coals and butter, bound to the garrison, was captured by the Spaniards two days before under the guns of Tangier. The 24th, several broadsides were exchanged between four of the enemy's ships, passing to Algeziras, and our shipping and batteries at the southward. Some few shot came ashore, but no particular damage was received. The Enterprise had 18 sail-

ors burnt by the explosion of some powder.

Early on the 27th, four Spanish gun-boats, with a xebec and two galleys, approached under cover of the night and fired upon the Panther. A brisk discharge was however returned, and they soon retired. One shot struck the south pavilion, and three were fired through the Panther. This mode of annoyance the enemy afterwards greatly improved upon. These boats were strongly built, but ill finished: they had a small mast inclining forward from the centre of the boat, almost over the bow, upon which was hoisted a latine yard and sail, which, at anchor, served as an awning to the men on board. They rowed astonishingly swift, and each carried a 26-pounder in the bow. We never had a good opportunity of making any satisfactory observations on them, but judged from their appearance that they were about 70 feet long and 20 broad.

In the beginning of July, the Panther man-of-war receiving upwards of 100 English prisoners from the enemy, Captain Harvey sailed for England. Some alterations and additions took place the same day in the garrison detail. The 4th, the Fortune brought over more British prisoners. We had received some supplies in the course of a few days by two Moorish boats, and they were followed on the 11th of July by one from Tangier, which informed us of a fleet having been seen off that coast, and that two boats had been taken coming into the bay. The fleet here mentioned was the combined fleet of France and Spain, which soon after captured our outward-bound East and West India fleets, and carried the greater part of them into Cadiz: one of the heaviest blows which British commerce had ever sustained.

The recent attempt of the enemy to burn the shipping and store-houses at the southward, added to the intelligence which the governor had received of the enemy's fleet being off Cadiz, caused him to direct particular attention towards that quarter of the garrison. Batteries for heavy metal were made

on the rock above Parson's Lodge, at Rosia; and directions were given for the New Mole to be cleared of shipping, that the ordnance might have more liberty to play. Other alterations also took place in that neighbourhood. Early on the morning of the 17th, five gun-boats and four galleys fired upon the Enterprise and shipping in the New Mole. One of the frigate's fore-castle guns was dismounted, and her fore-stay cut: some shots came also on shore.

During the remainder of the month, our firing, which had been continued at intervals, was brisker on their parties, who were principally employed in forming considerable depôts of fascines, casks, and timber, in the lines, and in collecting brush-wood from the country: they were likewise very busy in disembarking stores which had lately arrived. Several empty transport-vessels, in the course of this month, left the garrison for England. A man of the 58th regiment deserted to the enemy: one also came in from the lines.

In August few incidents occurred on either side. Our provisions began to be bad, and extremely offensive. The few supplies we now received, were rather luxuries than substantials: wine, sugar, oil, honey, onions, and articles of the like kind, composed chiefly the cargoes of those craft which arrived. Sugar was risen to 2s. 6d. per pound, and everything else sold in proportion.

About 10 in the forenoon of the 3rd, a settee, coming in from the west, was chased by the enemy, and taken into Algeziras. We imagined it was the Fox packet, which we then anxiously expected with an English mail; and our conjectures afterwards were confirmed. The 10th, we observed the enemy laying a bridge of boats across the river Palmones. Two days following, a brig was boarded almost under our guns, and conducted to Algeziras. It was thought to be the same of which we had intelligence some time before, and which was laden with a variety of articles much wanted: her capture was therefore greatly lamented. The night of the 15th, six sailors deserted in a boat from the New mole.

The succeeding day, the *Fortune* sloop received from the enemy 64 prisoners. Ensign Bradshaw, of the 56th regiment, and several who were passengers in the brig taken on the 12th, were of the number. At night, five more sailors who were rowing guard, went over to the enemy. In the night of the 25th, a Minorquin boat came in with wine, tea, and sugar, in eight days. The 27th and 29th, a soldier and four sailors deserted to the enemy. It was imagined the sailors forced with them the midshipman who commanded the boat. Colonel Mawhood, of the 72nd regiment, died on the 29th.

A small boat arrived from Barbary on the 30th, with information that the Moors permitted the Spaniards to capture every English vessel which took refuge under the protection of their guns; that the Spaniards would not allow any boats to leave the bay of Tangier, and only waited for orders from Admiral Barcelo to burn and destroy what remained. This intelligence very sensibly affected us. To be cut off from what we had always considered our domestic market, was a stroke we little expected. We waited, however, more authentic proofs of this extraordinary conduct, before we could implicitly believe the defection of those whom during the present contest we had considered as our firm friends.

September was as barren with respect to material incidents as the preceding months. The enemy finished their ponton bridge over the river Palmones on the 2nd. About a week afterwards, two soldiers of the 56th deserted. On the 23rd, a flag of truce brought over the midshipman carried off by the sailors who deserted the latter end of August. The 29th, a deserter came in, in the habit of a peasant: he spoke several languages fluently, and said he had been a serjeant in their service. Some suspicions arising, he was charged to remain with part of the 58th regiment at Windmill-hill. The following day we remarked, that the enemy's guards in the lines, at the hour of relieving, amounted to about 300 infantry, and 70 artillery, besides cavalry.

The situation of the garrison by this time was again become very interesting. The blockade was, if possible, more strict and vigilant than before. Chains of small cruisers were stationed across the Straits, at the entrance of the bay, and on every side of the rock; and the late disagreeable intelligence from Tangier seemed now confirmed, by our never having heard from that quarter during the month. The little assistance we therefore received, came from Minorea; but the supplies from that place were so trifling, and sold at such enormous prices, that few were able to purchase them. We had not been favoured with a cargo of cattle for a long period, and the scurvy began to gain considerable ascendancy over the efforts of our surgeons. Our distresses, in short, promised to be more acute and fatal than those we had already experienced.

The enemy's operations on the land side had been for many months so unimportant, as scarcely to merit our attention. However, on the morning of the 1st of October, we observed they had raised an epaulment, about 600 or 700 yards advanced from their lines. The preceding night, our out-guards had been alarmed with an unusual noise on the neutral ground, like that of men at work: several large fires also appeared, and some attempts were made to burn our advanced barriers with devils, and other combustibles, which were soon thrown off without taking effect; and notice was given to the Lines, Landport, and other guards. This alarm, however, was not general in the garrison. As the morning advanced, the noise ceased; and we discovered that they had set fire to the fishermen's huts in the gardens: but when the day permitted us to examine further, we observed the above-mentioned work.

The epaulment was about 30 yards in extent, of a simple construction, composed of chandeliers, fascines, and a few sand-bags; and was erected near the windmill or tower on the neutral ground, distant about 1100 yards from our grand battery. The enemy's guns were elevated, and batteries man

ned; which, with other preparations in the lines, seemed to argue that they expected we should fire, and were determined to oppose it. These appearances, probably, induced the governor not to take any particular notice of their work in the day: but at night, orders were sent to throw a few light balls, to discover if they were making any addition. The inhabitants immediately took the alarm, upon being told that the enemy had thrown up an advanced work, and that their batteries were manned; and at night very few remained at the north end of the town.

It now seemed evident the enemy had determined on a more serious attack, in case the second blockade was unsuccessful: but we were at a loss to imagine what motives could influence them to act so opposite to the established mode of approaching a besieged garrison, by erecting a work so distant, and which had no connexion with their established lines.

The enemy's batteries continued to be manned till the 2nd; and in the afternoon of that day, Don Alvarez, accompanied by an officer, supposed to be the Count d'Estaing, who was expected in the Spanish camp when the last deserter came in, visited the lines. They remained three-quarters of an hour at Fort St. Barbara, viewing the rock with glasses. On their return they were saluted from Point Mala; and as they passed the front line of the camp, the regiments turned out without arms. On the night of the 3rd, a smart engagement was heard off Cabrita Point, supposed to be between some vessel attempting to come in, and the enemy's cruisers; and the next morning a sloop with English colours reversed was observed at Algeiras.

Early on the 4th, our advanced guards discovered the enemy endeavouring, a second time, to fix fire-bags on our barriers. A smart discharge of musketry was immediately directed from these posts, and from the Queen's lines; on which they retired. At daybreak we observed they had carried away vast quantities of vegetables from the gardens, and trampled others under foot: but little, if any, ad-

dition was made to the epaulment. A parley came in on the 5th; and soon after, the Fortune sloop received upwards of 40 British prisoners, many of whom had been taken going from the garrison. In the evening of the 6th, the Spanish general came to the lines, at the head of the relieving guards. Soon after he arrived, the guns were again elevated, and every preparation made, as if they had resolved to open on the garrison. The 8th, the town-major, Captain Burke, went out with a parley, intending to proceed to the tower, the place appointed by custom for the officers to give and receive communications. When he got abreast of the new work, the sentries by motions informed him he must not advance. He pointed to the tower; but they continued inflexible: on his turning round however to return, one of them came up with his arms, and proceeded with him to the tower, whilst another ran to acquaint the officer in the lines. The messenger after some time came back, and both remained apparently as a guard over Major Burke, till the officer arrived; when, delivering his packet, the major returned to the garrison.

The enemy did not appear very anxious to complete the epaulment; their parties were employed in raising and finishing the merlons of the batteries in the lines, raising the merlons of Fort St. Philip with fascines, and erecting a new battery near the guard-house on the beach. The 11th, a small settie arrived from Minorca: the patron informing us, that two others were standing for the rock, the navy manned their boats to assist them, in case the enemy opposed their entrance; but on getting round Europa Point, no such vessels appeared. A Dutch convoy was however passing: the boats therefore boldly advanced, and boarded a dogger which had got, during the fog, pretty near the rock. She was a Dane from Malaga, laden with lemons and oranges, which the governor immediately purchased, and distributed to the garrison.

Few articles ever arrived more seasonably than this cargo of fruit. The

scurvy had made dreadful ravages in our hospitals, and more were daily confined: many, however, unwilling to yield to the first attacks, persevered in their duty to its more advanced stages. It was therefore not uncommon, at this period, to see men, who some months before were hale, and equal to any fatigue, supporting themselves to their posts upon crutches, and even with that assistance scarcely able to move along. The most fatal consequences, in short, to the garrison, were to be apprehended from this terrible disorder, when this Dane was happily directed to our relief. The lemons were immediately administered to the sick, who devoured them with the greatest avidity. The salutary effects were almost instantaneous: in a few days, men who had been considered as irrecoverable, left their beds to congratulate their comrades on the prospect of once more becoming useful to their country.

Mr. Cairncross of the 73rd regiment, a surgeon of great eminence, who was present at this time and the remaining part of the siege, has favoured me with the following information relative to the scurvy, and the mode of using this vegetable acid; which, with his permission, I insert for the benefit of those who may hereafter be under similar circumstances:—

“The scurvy which attacked the garrison of Gibraltar, differed in no respect from that disease usually contracted by sailors in long voyages; and of which the immediate cause seemed to be the subsisting for a length of time upon salted provisions only, without a sufficient quantity of vegetables, or other accrescent foods. The circumstance related in the voyage of that celebrated circumnavigator, the late Lord Anson, of consolidated fractures disuniting, and the callosity of the bone being perfectly dissolved, occurred frequently in our hospitals: and old sores and wounds opened anew from the nature of the disorder.

“Various antiscorbutics were used without success, such as acid of vitriol, sour crout, extract of malt, essence of spruce, &c., but the only specific was

fresh lemons and oranges, given liberally; or when they could not be procured, the preserved juice in such quantities, from one to four ounces per diem, as the patient could bear. Whilst the lemons were sound, from one to three were administered each day as circumstances directed. The juice given to those in the most malignant state, was sometimes diluted with sugar, wine, or spirits; but the convalescents took it without dilution. Women and children were equally affected; nor were the officers exempted from this alarming distemper. It became almost general at the commencement of the winter season, owing to the cold and moisture; and in the beginning of spring, when vegetables were scarce.

“The juice was preserved by adding to 60 gallons of expressed liquor about five or ten gallons of brandy, which kept it in so wholesome a state, that several casks were opened in good condition at the close of the siege. The old juice was not however so speedily efficacious as the fruit, though by persevering longer in its use, it seldom failed.”

The same day that the dogger was brought in, a parley came from Don Alvarez, to inform the governor that all intercourse or correspondence betwixt them, in future, was to be conducted by flags of truce in the bay; which regulation continued till the peace was notified in 1783. The 14th, two gun-boats, from the Orange-grove, ranged along the front of the garrison, and drove in our fishing-boats; and on the 16th they again ranged off the Mackerel bank, and forced our fishermen to retire. We did not much approve of this conduct, as the boats, by this means, were prevented from bringing any fish to our market. The enemy continued, however, this practice at intervals for some time.

The 21st, the gun-boats fired upon the Enterprize and town. Captain Lesley, not choosing to remain the object of their fire, withdrew the frigate into the New mole; where the navy, under the direction of the engineers, had begun to lay a boom of masts from the New mole head to the

watering-tank. This boom, though it was considered a difficult operation on account of the swell of the sea, was soon completed.

It was not till the night of the 21st, that the enemy threw sand in the front of their epaulment, to cover it against our fire-balls and carcasses; and on the 26th they lengthened it to the west about 30 yards, and strengthened it in front with sand. The night of the 28th they erected two large traverses in the rear for magazines. It now presented a very compact appearance; whence we concluded that it was intended for a mortar battery.

Though it was generally imagined in England that the garrison had been amply provided with every article and necessary of life, when Sir George Rodney arrived with the transports and relief from England, our wants, in reality, were far from being supplied. In the articles of ammunition and salt provisions, the garrison had probably as much as they required; but of fresh provisions, wine, spirits, sugar, &c., we began to find a great scarcity; and the price of what remained was consequently much enhanced. The assistance we received formerly from Barbary had now been suspended for several months; the enemy seemed determined to prevent our deriving support from the element that almost surrounded us; and their cruisers were too numerous and vigilant to allow us to expect anything from the west. Thus situated, the garrison turned their eyes on the island of Minorca, whence we had already received some very acceptable supplies, and whose situation, from the great scope of sea room, afforded a flattering probability of the boats being oftener able to escape the enemy's cruisers. The productions of that island are various; and those articles which it did not afford, could be purchased from the prizes that were daily carried thither by the privateers. Several garrison boats were therefore sent to Minorca, some of which returned, in the course of October, laden with the wine of that island, sugar (an article become exceedingly scarce), and cheese; with

sometimes a few live-stock. These articles were all sold by auction, according to a regulation established by the governor; and, though they seldom were purchased by the lower ranks, yet afforded upon the whole a partial relief to the garrison.

The 30th, we observed that the enemy had posted an officer's guard in the Mill battery, which was the name we gave to the new work. Montague's bastion was therefore opened on it in the evening, and, by forming a cross-fire with the batteries on the heights, considerably annoyed them, and much retarded their operations. The same night two soldiers of the 56th and 72nd deserted from Upper All's-well, in the lines: they were sentries at the same post, and got down by means of a rope; but previous to their descent, had the precaution to wet the priming of their firelocks. We also lost another man by desertion in the course of the month.

The governor, in the beginning of November, made an arrangement of the troops, that in case the enemy bombarded the garrison, each regiment might know the quarters and stations which they were to take up. The 1st of the month was rather unpropitious to us: an English snow was taken to the east of the rock: at night a soldier of the 56th regiment deserted during a heavy shower of rain; and the following evening two others, of the 12th and 56th, attempted to get off by swimming round the Old mole head; but a few days afterwards the body of the former was washed ashore near the King's bastion; we therefore concluded his comrade had shared the same fate. In the evening of the 7th a smart cannonade was heard in the Straits: after it had continued for some time a sudden flash appeared, and a report was heard, like the blowing-up of powder. The next morning we observed that the enemy had captured an English vessel, and were at that time towing in a gunboat, which accounted for the firing and explosion.

Our fire, about the 7th and 8th, became more animated; yet the enemy almost every night made some interior additions. We had observed for several



preceding mornings deep cuts in the sand, leading from the principal barrier to the Mill battery; which led us to imagine that they brought at night heavy timber and other materials from their depôts in the lines. The artillery were therefore ordered to direct a *ricochetting* fire of small shells along this track. In the evening of the 10th a large party, followed by a number of carts and mules, laden with different materials, advanced along the beach from the sally-port of the ditch of Fort St. Philip to the Mill battery. They were perceived by the artillery at Willis's before they had proceeded half-way; and a brisk fire was directed towards their route, which threw the mules into confusion, and obliged some to return, after having left their burthens on the beach. The batteries being reinforced, the firing was continued with great vivacity the whole night. The subsequent evening our artillery were prepared, and immediately on the party's appearing, saluted them with a warm discharge of shot and shells, which seemed to have greater effect than the fire of the preceding evening. This circumstance convinced us of the effect of the *ricochetting* fire from the lower batteries, along the track from the barrier: but the enemy were not so soon driven from the new track as from the former; and continued, notwithstanding our fire (which must have killed and wounded many of them), to bring materials in this exposed manner till a line of communication was finished from the lines.

An English armed polacre, called the Young Sabine, arrived on the 12th, after a spirited engagement in the bay with several armed vessels and three gun-boats. The enemy attempted to board her, but were as often repulsed by musketry: at length she beat them off, and anchored under our guns. Her cargo was cheese, hams, and potatoes; the latter of which sold at forty-three dollars per cwt., which, according to forty-two pence per dollar (the exchange at that time), are equal to 7*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* sterling. Other articles sold in proportion. In the afternoon a Minorquin settee arrived with the usual

cargo; a Spanish gun-boat boarded her on her passage; but the patron showing papers from Majorca to the camp, the Spaniard took no further notice than keeping her company as a convoy. The Minorquin afterwards seized a convenient opportunity, and slipped in.

In the course of the 14th a Minorquin tartan, bound for the garrison, was taken by the enemy; the crew however quitted her, and got ashore. The enemy the same day mounted twelve guns *en barbet*, in the battery near the guard-house, in the vicinity of Fort St. Philip, which we had supposed was intended for mortars; and about a week afterwards they erected merlons to this work, admitting the embrasures to open upon the garrison. This was called by the garrison the Black battery; and though the most distant work erected against Gibraltar, was found in the subsequent bombardment and siege to be one of the most annoying to the garrison, as its line of fire enfiladed the Town Line wall and main street, which were during the siege the principal communications with the northern part of the fortress.

Two nights following, the gun-boats, which were now increased in number, fired upon the town and shipping. Three, that directed their fire on the former, were stationed off the Old mole head, and threw several shots into the town. Several men were wounded in the Enterprise frigate.

The night of the 17th the enemy threw up two *places d'armes* for musketry on the flanks of the Mill battery; the parapets formed semicircles joining the battery, but afterwards extended in an oblique direction towards the lines. These additions appeared very slight, being only a row of casks or gabions, strengthened with half-chandeliers, and sand in front; covered on the top with sand-bags. The 18th we were visited again by the gun-boats; in returning their cannonade one of the thirty-two pounders on the King's bastion burst, killed an artilleryman on the spot, and wounded three others. The man who fired the gun escaped, but was a little scorched with the powder.

A great number of mules were employed on the 22nd, bringing forward casks, chandeliers, and other materials, from the camp. The night of the 23rd the enemy began an approach from the lines to the Mill battery: it consisted of fascines, with sand banked up in front, and commenced near the west angle of the western fourteen-gun battery, extending about 120 feet towards the advanced guard-house in front of Fort St. Philip; the following night, notwithstanding our fire, they lengthened it about 100 feet, with chandeliers placed in a trench and filled with fascines. The enemy endeavoured to draw our attention from this quarter by another salute from the gun-boats, but in vain. As it was not improbable that the gun-boats were directed in their firing by the lights in the houses along the line-wall, and those looking towards the bay; orders were issued "that no lights in future should appear in any house, barrack, or guard-house, towards the bay, after seven o'clock in the evening."

We had hitherto derived occasional assistance from the gardens on the neutral ground, though vast quantities of vegetables had been removed from thence by the enemy. On the 25th, however, they determined to expel our people altogether from the gardens; which in the course of a few days they accomplished, notwithstanding the marksmen under Lieutenant Burleigh were stationed at Willis's, and in the lines, in order to prevent them.

From this period, our resources in respect to vegetables depended entirely upon our own attention to cultivation; which, happily for the garrison, was crowned with tolerable success, especially during the winter months, at which time the produce was increased to be almost equal to the consumption. The supplies from the gardens had indeed begun to fail for some time before, and we soon had little reason to regret their loss. We had, besides, the additional satisfaction of reflecting that the enemy were now cut off from a channel through which it was not improbable they had been informed of

every occurrence which happened in the garrison.

The 26th, a Frenchman, one of the crew of the Young Sabine, deserted in a boat to the enemy. The night of the 27th, the Danish dogger, which brought us the cargo of lemons, sailed, and the next morning we observed her at anchor off Algeiras. By the 29th, the enemy had finished the second branch of the line of approach, and begun the return for the third towards the western beach. Our fire, as they advanced, became more spirited than ever, and must have been severely felt by the enemy in this exposed duty. The 30th was only distinguished by the arrival of a polacre from Algiers with soap, oil, wine, and candles—a very valuable cargo.

December was introduced with bad weather. The 1st, arrived the Angliana privateer from Smyrna, and, two nights after, she continued her voyage towards England. Lieutenant Gage, of the Enterprise, went home passenger with dispatches. The 2nd was particularly stormy, with thunder and lightning, which happily did not continue long, or the works of the garrison might have materially suffered. The rain poured down with such violence from the heights, forcing with it vast quantities of rubbish, stones, and loose earth, that the streets leading from the hill were instantly choked up, and considerable damage was done to the buildings. The enemy, notwithstanding the storm, completed their third branch, and raised the return towards the east. Though the storm did not retard their finishing what they had begun in the evening, yet the chandeliers were very much sunk in many places, which employed their parties five or six of the following evenings to repair. They also made some alterations in the direction of the second branch, and repaired the batteries in the lines. A brig arrived from Leghorn on the 10th, also three settees from Minorca.

From the 10th, the enemy added every night so considerably to the fourth branch of the approach, that on the 14th at night they joined the ex-

tremity of the eastern *place d'armes*; and two nights following, began a fifth branch, which on the 19th was extended to the east flank of the Mill battery. Their operations had not been wholly confined to completing this line of communication; a mortar battery for the sea was erected to the north of Fort St. Barbara, and large and small traverses were raised within both forts to protect their men from our upper batteries.

About noon on the 17th, a cannonade was heard towards the west. A cloud of smoke was observed near Tangier, and we afterwards learned that the Moors were firing a salute on account of the arrival of their emperor. Three hundred and ninety rounds were numbered, and it was repeated the next day. The reader will probably recollect that the garrison of Tangier is to us an object of some curiosity, as having formerly been in the possession of the English. It was ceded by the Portuguese (who had been masters of it for some time) to King Charles II. as part of the dowry of the Princess Catharine of Portugal, and remained under the English dominion till 1684, when, the nation refusing to pay the heavy expence attending its maintenance against the repeated attacks of the Moors, the fortifications were blown up and the garrison ordered to abandon the town. The Moors, after the place was deserted, returned, and it has ever since continued in their possession. When the English were masters of Tangier, the works on the land side were considered as almost impregnable; and, for the accommodation of shipping, a mole of considerable extent was advanced into the sea.

The present town is built at the bottom of a bay, on the side of a hill overlooking the sea. The Moors have, in some measure, repaired the moles, and endeavoured to restore the city to its former importance; but their efforts go slowly on towards accomplishing that work. Tangier was the residence of a British consul, and, in conjunction with Tetuan, in times of peace, supplies Gibraltar, Cadiz, Lisbon, and other ports on the coasts of Spain and Portu-

gal with fowls, beef, mutton, and fruit. It was about this time the scene of some interesting transactions which will shortly be related.

The enemy, on the 20th, began to erect small traverses in the rear of their approach. On the 21st, the *Speedwell* cutter, Lieutenant Gibson, arrived with government dispatches, after a warm engagement with the enemy off Ceuta, in which the Spaniards attempted to board the cutter, but were repulsed. Lieutenant Gibson was dangerously wounded in the action, which was the only casualty on board. The 23rd, arrived a privateer brig, called the *Hannah*, Captain Venture, last from Lisbon. She brought some excellent supplies; and the day following, two other vessels from Liverpool got in with variety of provisions. The cargoes of these ships were sold by auction for 300 per cent. profit.

It was about this period, some letters of a curious tenor were discovered in the possession of the deserter who came in on the 29th of September, in the dress of a peasant, and said he was a serjeant. They were directed to Colonel Nugent, of the Hibernian corps, in the Spanish service; and the purport of them was—"that Europa was the most eligible place to attack the garrison; acknowledging having received several sums of money, and concluding with expressing his fears lest he should be discovered; therefore desired the colonel would concert some measures for his escape." The man was immediately ordered into close confinement, and remained a prisoner for some time, till, an opportunity offering, he was sent away from the garrison. We were afterwards informed by other deserters that he was sent in as a spy, and liberally rewarded for this hazardous service.

The enemy, having completed their approach to the Mill battery, were employed in dressing the communication and raising fascine traverses in the rear for their greater protection. The 26th and following nights, their carpenters braced with head-rails the chandeliers, which, owing to the late

rains, had given way in several places. They were so very noisy in this duty as to induce a brisk fire from our batteries. The 30th, a settee, going from Algeziras to the eastward, was becalmed off Europa, and was boarded and brought in by our boats. Many private letters were found on board, which mentioned the considerable loss the enemy had sustained from our fire. There were also a quantity of clothes, and some money. The next day a settee got in from Minorca.

Our carpenters, in the beginning of January, were very busy in erecting stages and temporary cranes in Camp and Rosia bays, and upon the Line wall, above the Navy yard; which led us to imagine that the governor had received intelligence by the *Speedwell*, that a convoy might soon be expected. The reason for erecting these machines so far to the south, and at such a distance from the garrison store-houses, was the apprehension of being annoyed in disembarking the provisions at Ragged Staff, &c., from the enemy's advanced battery, which was now finished, and reported to mount eight 13-inch mortars. These precautions will appear to be very prudent and essential, when the reader, on a farther perusal, is informed of the range and effect of the enemy's fire. Some alterations were also made in the works at the New mole.

The 11th, a Spanish flag of truce, with two Moorish galleys, came over from the Orange-grove, having on board Consul Logie, his lady, and all the British subjects who had been resident in Barbary. We had long complained of a neglect in that quarter, but were now convinced, to our sorrow, that such accusations were premature and ungenerous. The mercenary and avaricious disposition of the emperor had been bribed by the Spanish ministry with a present of 100,000 cobs (about 7500*l.* sterling), and a promise of the same sum annually, with the redemption of 100 African prisoners, on condition that he should deliver up, for a certain period, the ports of Tangier and Tetuan, and banish from his dominions the consul and subjects of

Great Britain. Besides the present of money, and the redemption of 100 prisoners, the emperor had permission to import from Spain grain, which was so remarkably scarce in Barbary, that a famine was apprehended. Without this circumstance to urge as a palliative for entering into a treaty with this avowed and natural enemy, the emperor would, probably, have found it a difficult task to persuade his subjects to desert their old allies.

As this defection of the Moorish monarch was of much importance to the garrison, and was in itself an object not undeserving political remark, I shall subjoin a short relation of some transactions previous to this event; with an account of the injurious treatment which Mr. Logie and the British subjects experienced before they quitted that country.

I had formerly occasion to mention, that in the early part of 1779, overtures were made by the Spaniards to the Moors, to farm the ports of Tangier, Tetuan, and Larache. Of this General Elliott received immediate information, by a confidential message from the emperor of Morocco. It did not appear that the emperor, in this instance, was actuated by any other impulse than friendship. But since, by refusing to accede to their offers, he might subject his coasts to be insulted, it would of consequence be prudent to arm his cruisers, in order to enable him to act on the defensive: he therefore requested that the English would supply him with naval stores for three new vessels which he had lately built, the value of which, on calculation, did not amount to fifteen hundred pounds.

Such apparent disinterestedness, and so modest a demand, had a proper effect with the governor, who, considering the emperor's alliance of the first consequence to the welfare of the garrison, recommended to government to double the quantity of stores, that they might secure his friendship. Ministers at home, however, did not consider his alliance in the same light with the governor and consul, as Sir George Rodney arrived the January following without stores,

or as much as an answer: and the Spaniards (having then declared war) increasing in their proposals, the emperor, after repeated applications to Mr. Logie, to know when he might expect the supplies he had given him to understand were coming from England, at length, by degrees, permitted the Spaniards to capture all British vessels under the protection of his guns. The consul remonstrated against such proceedings, but in vain: the answer generally received was, that the Spaniards had the emperor's leave; and if they chose to take *him* from his own house, the emperor would not oppose them.

These indignities Mr. Logie was necessitated to overlook. He found the Spanish influence daily gaining ground: he had therefore no alternative, but tacitly to submit to the evils of his situation. He contrived, nevertheless, to acquaint General Elliott with this change in their affairs.

Though there appeared little prospect of doing further service to the garrison of Gibraltar by remaining in Barbary, Mr. Logie still continued to reside at Tangier. The natives were partial to the English, and personally attached to him; and these circumstances he imagined might probably be improved to some advantage.

Thus matters proceeded till the beginning of October, 1780, when a party of the emperor's black troops, which were quartered in the neighbourhood of Tangier, came to Mr. Logie's house, and, being introduced, informed him they had orders from their master to abuse and insult him in the grossest manner; which they immediately put in execution, by spitting in his face, seizing him by the collar, and threatening to stab him with their daggers.

Two days after this transaction, Mr. Logie was ordered to attend the emperor near Sallee. The 13th, he began his journey, guarded by one of the emperor's chamberlains, and a party of horse. They arrived at the camp on the 20th; and the same evening Mr. Logie was ordered into the emperor's presence. After various questions relative to Gibraltar, to which such an-

swers were given as were least likely to please, the emperor addressed himself to his troops, and a great mob that were assembled on the occasion, saying, "the English were an avaricious, proud, and headstrong people; they always attacked the head: but when people came to beg, they ought to crawl up by the feet. He had however deprived them of every benefit they formerly derived from his country;" concluding with ordering the consul to be taken to Sallee. Mr. Logie objected to this mandate, informing the emperor he was ready to attend his camp; but that his sovereign's service did not permit his trifling away his time in visiting towns.

The emperor, after this interview, seemed to relax in his severity to the consul; allowing him to return to Tangier, and consoling him with the promise that the British subjects should not be molested by the Spaniards. The 26th of October, Mr. Logie arrived at Tangier, and found the emperor had not deceived him.

Affairs remained quiet till the 26th of November, when an order came to fit up all the British boats, at the emperor's expense, as he was determined to send the English away satisfied. The consul however anticipated his intention, by getting them completed himself by the succeeding evening. The night of the 28th, the Spaniards, informed of the emperor's resolution, sent a party on shore to burn the boats. They were discovered by the guards, and confined; but in consideration of a sum of money, they were the next day liberated. Two days following, the consuls attended to hear the emperor's orders, which were brought by two of his secretaries: they expressed, that the emperor had sold the port of Tangier to the king of Spain; in consequence of which, every Christian, except of that nation, was to quit the town and bay; awarding slavery as the punishment of those who remained after the 1st of January, 1781.

Mr. Logie was no sooner acquainted with this order, than he departed for the emperor's camp, then near Tetuan, in order to represent the impossibility

of removing their property on so short a notice. He arrived on the 2nd of December, but could not procure an audience. The 4th, he had intelligence from Tangier, that a second order had compelled the British subjects instantly to remove to Marteen. Mr. Logie made several attempts to have this cruel order reversed, but in vain. He at length procured a friend to mention this delicate point to the emperor, who apparently relented, saying, the English should have permission to remain twenty days to collect their effects; and so far flattered them, as to make them believe they were not to be removed till the British fleet arrived, if it might be expected soon. Mr. Logie was however afterwards convinced, that the emperor at this time was informed his orders had been executed, as the British subjects, amounting to 109, arrived at Marteen, a few miles from Tetuan, the subsequent evening; having been forced to abandon their vessels, houses, and all their property; and compelled to submit to the greatest imposition, for the use of camels and mules, to remove their bedding and wearing-apparel. The value of the effects left behind, Mr. Logie computed to amount to upwards of sixty thousand pounds.

The heavy expense attending their removal from Tangier, with their stay at Marteen, to their arrival at Gibraltar, Mr. Logie was obliged to disburse; the emperor's order on the 26th of November having so much imposed upon them, that they had laid out what money they were possessed of, in purchasing such articles as they judged would be useful at Gibraltar, imagining they were to be conducted immediately to that garrison.

The emperor removed on the 17th of December to Tangier; whence he usually sent, once or twice every week, some insulting message to the consul, charging the English with having cheated his ambassador, and being indebted to him several thousand cobs for maintaining the garrison of Gibraltar; with others equally false and abusive.

Mr. Logie, on the 26th of December

was informed that the emperor had given up all the British subjects as prisoners to the Spaniards, and that the succeeding day they were to be removed to Algeziras. Being assured of the truth of this intelligence by one of the emperor's servants, he burnt all his public papers, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. The 28th, the consul embarked with Mrs. Logie (who had attended him through all these troubles), and about twenty more, on board a schooner, without being allowed time to take in any refreshment for their voyage. Others, under similar circumstances, were put on board other vessels. They were guarded by two Spanish cruisers, and for the first night put into Ceuta bay: the next morning they proceeded across the Straits, and about noon anchored off the Orange-grove, but soon after were ordered by Admiral Barcelo to moor at the entrance of the river Palmones. Here the consul was detained till the 11th of January following, by which time an answer arrived from Madrid concerning their future destination.

During this period, no offer was made to supply them with provisions or necessaries, though the Moors were permitted to purchase whatever they wanted. Mr. Logie therefore applied to the French Chargé d'Affaires at Algeziras, who very generously dispatched such articles as he judged would be most acceptable. The 11th, they were conducted to Gibraltar.

The removal, or rather expulsion, of the British subjects from Barbary, was attended with other unfortunate consequences besides depriving us of provisions: our connexion with Portugal became afterwards more precarious; and the governor was cut off from a source of information, by which he was acquainted with the enemy's operations both in camp and at Cadiz. Mr. Logie had always contrived to procure pretty certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, by those Moors who were in his interest; for, the Spaniards allowing them to bring various articles to the army before Gibraltar, and the fleet at Cadiz, and Mr. Logie lending them money to carry on this advantageous

trade, they faithfully communicated to him whatever came to their knowledge. The last information Mr. Logie himself was the bearer of to the governor, which was, that the enemy had a great number of fire-ships in the rivers, ready for immediate use.

The 16th of January, a brig came in from Madeira, in four days, with 70 butts of wine. The master had left London with a cargo to exchange at Madeira; but a violent gale of wind had driven him to sea with his cargo incomplete, and half his crew ashore. The same day, the Moorish vessels which brought over Consul Logie returned to Algeziras. Two days following, the Tartar privateer arrived with various articles from England: she brought his majesty's manifesto for commencing hostilities against the Dutch.

On the 19th, some experiments were made at Algeziras, from two new Spanish boats, with mortars on board. We had some time before learned that they were preparing such vessels, and that they intended soon to try them against the garrison. Their construction was upon a plan similar to that of the gun-boats: the mortars were fixed in a solid bed of timber, in the centre of the boat; and the only apparent distinction was, that they had long prows, and braced their yards more athwart the boat when they fired.

The 21st, the serjeant commanding one of our out-guards deserted to the enemy: he went towards the Devil's Tower, and once stopped, as if undetermined to proceed or not. He belonged to the 56th regiment, and left a wife and family behind: he had always been esteemed of good character, and was much confided in by his officers. Some pecuniary matters were supposed to be the reason of his deserting. This was the fourth man which we had lost in this way within the course of a month. The 28th, a ship arrived from Leghorn with various articles. In her passage she picked up at sea the long-boat of the Brilliant frigate, Captain Curtis, which we had been anxiously expecting for some time with dispatches from England. On the 25th and 27th, three of Hardenberg's bri-

gade had deserted; and this day a rope was found near the signal-house, by which we imagined the last two of them had escaped. The 29th and 30th, two or three settees arrived, from aloft, with the produce of Minorca. By them we were informed that the Brilliant was got safe into Mahon, having been chased through the straits by the enemy's cruisers in the night.

The enemy's working parties had for several weeks been less numerous: their occupation was principally confined to repairing the damages done by the weather; securing themselves against the effects of our firing, by splinter-proofs and traverses; and collecting dépôts of different materials, in various parts of their lines. Their advanced patrols frequently approached very near our out-posts, but seldom waited a second discharge from the sentries. On our side, the engineers were indefatigable in putting everything in the best state of defence. The enemy, it must be confessed, dealt openly in warning us, so long beforehand, of their intentions; and the governor was exceedingly active and diligent in preparing against whatever circumstances might occur.

The 1st of February we found, behind the rock, the bodies of two deserters, who, in attempting to escape from the garrison, had been dashed to pieces. One of them was a man of the 56th, who was missing the day preceding; the other a serjeant of the 73rd, who had deserted some months before.

The 3rd, we observed the enemy's artillery examining the ordnance in their lines. The morning of the 8th, a deserter from a Catalonian regiment came in, and reported that the enemy posted every night a chain of sentries along the skirts of the governor's meadow, which were constantly visited by patrols of cavalry, to keep them alert; and that a captain's guard, besides artillery, mounted in the St. Carlos's battery, as they called the advanced work. He said the camp was well supplied with provisions, &c., but that the men were sickly, and numbers of them deserted.

It was about this period that the

officers in Gibraltar presented a memorial, through the commanding officers of the different regiments, to the governor, requesting his Excellency, as he must be convinced of the truth of the contents, to support it with his approbation and interest.

The memorial stated, "That the officers of his Majesty's several regiments of foot, serving under his Excellency's command, had been necessarily exposed to a great variety of inconveniences since the commencement of the blockade, independent of the additional duties which they had been required to discharge: that in particular their pay, which constituted their chief, if not their sole support, had, at different times, suffered a great diminution by the exorbitant rate of exchange;" which they stated to have fluctuated, during a certain period, between 40 and 42 pence per dollar, Gibraltar currency: "that every article of clothing, and still more, those essential to life and health, were so advanced in price, that, with the strictest economy, their pay was totally inadequate to the expenses absolutely indispensable in their present situation: a situation which, they apprehended, precluded them, in a great measure, from participating with the officers at home in the extensive promotions which had of late taken place in the army. They therefore appealed to the paternal feelings, the justice, and the humanity of his Excellency; trusting that through his recommendation and intercession, such assistance and protection might be granted them, as their situation and services deserved:" concluding with a request, "that his Excellency would be pleased to lay their prayer, with all humility on their part, at his Majesty's feet." This memorial was seconded by another of a similar import; but no official answer was received to either.

It must be confessed, that under these circumstances, the situation of the officers was by no means flattering. Whatever obstacles might be in the way of their promotion, they could not help feeling the peculiar hardship of their situation: nor was the inactive and tedious service of a blockaded garrison

at all calculated to divert their minds, or to soothe them into an acquiescence with their fortune. They reflected, with no very agreeable sensations, upon the preference which had been liberally bestowed upon young officers in England; while many subalterns in Gibraltar had ten or twelve years, or upwards, of strict duty and services to plead. Nay, the situation of some of them was peculiarly discouraging: for their friends had repeatedly offered to raise companies to secure their rank; but of such consequence was the safety of Gibraltar esteemed by the ministry, that orders were sent to forbid any officers leaving the garrison, unless replaced by others from England. It is but justice to them, however, to observe, that they in general submitted to the evils of their situation without murmur or repining; and that, preferring their country's good to every partial consideration, they never publicly testified their discontent, except in the two respectful memorials which they presented to their governor.

A privateer, on the 9th of February, arrived from Mahon: she ran through ten cruisers, besides six gun-boats, and was chased by a xebecque, but escaped them all. The 17th, she continued her course for England. Mr. Logie, who carried home dispatches was a passenger, with several others. The 19th and 20th, arrived two polacre ships from the eastward.

Our supplies from the eastward were now pretty regular, and the boats and vessels in general very successful in their voyages. When the reader considers the variety of difficulties and dangers attending this intercourse, he cannot but admire the perseverance of these foreigners. Their vessels were generally of light burthen, and open, excepting a small scuttle abaft, which, with the other parts of the vessel, was usually filled with part of their cargo. Their passage was seldom performed in less than five days; and sometimes it exceeded ten, and fourteen. Their course was all the way along the enemy's coast: and even when arrived within sight of the port, the danger was greater than before, from the num-



ber and vigilance of the enemy's cruisers: the horrors of a Spanish gao. started them in the face, with the chance of losing probably their all. One circumstance indeed was in their favour; their vessels, in the rigging, resembled those of the enemy. To the chance of deceiving them they were nevertheless unwilling entirely to trust: it was their custom therefore to make the rock, if possible, about sunset; then strike sail, and lie-to, and at night push for the bay. By manœuvring in this manner they frequently arrived safe; and in that case, it must be confessed, they were amply recompensed.

The 26th, the regiments in garrison began to be reviewed: after the review, each regiment marched to its alarm-post, and discharged several rounds of parapet firing. The 28th, a brig under Genoise colours came over from Algeziras: the crew reported, they had injured their mast, and put into Algeziras for another, but that the Spaniards had ill-treated them; they therefore came over to remedy their loss. To this story the governor did not give implicit credit: a guard of a subaltern and twelve men was sent on board; and after being for some time detained, her cargo, which was fruit, was sold, and the vessel was sent away.

The want of bread in the beginning of March began again to be severely felt: many families had not tasted any for several days. The poor soldiers, and still more the inhabitants, whose finances would not allow them to purchase articles from the Minorquin vessels (the cargoes of which, by the way, were chiefly luxuries), were in intolerable distress. Biscuit-crums sold for 10d. and 1s. per lb. The allowance of the troops was also curtailed, and many Portuguese fishermen left the garrison for want of this article. Towards the conclusion of the month, the invalids of the garrison embarked on board the *Enterprise* frigate, and *St. Fermin* armed ship. The 27th the former, with the *Fortune* sloop, sailed for Minorca; and the *St. Fermin* was to have accompanied them, but in getting out of the New mole some accident befel her, by which she was detained. In the course

of the month several small craft arrived from Minorca: and we lost two men by desertion.

The beginning of April the Spanish admiral called in all his cruisers, and some movements took place in their disposition, which seemed to indicate the expectation of a superior force. The 2nd we observed their artillery arranging the mortars in the Mill battery, which confirmed us in the conjecture. The succeeding day a British cutter, called the *Resolution*, arrived with rum, coals, and sugar, in twenty-nine days, from Plymouth. The master informed us that he left a frigate, which was coming to our relief, at anchor in Torbay. Our joy at this news was greater, if possible, than when we were told of our former relief. The exigencies of the garrison since Admiral Rodney's departure had been as severe, if not more so than before. Since the soldier, for himself, only received weekly 5½ lbs. of bread, 13 oz. of salt beef, 18 oz. of pork, both of them almost in a state of putrescence; 2½ oz. of butter, which was little better than rancid congealed oil; 12 oz. of raisins, ¾ pint of peas, 1 pint of Spanish beans, 1 pint of wheat, which they ground into flour for puddings; 4 oz. of rice, and ½ of a pint of oil: what then must be the sufferings of those who had a family of small children to support out of this pittance! or what must be the distress of the inhabitants, who had no assistance from the stores!

The night of the 3rd the *St. Fermin*, with the *Brilliant's* tender, which had been forced by a gale of wind to put into Gibraltar, sailed for Mahon; two xebecs immediately gave chase, and we afterwards learned, captured the former.

It being observed that the enemy had stationed at Cabrita Point (though at some distance from the land) a sloop and two light brigs, supposed to be fire-ships, the captains of the privateers in the bay proposed cutting out the sloop, and burning the other vessels. The plan was mentioned to the governor by an officer of the garrison, who had permission to take with him a party of volunteers from the different corps, and

join in the expedition. About eleven o'clock on the night of the 4th they proceeded in four boats. When they set out the night was very favourable for the enterprise; but before they reached the vessels the moon suddenly shone forth, and they reluctantly returned. Whether the Spaniards discovered the boats or not, is a matter of doubt; it is probable they did, as the next morning four gun-boats joined them from Algeziras, and the sloop removed farther to the southward.

The enemy, on the 5th, scaled several of their ordnance in the batteries round the bay; two frigates were also placed in front of eight vessels, supposed to be fire-ships: these motions convinced us that the enemy were aware of the fleet which was expected. The evening of the 7th the *Eagle* privateer, of fourteen guns, arrived in fourteen days from Glasgow: a xebec, a sloop of fourteen guns, a galliot, and eleven gun-boats, engaged her in the bay; but by

warm fighting and good seamanship she escaped. The captain informed us that the fleet had sailed, and he was much surprised in not finding them arrived. The following day the Spanish general visited the lines and advanced works. The 9th only two xebecs and the gun-boats were at Algeziras, the rest of their cruisers having left the station. The 11th a felucca came round Cabrita with oars and with a press of sail: immediately upon entering the bay she made a signal, which was answered at Algeziras by an English ensign at the main-top-gallant mast-head. Soon after a boat went over to Ceuta, and the xebec which was stationed at the point was called in with the gun-boats. In the evening many signals were made from the west; and about midnight arrived the *Kite* cutter, Captain Trollop, with the joyful news that the convoy was at the entrance of the Straits, under charge of Admiral Darby, with the British grand fleet.

## CHAPTER V.

Admiral Darby relieves Gibraltar—Spaniards bombard the town—Soldiers guilty of irregularities—Town frequently on fire, and greatly injured—Gun and mortar boats very troublesome to the Navy—Admiral Darby returns to England—Captain Curtis arrives with a convoy of victuallers—Town in ruins—Gun-boats renew their attacks on the Garrison: fatal effects—Inhabitants much alarmed by their attacks—One of the Enemy's magazines blown up—General Elliott adopts a mode of annoying the enemy's camp, and constructs Prames to oppose the gun-boats—Bombardment abates—The *Hele*, a sloop-of-war arrives, after a warm action with the enemy—Singular system of firing, from the enemy—Melancholy fate of a matross—Enemy make additions to their works—Firing increases on both sides—Death of Major Burke—Gallant behaviour of a working party—A conspiracy discovered in the Navy—Enemy, by their operations, demonstrate their intention of besieging the Garrison in form—Ineffectual attempt to destroy their batteries—Several cutters taken—Enemy finish their batteries—General Elliott projects a sally, which proves successful.

At daybreak, on the 12th of April, the much-expected fleet, under the command of Admiral Darby, was in sight from our signal-house, but was not discernible from below, being obscured by a thick mist in the Gut. As the sun, however, became more powerful, the fog gradually rose, like the curtain of a vast theatre, discovering to the anxious garrison one of the most beautiful and pleasing scenes it is possible to conceive. The convoy, consisting of near a hundred vessels, were in a compact body, led by several men-of-war: their sails just enough filled for steerage, whilst the majority of the line-of-battle ships lay-to under the Barbara shore, having orders not to enter the bay lest the enemy should molest them with their fire-ships. The ecstasies of the inhabitants at this grand and exhilarating sight are not to be described. Their expressions of joy far exceeded their former exultations. But, alas! they little dreamed of the tremendous blow that impended, which was to annihilate their property, and reduce many of them to indigence and beggary.

As the convoy approached the bay, 15 gun-boats advanced from Algeziras, and forming in regular order under the batteries at Cabrita Point, began a

smart cannonade on the nearest ships, seconded by the gun and mortar batteries on the land. A line-of-battle ship and two frigates, however, soon obliged them to a precipitate retreat; and, continuing to pursue them, the crews of several deserted their boats, and took refuge amongst the rocks. Had our ships advanced at this critical juncture and manned their boats, the whole might probably have been destroyed, and the garrison by that means been rid of those disagreeable visitors which afterwards so harassed and annoyed us; but the frigates, having dispersed them, thought no more of the *bum-boats*, as some naval officers contemptuously called them, and left them to be repossessed by the fugitives.

The enemy, on the land side, were far from being idle spectators of this relief. On the first intimation of Admiral Darby's approach, preparations, it is imagined, were made in the lines, and a reinforcement of artillery ordered down from the camp; as at daybreak, before the fleet was well in sight, we remarked that their cannon were elevated, and the sponges and rammers reared against the merlons. These, with other appearances, indicated an intention of opening on the garrison.

Our private letters had, for some

time before, mentioned that the Spaniards proposed to bombard Gibraltar, if the garrison was a second time relieved; but the truth of this intelligence was doubted, it being conceived that no beneficial consequences could arise to them from such a cruel proceeding. We, however, overlooked the predominant characteristic of the nation, which, particularly in this instance, seems to have influenced them more than any other motive, and even to have carried them beyond that line of prudence and caution, which in military affairs ought to be strictly attended to.

About three-quarters past ten o'clock, the van of the convoy came to an anchor off the New mole and Rosia bay; and, as if this were the signal for the enemy to open, a smart fire immediately commenced from Fort St. Philip, followed by all the batteries which bore upon the garrison. The number of ordnance bearing on the place was as follows:—The King's, or Black battery (mounting 14 guns), 12 bearing on the garrison; Fort St. Philip (27 guns), 11 bearing on the garrison; Infanta's battery, of 7 guns; Prince's and Princess's batteries, of 14 guns each; Fort St. Barbara (23 guns), 6 bearing on the garrison; these, with about 50 mortars, distributed along their lines, and in St. Carlos's battery, amount to 114 pieces of artillery; all of heavy metal, being twenty-six pounders, and thirteen-inch mortars.

The enemy's cannonade was instantly returned from the garrison; but our artillery had orders to disregard their lines, and notice only the St. Carlos's battery, which consequently soon slackened its fire. The miserable and terrified inhabitants, who just before were congratulating each other on the arrival of the fleet, now changed their exultation to sorrow, and flocked, old and young, men, women, and children, in the greatest confusion, to the southward, leaving their property, unsecured, to the mercy of the soldiers. The shells from the St. Carlos's battery were directed towards the New mole; the convoy, however, had been warned not to anchor within the range of their fire; the shipping, therefore, were not

in the least molested. A settee was sunk near the watering-tank, and numbers of shells fell on the Red sands, and in the neighbourhood of Southport, which added no little to the alarm of the fugitives from town. The enemy's other batteries were chiefly directed to Willis's, the lines, and particularly the ground upon which the troops were intended to have been encamped. Between one and two o'clock their firing abated, and in a short time ceased. Of this favourable cessation the inhabitants availed themselves, to secure such valuable property as could be expeditiously removed; but the heavier articles, which the avaricious and hard-hearted hucksters had kept concealed in their stores, to bring forth in small quantities when the prices suited, were all destroyed in the course of the bombardment.

About five o'clock, the batteries of the enemy again opened, and the firing continued, without intermission, the remainder of the day and the succeeding night. It did not, however, interrupt the disembarkation of the supplies. Five hundred men, with a proportion of officers, were ordered for that duty; they were afterwards considerably augmented, and such was the labour and diligence of the garrison, that the stores were landed, with the assistance of the navy, in nine or ten days. Our casualties, on the 12th, were but few; Lieutenant Boag, of the artillery, was wounded, also several non-commissioned officers and privates.

The bombardment was continued the 13th, and several soldiers were killed and wounded in their quarters. In the course of the day, 150 men were ordered to remove ammunition to the magazines on the hill, and an additional number to join the party employed in landing the supplies. The 14th, the gun and mortar boats fired upon the shipping, but were soon obliged to retire. Several barges attended, having officers in them, who seemed to give directions how to point their cannon. Our batteries ceased firing this day, but the enemy's ordnance was kept going with great vivacity. They appeared to have got the exact range of

the heights; even the Royal battery did not escape their shells. Ensign Martin of the 39th regiment was slightly wounded with splinters of stones. No arrangement for placing the troops under shelter was yet known; and the former distribution, given out in November, was totally overthrown by the extensive range of the enemy's fire. Officers, however, whose quarters were damaged, received marquees from the public stores, to encamp at the southward; and the distressed inhabitants were accommodated with tents.

It being remarked that the enemy's fire considerably abated about noon, the governor ordered the town-guards to assemble at twelve o'clock; by which regulation less danger was apprehended in relieving the men on duty. The night pickets were likewise ordered to occupy the casemates under the Grand battery, that they might be at hand to reinforce the northern guards, in case of alarm. The total strength of the pickets, at this period, was 2 captains, 9 subalterns, 9 sergeants, 9 drummers, and 391 rank and file. The cause of the cessation in the enemy's fire at noon, arose from a custom, pretty general in Spain, and common, I believe, in most warm climates, that of indulging themselves with a meridian nap. This luxury the Spaniards could not refuse themselves, even in war; and it was invariably attended to during their future operations against Gibraltar.\*

Vice-Admiral Darby with the ships of war continued cruising in sight of the rock: the service however requiring dispatch in landing the supplies, he detached Rear-Admiral Sir John Lockart Ross to superintend that duty in the bay; and the garrison fatigue party was augmented to upwards of a thousand men, besides

officers. The evening of the 14th the enemy's shells were very profusely distributed: some that did not burst we examined, and on drawing the fuse, found inflammable matter mixed with the powder: these combustibles set fire to a wine-house in the green-market, near the Spanish church, and before the fire could be extinguished, four or five houses were burnt to the ground. Detachments from the regiments and guards in town were immediately ordered to quench the flames; but the enemy's cannonade became so brisk, that great confusion ensued. From this moment we may date the commencement of the irregularities into which, through resentment and intoxication, the soldiers were betrayed. Some died of immediate intoxication, and several were with difficulty recovered, by oils and tobacco water, from a dangerous state of ebriety.

Though riot and violence are most contrary to that spirit of regular discipline which should always prevail in military affairs, something may yet be urged in extenuation of the conduct of the troops, which has been so much the subject of reprehension amongst the people interested. The extreme distress to which the soldiers had been reduced by the mercenary conduct of the hucksters and liquor-dealers, in hoarding, or rather concealing their stocks, to enhance the price of what was exposed for sale, raised amongst the troops (when they discovered the great quantities of various articles in the private stores) a spirit of revenge. The first and second days they conducted themselves with great propriety; but on the eve of the third day, their discipline was overpowered by their inebriation, and from that instant, regardless of punishment, or the entreaties of their officers, they were guilty of many and great excesses. The enemy's shells soon forced open the secret recesses of the merchants, and the soldiers instantly availed themselves of the opportunity to seize upon the liquors, which they conveyed to haunts of their own. Here, in parties, they barricaded their quarters against all opposers, and, insensible of their

\* This will not appear so extraordinary when the reader is informed that, during the insurrection of Madrid, in 1788, the insurgents, as mentioned by Major Dalrymple, in his "Travels through Spain," regularly indulged themselves with their *siesta*, and then returned to their different places of rendezvous. Their antagonists did the same; so that there seemed to be a sleepy convention, for a few hours, every day, between the government and the mob.

danger, regaled themselves with the spoils. Several skirmishes occurred amongst them, which, if not seasonably put a stop to by the interference of officers, might have ended in serious consequences.

It did not appear through all their intemperance that these irregularities arose from any cause so much as a spirit of revenge against the merchants. A great quantity of liquor, &c., was wantonly destroyed; and, in some cases, incredible profusion prevailed. Among other instances of caprice and extravagance, I recollect seeing a party of soldiers roast a pig by a fire made of cinnamon. The offenders were at first confined and reprimanded, which the governor judged would have a greater effect than punishment; but on their relapsing a second time into the like disorders, he was convinced his lenity was disregarded, and he was therefore compelled to use more rigorous measures.

I have thought proper to digress a little upon this subject, not in justification of the soldiers, but to acquaint the world with the truth, as some who have related the occurrences of this period to their friends, have omitted doing the garrison the justice to annex the account of their former hardships. Besides, had the troops been in the highest degree abstemious, the enemy's fire would soon have destroyed what was only the sooner consumed by their extravagance; for the inhabitants were too much alarmed for the safety of their own persons, to attend to the security of their effects.

I forgot to mention in its place that, previous to the bombardment, orders had been given for removing the sick in town, when the firing commenced: on the 13th, therefore, the men were conveyed to the naval hospital at the southward.

The 15th the bombardment was continued with greater vivacity. Not content with discharging their ordnance regularly, they saluted us almost every instant with a volley of eight or ten cannon, besides mortars. Our batteries remained silent, and the guns at Willis's were drawn behind the merlons, to

secure them against the enemy's shot. It was observed they directed a great number of shells towards the Working parade, and about the Victualling-office. In the morning the gun-boats again attacked the ships of war and transports, and the navy returned a smart fire. About noon, Lieut. Budworth of the 72nd regiment, and Surgeon Chesholme of the 56th, were wounded by a splinter of a shell at the door of a northern casemate in the King's bastion. The former was dangerously scalped, and the latter had one foot taken off, and the other leg broken, besides a wound in the knee. The troops in town, in the afternoon began to encamp at the southward, and to be regularly distributed amongst the casemates in town. The following was the arrangement. To the Hanoverians were allotted the bomb-proofs under the grand battery, occupied by the pickets, which in consequence removed to Landport gateway and Prince of Hesse's casemate. The 12th, 39th, and 56th regiments were ordered to possess Montague's casemate with the Galley-house and Waterport gateway: those who could not be accommodated in these quarters, encamped above the South barracks and Navy hospital, on the declivity of the hill: the 72nd regiment totally withdrew into the King's bastion, and the 58th and 73rd regiments remained in the South barracks: the artillery and engineers were disposed of on the same plan. Several days elapsed before the troops were properly settled. The ground on which they encamped was very steep and rugged: it was necessary therefore to level it into terraces, for the men to pitch their tents. The regimental stores were also to be removed, and other duties of a similar nature executed, before the troops could be considered as properly established.

The gun-boats attacked the shipping on the 16th, and endeavoured to molest the parties employed in landing the provisions; but a line-of-battle ship and two frigates soon obliged them to retire. In the course of the day the women and children who had taken refuge with their husbands and friends in the casemates in town, were ordered

to remove and encamp at the southward. Though this order, from motives of humanity, was not strictly enforced, yet it greatly relieved the men, and in a measure removed our apprehensions of some infectious disorder being generated from their crowded and confined situation in the bomb-proof casemates. The officers were under the necessity of participating with the men in these unpleasant accommodations: their presence, however, produced this beneficial consequence, that they often prevented the men from indulging in those excesses, into which otherwise they undoubtedly would have entered. The same day the Queen's lines, Main, New mole, and Rosia guards, were ordered to be captain's guards.

The enemy on the 17th first reached the rock gun with shot from the seven-gun battery. Colonels Ross, Green, and Pieton were appointed the same day to rank as brigadiers; and Captain Wilson of the 72nd regiment, Lieutenant Holloway of the engineers, and Captain Pieton of the 12th regiment, were appointed their brigade-majors. Two field-officers, with a captain from each regiment, and one subaltern for every fifty men, were ordered also to superintend the disembarkation of provisions. In the afternoon the shells of the besiegers set fire to the stores in the Spanish church. Parties were instantly detached from the main guard, 72nd regiment, and other corps in town, to remove the provisions. The lieutenant-governor with his aides-de-camp was present, encouraging the men to perform this duty with expedition. The enemy's fire at this time was remarkably spirited; nevertheless, the greater part was saved by the activity of the parties. Many casks of flour were brought into the King's bastion, and piled as temporary traverses before the doors of the southern casemates, in which several persons had been killed and wounded in bed. These traverses, however, did not continue long; for the men, when the spoils in the town became scarce, considered those barrels which the enemy's shot had pierced as lawful prizes. The contents were soon

scooped out and fried into pancakes, a dish which they were very expert in cooking; and the upper casks, wanting support from below, gave way, and the whole came to the ground. Though the flour by this means was in a great measure lost to government, yet the number of accidents which these traverses prevented, greatly overbalanced the value of the article. Traverses of another nature were afterwards erected in their room.

The gun-boats, on the 18th, fired again upon the shipping and men-of-war cruising in the bay. The *Minerva* and *Monsieur* frigates had several men dangerously wounded; and the *Nousuch* had her mast crippled. The navy, after this attack, no longer considered these boats in the same despicable light as on their first entrance into the bay. In the course of the day a shell fell through the arch of the Galley-house, where part of the 39th and some of the 12th regiments were quartered; it killed two and wounded four privates. In consequence of this unexpected casualty the troops removed thence, and joined their regiments at the southward.

Our batteries, especially at Willis's, by this time exhibited a very disorderly and ruinous appearance. The ordnance had been withdrawn when the artillery ceased to fire: but the merlons were now considerably damaged, and some of the cannon dismounted and injured. The lines were also nearly choked up with loose stones and rubbish, brought down by the shot from the rock above; the traverses along the line wall were greatly injured; and the town, particularly at the northward, approached every day toward complete demolition. The engineers, however, were ordered to prepare materials for repairing the Queen's battery at Willis's; and parties of workmen were employed in carrying up from below sand-bags and other requisites for that purpose. New traverses were likewise begun along the different communications, higher, stronger, and at shorter distances than the old ones.

The gun-boats renewed their attack,

the 19th, on the shipping, but were soon obliged to retreat. In the course of the day the terrace storehouse was set on fire. The camp-equipage of the garrison being in an adjacent house, parties from the regiments in town were ordered to remove them with the greatest expedition. The men generally received some gratuity from the governor for these hazardous duties. The following day, the supplies being landed, the fleet in the evening prepared to return to the westward. Before they weighed, their good friends the gun-boats gave them a parting salute, and did some damage. By six o'clock the whole were under way. Many merchantmen, freighted with merchandisè and articles much wanted in the garrison, returned with their cargoes; the merchants refusing to take them on account of the bombardment. Great numbers of the inhabitants and officers' families likewise embraced this opportunity of leaving the garrison.

The impatience of the British admiral to disembark the supplies, that he might not lose the opportunity of the easterly wind to return from the Mediterranean, had prevented the garrison from unloading the colliers that had arrived with the fleet: these ships were therefore scuttled in the New mole to be discharged at leisure. The ordnance transports were also ordered within the boom for the same purpose. In the course of the 20th, the Victualling-office was on fire for a short time; and at night the town was on fire in four different places; but the public stores being safe, no attempts were made to extinguish the flames.

The enemy's cannonade and bombardment continued still very brisk. The 21st, forty-two rounds were numbered in two minutes, between six and eight o'clock. The garrison flag-staff on the Grand battery was so much injured by their fire, that the upper part was obliged to be cut off; and the colours, or rather the glorious remains, were nailed to the stump. The evening of the 22nd, the combustible matter in their shells setting fire to some fascines at Waterport, Lieut. Cunning-

ham, of the 39th regiment, was wounded in extinguishing them. The fate of this young gentleman may be considered as extraordinary. On examining the wound, which was in the head, it appeared so trifling that the surgeon judged his skull unhurt; and his seeming recovery confirmed the opinion. Something more than a fortnight elapsed when he complained of a pain in his head: he immediately took to his bed, and in a short time expired. After his decease a considerable counter-fracture was discovered, with a quantity of extravasated blood encircling the brain.

The gun and mortar boats, on the 23rd, fired upon our parties ranging the provisions at the southward. 260 shot and 40 shells were discharged, several of which fell about the camp and powder-magazines. The wife of a soldier of the 58th regiment was killed behind the South barracks, and several men wounded. The bombardment from the lines was now in some degree abated, in consequence of their batteries being shaken and injured by their own constant cannonade. We observed during this day a number of mules, with carts, bringing materials to the line to repair them. Our artillery at night annoyed them with a few rounds from the batteries above Willis's.

The 24th, a shell fell at the door of a casemate, under the south flank of the King's bastion, and wounded four men within the bomb-proof. This casemate had been appropriated as a powder magazine for the bastion, and the powder had only been removed to the opposite casemate a few days previous to this accident. In the afternoon a soldier of the 12th regiment deserted from Landport guard, in consequence of which the town guards were ordered to assemble the subsequent day at two o'clock P. M. The enemy, however, not increasing their fire as was expected, the guards afterwards mounted at the usual time.

The garrison orders of the 26th expressed, that any soldier, convicted of being drunk or asleep upon his post, or found marauding, should be immediately executed. These measures ri-



gorous as they may appear, were become absolutely necessary, and, in reality, had been too long deferred. The soldiers were now arrived at so high a pitch of licentiousness, that no respect was paid to their officers, and scarcely obedience to them even when on duty. Such behaviour, if not curbed in time, too commonly induces very serious consequences. At the same time that this order was issued, the regiments quartered at the southward were commanded, in case of alarm, to assemble in two lines on the Red sands, the British in front, and the Hanoverian brigade in the rear. The troops in town had their stations likewise allotted them.

In the afternoon of the 27th, a convoy of 20 victuallers, under charge of 4 frigates and the Fortune sloop, arrived in thirteen days from Minorca. It now appeared that the governor did not entirely depend on receiving succours from England, but thought it prudent to obtain supplies from other quarters, lest any accident should prevent the British fleet arriving in time to his relief. Thus determined to provide against fortuitous events, he had secretly ordered provisions to be purchased from the prizes taken in the Mediterranean, and carried into Port Mahon, and shipped on board vessels that were hired for that purpose. Captain Curtis, of the Brilliant frigate, had the charge of this valuable convoy; and the success attending the enterprise demonstrates with what secrecy it had been conducted. They were ignorant of Admiral Darby having been in the Mediterranean, and were agreeably surprised to find from the enemy no opposition to their entrance.

The provisions thrown in by the British admiral were not yet stored; nor had they any further protection against the weather than a covering of canvas, formed from the sails of the colliers that were run ashore in the New mole. Under these unavoidable circumstances, it was peculiarly unfortunate that the rains at this period should be unusually heavy, and of long continuance. The troops also were very material sufferers from this

inclemency of the weather. The rain, that poured down in torrents from the face of the hill, soon broke down the loose banks of earth raised to cover their tents, which, being pitched on the declivity of the hill, were swept away by the force of the stream; and thus the fatigued soldier, who scarcely was one night out of three in bed, was frequently exposed at midnight to a deluge of rain. These misfortunes, however, taught them to provide against such future accidents; and in a few months, after some labour and attention, their quarters were more comfortable and secure.

The remainder of the month was remarkable for excessive rains, attended with most dreadful thunder and lightning, which, during the night, in addition to the fire from the enemy, had an awful and tremendous effect. The bombardment continued warm and well supported; but the enemy did not appear to have any particular object. In the early part of the day they in general fired pretty smartly: about noon their batteries slackened, and from twelve till two o'clock almost totally ceased: after two they recommenced, and persevered till the succeeding meridian. During the night they directed their fire principally to the heights and lines, as probably they had information, by the last deserter, that we employed, every night, parties to clear and repair those works.

The morning of the 30th we discovered the gun and mortar boats approaching the garrison: they took their stations off the town to avoid the fire from the frigates, and varied very little from their former attacks. Five shot landed on Windmill-hill, which was esteemed a remarkably long range. We returned a brisk and well-directed fire; and they retired. It was remarked that the land batteries were in a measure silent during their stay. In the evening a Hanoverian, with some others, was detected marauding in a store: the party was given in charge to a sentry, but the former attempted to escape: the sentry called to him to stop, otherwise he would fire; and on his not complying with the order, the sentry shot him

dead on the spot. A general return of casualties, &c. for every month, is inserted at the conclusion.

Early on the 2nd of May, two settees arrived from Algiers, laden with sheep, wine, and brandy. The enemy now seemed to have given up the idea of blockading us to a surrender. No cruisers had been observed out since the departure of Admiral Darby. In the evening a shell from the garrison fell upon the eastern traverse, in the St. Carlos's battery, under which was their magazine, and, communicating with the powder, blew it up. The explosion was not loud; but the damage was so very considerable that the ordnance were silent for several days. Our artillery annoyed the enemy greatly during their confusion, though they kept up a brisk discharge from the lines, at the rate of 250 rounds an hour. The day following, Lieut. Willington, of the artillery, was wounded at Willis's. The 5th, a soldier of the 58th regiment was executed on the Grand parade, at the door of the store where he was detected plundering. His body hung till sunset, as an example to other offenders.

The enemy's cannonade and bombardment continued to be wide and scattered, apparently having no particular object. Shells were yet lavishly expended; and, what was very singular, many of those which fell blind, contained, on examination, a vast quantity of sand mixed with the powder. We could not otherwise account for this unusual circumstance, than by supposing the powder was stolen by their people in the laboratories. Other shells still scattered, on their explosion, combustible matter, which, setting fire to the loose timber and wood dispersed amongst the ruins of the town, greatly endangered the king's stores and magazines. This induced the governor, on the 6th, to publish a placard, signifying to the inhabitants that such materials of this nature as were not removed out of the reach of the enemy's fire, would be converted to the king's use. The morning of the 7th, the gun and mortar boats fired upon the town and the

New mole: they stayed about an hour, and then retired. We returned upwards of 400 rounds with great vivacity, which greatly displeased the governor: "There would be no end," he said, "of expending ammunition if we fired every time they came, and while they were at so great a distance: in future" he ordered "no notice to be taken of the gun-boats, unless they approached within the distance of grape." The 8th, Captain Fowles, of the 73rd, was wounded in the lines.

The enemy's fire was now more regular: we no longer experienced the sudden fits that had induced them to discharge a whole battery at a volley: it amounted about this time, upon an average, to 1500 rounds in the twenty-four hours. The 9th, Lieut. Lowe, of the 12th regiment, a superintendent of the working-parties, lost his leg by a shot, on the slope of the hill under the castle. He saw the shot before the fatal effect, but was fascinated to the spot. This sudden arrest of the faculties was not uncommon: several instances occurred to my own observation, where men totally free have had their senses so engaged by a shell in its descent, that, though sensible of their danger, even so far as to cry for assistance, they have been immediately fixed to the place. But what is more remarkable, these men have so instantaneously recovered themselves on its fall to the ground, as to remove to a place of safety before the shell burst. The gun and mortar boats repeated their visit on the 11th, but fired from so respectful a distance that scarcely a shot came ashore. Our batteries were manned; nevertheless, not a gun was returned. Lieutenant Thornton, of the 12th regiment, was wounded the same day with splinters of stones, thrown up by a shot which grazed betwixt his legs.

The buildings in town at this time exhibited a most dreadful picture of the effects of so animated a bombardment. Scarcely a house, north of the Grand parade, was tenanted; all of them were deserted. Some few, near Southport, continued to be inhabited

by soldiers' families; but in general the floors and roofs were destroyed, and the walls only were left standing. The governor and lieutenant-governor, however, maintained their quarters, having parties constantly employed in repairing the damage. Both had bomb-proofs; and the former afterwards had a large tent pitched on a rising situation south of the Red sands, where, with his suite, he generally remained during the day, returning at night to town; but the lieutenant-governor constantly resided in town, having accommodations in the King's bastion.

The evening of the 12th, the gun and mortar boats fired upon the garrison from off the Old mole, seconded by a very warm fire from their land batteries. Several shells from the former ranged as high as the Signal-house, and some fell over the rock. They discharged 180 shot and 46 shells, and then retired, throwing up the usual signal of a rocket from each boat. Though our batteries were manned, the garrison remained silent. About the 13th, and for a few succeeding days, the enemy's shells were directed for an unusual long range. One fell on the forecastle of a collier in the New mole, and pierced both decks, but did not burst. Two fell amongst the provisions on the New mole parade, and another in the middle yard of the South barracks; a splinter of the latter flew to the Navy hospital. The 14th, a shell fell into the Small armoury, near Southport, but fortunately did little injury. The 17th, the Jews' synagogue and other buildings were burnt down. The following day, a shell from our upper batteries blew up the guard-room in the *place d'armes* of Fort Barbara. Our engineers were at this time employed every night in clearing the works, filling up shell-holes, and repairing the glacis and traverses at Waterport. The enemy's fire at this period seldom exceeded a thousand rounds in the course of 24 hours: their batteries were much shaken with the firing, and parties were constantly bringing supplies of ammunition to the lines, and different materials for the repair of their works.

An attempt was made by the navy on the 19th, to cut off a polacre becalmed near Europa Point; but, a breeze springing up, she escaped. The gun-boats soon after came out, apparently with an intention of avenging this affront; but, the wind freshening, they returned. The cannonade from the enemy was now principally directed at our upper batteries. The rock gun, mounted on the summit of the northern front, was become as warm, if not warmer, than any other battery; and scarcely a day passed without some casualties at that post. The gun and mortar boats, early in the morning of the 20th, repeated their attack on the garrison and shipping. They were arranged in two divisions; those to the northward directing their fire towards the King's bastion and Southport, but most of their shells broke on the face of the rock; whilst the southward division annoyed the shipping and camp. Their usual signal for retiring was made about a quarter past three o'clock. On this occasion we returned a few shots from the town batteries.

At the commencement of the bombardment, the out-guards of Bay-side and Lower Forbes's had been withdrawn from those barriers, and an officer's guard stationed every night in the Flèche, a work erected near the inundation at the foot of Landport glacis. On the morning of the 21st, the sentries at this post observed a man advancing, with great circumspection, along the causeway: instead of answering when challenged, he immediately dropped. Lieut. Wetham, of the 58th regiment, the officer on duty, suspecting he came to reconnoitre, instantly, with the serjeant, went out to seize him; but the man rising, he pursued, and was within a very short distance of securing him, when he fell into a shell-hole near Bay-side, and the man escaped. It was imagined that curiosity had prompted him to make trial of the alertness of our sentries. His hat, which fell off in his retreat, his firelock with bayonet, and pouch filled with 29 rounds of ammunition, were hung on the palisades of the barrier, and were afterwards brought in.

Early on the morning of the 22nd, a splinter of a shell, which fell and burst on the Church battery, ranged upwards of 200 yards, and cutting the leaden apron of the *morning-gun* on the South bastion, fired it off. This singular circumstance, happening some hours before daybreak, not a little surprised those who heard the report, and were ignorant of the cause. Our fire was now increased to about 150 rounds in the 24 hours, the enemy's parties being engaged in repairing the lines of approach. Their cannonade, on the contrary, was reduced, upon an average, to 650 rounds.

The night of the 23rd, the gun and mortar boats renewed their attack upon the camp, which, in its consequences, was more dreadful than any we had hitherto experienced. The silence observed by the garrison during their preceding visits emboldened them, on this occasion, to advance so near that we could distinctly hear their officers give orders to the men, who frequently cried out to us, in Spanish, to "take care." During the first and second rounds, the shells fell over Windmill-hill into the sea; but this mistake they soon rectified, and the attack became excessively smart. Two shells fell within the Hospital-wall, and a shot passed through the roof of one of the pavilions. A shell fell in a house in Hardy-town, and killed Mr. Israel, a very respectable Jew, with Mrs. Tourale, a female relation, and his clerk. Another, from the St. Carlos's battery, fell into a house near South-shed, in which were fifteen or sixteen persons: the shell burst, but all escaped, except a child whose mother had experienced a similar fate some time before. A soldier of the 72nd regiment was killed in his bed by a shot; and a Jew butcher was equally unfortunate. In all, seven were killed, and twelve or thirteen wounded. The silence of the garrison, when the destructive effects of this attack were publicly known, caused great secret discontent amongst the soldiers; and such representations were made to the governor, that he ordered the artillery to return their fire when they repeated their visit.

The evening of the 27th, the engineers, with a strong party, repaired the Queen's battery (Willis's). The new merlons were raised with sand-bags on the base of the old ones, and the whole was completed before morning gun-fire. The following day, a squadron of Russian men-of-war passed through the Straits to the west. Whilst they remained in sight, the enemy increased their fire upon the garrison. The same day arrived the General Murray privateer and a polacre from Minorca, with wine, brandy, lemons, and salt; and in the evening, the Enterprise frigate, with 17 ordnance-ships and transports, sailed for England. The enemy discovered them before they quitted the bay, and repeated their signals towards Cadiz. The garrison flag-staff, on the Grand battery, was now so mutilated, and the flag so much torn by the enemy's shot, that it became necessary to erect a new one, which was done the night of the 28th; and it served to engage the attention of the enemy in the succeeding day's firing.

The morning of the 29th, two British frigates, the Flora and Crescent, which had conveyed the Minorca ordnance-ships to Mahon, appeared from the east. Capt. Peere Williams, in the former, stood towards the bay; and being informed by Capt. Curtis that the Enterprise had sailed the preceding evening, put about and followed his consort, the Crescent, which was then chasing two vessels, apparently Dutchmen, under the Barbary shore; and soon after they disappeared, we heard a cannonade to the west, which most likely proceeded from the ensuing engagement, as we afterwards learned that the ships chased were Dutch frigates.\* At noon the same day, two artificers were executed at the White Convent in Irish Town for marauding; and the following day, one of the 58th suffered for the same

\* Captain Williams, in this action, took his opponent; but the Crescent, from some unfortunate accidents, was compelled to surrender to her adversary. The Crescent was, however, retaken by the Flora; but being greatly damaged, both she and the Flora's prize afterwards fell a prey to some French cruisers.

offence. The 31st, in the evening, ship under Ragusan colours, attempting to get round Europa Point to proceed to Algeiras, was driven under our guns, and obliged to come in. She was laden with wheat and barley, bound from Barcelona to Cadiz; and her cargo was condemned as a lawful prize.

The enemy's bombardment was considerably abated towards the close of the month. Their objects for some time were the upper batteries, and particularly the Royal battery, whence they were greatly incommoded. They often attempted to reach Landport and the lines with heavy grape from the advanced mortars, but it seldom ranged farther than the Inundation. Our engineers, notwithstanding their fire, continued making such repairs as the enemy's cannonade rendered necessary.

About two o'clock, on the morning of the 1st of June, the gun and mortar boats saluted us as usual, and wounded three or four men: they were in three divisions. We returned the fire from different batteries between King's bastion and Buena Vista. During this attack an incident happened which I will beg leave to insert. A soldier, rambling about the town, accidentally found, in the ruins of a house, several watches and other articles of value, of which he immediately made prize; but how to secrete them afterwards was a subject that required the utmost reach of his invention. He was sensible he could not secure them in his quarters, as every soldier of his regiment was examined on his return to his bomb-proof from duty. He resolved, therefore, on a singular expedient. Taking out the wad which served as a tompon to a gun on the King's bastion, he lodged his prize, which was tied in his handkerchief, as far as he could reach, within the gun, and put the wad in its former place. In times of peace he could not have devised a better repository; but, unfortunately, the gun-boats coming the same evening (whilst he was fast asleep in his casemate, not apprehending any danger to his secreted treasure), this richly loaded gun was one of the first that was discharged at the enemy, and the foundation of his

future greatness was dispersed in an instant.

The enemy's cannonade, in the beginning of June, decreased to about 500 rounds in the 24 hours: the King's, or Black battery (as it was called by the garrison), with the two fourteen-gun batteries in their lines, were now silent.

The morning of the 3rd the gun-boats repeated their visit about the same time as before. In this attack serjeants, of the 12th and 58th regiments, were killed, and 2 privates wounded: many shells fell among the tents of the different regiments, and two shot in the hospital-yard. A corporal, going with the relief at Landport, had the muzzle of his firelock closed, and the barrel twisted like a French horn, by a shell, without injury to his person. We returned the fire from the town batteries, hoping by that means to direct their attention from our camp. The 4th, the governor commemorated the anniversary of his Majesty's birthday, by a salute at noon of 23 cannon, and 43 mortars, being the number of ordnance that bore on the St. Carlos's battery. The fire began at the Rock mortar, seconded by the Old mole, and so on from right to left till the whole were discharged: the enemy, indulging themselves, as usual, with a *siesta*, did not immediately return our fire; but in the early part of the day they had made the town pretty warm, and fired twice or thrice through the royal standard.

In the course of the 4th, a tartan was taken coming in from the east: the crew, however, escaped to the garrison in their boat. A Spanish squadron of 2 line-of-battle ships, 3 xebecs, and 2 bomb-ketches, also arrived the same day at Algeiras, from aloft. With this reinforcement, their naval force before Gibraltar amounted to 2 ships of the line, 5 xebecs, 2 ketches, several half-galleys and armed vessels, with 15 or 16 gun and mortar boats. These latter were become so active that we could never promise ourselves a night's repose without being disturbed by a cannonade; and their attacks were more vexatious from the impossi-

bility of being able to retaliate, because they presented to us so small an object. Whenever the alarm was given of their approach, which was generally a little after midnight, the southern part of the rock was in immediate commotion. Their effects had been found so destructive, that all were upon the look-out: the troops were ordered from their tents, to places where they were covered from the shot; but the shells were directed into the most sequestered recesses. Such was the terror of the miserable inhabitants, that many of them fled nearly naked to the remote parts of the rock; and even here they could scarcely deem themselves secure: in short, no scene could be more deplorable than that of their distress on these occasions.

The enemy's bombardment from the land was still continued with little variation: they appeared, indeed, to have no other object than the expenditure of ammunition. In their camp, large parties were constantly bringing brushwood for fascines from the country; and others were employed in disembarking stores from small vessels which were daily arriving from all quarters.

The 9th, we were alarmed with the blowing-up of one of the enemy's magazines, situated at a small distance from the Catalanian camp to the west of the Queen of Spain's Chair. The different explosions that succeeded the first resembled a continual roll of fire like repeated volleys of musketry; from which circumstance we conjectured that it was their repository for live shells and fixed ammunition. Their drums immediately beat to arms; and the whole army, consisting of thirteen battalions besides cavalry, assembled in front of the camp. Parties were instantly detached; but the splinters of the shells kept them for some time at a considerable distance. The shells, however, at length ceased to displode: they advanced, and removed powder, &c. from a neighbouring magazine to a place southward of the fire; where, meeting afterwards in great numbers, our artillery endeavoured to reach them with a large shell from Willis's; but the distance

was beyond the range of a sea-mortar. From the long continuance and successive loud reports it was thought they must have sustained great loss, not only of ammunition, but of men, as the splinters were seen, with glasses, to range much farther than the spot where the detachment first assembled; and remarkable economy was afterwards observed in the article of shells.

The following day, a line-of-battle ship, proceeding from Point Mala to the eastward, was fired upon from the garrison, and obliged to put about and anchor at Algeziras. A flag of truce came the day after to the New mole, to know the cause of our firing upon her, being a Neapolitan man-of-war. The governor answered, that the first shot was to bring her to; which she not obeying, every succeeding one was fired to sink her. The night of the 11th, the gun and mortar boats, according to custom, bombarded the camp, killed a child, and wounded a woman. They retired much sooner than usual; which we attributed to their having received some damage, as our grape was heard to strike them. We returned 96 rounds of various kinds. Their land batteries, during the attack, directed their fire principally towards the King's bastion, and along the line-wall in town, whence, they observed, we for some time past generally fired when they came over. The 14th being the anniversary of Corpus Christi, the festival was noticed by the enemy's shipping with the usual flags of decoration, and the customary salutes: repeated volleys were likewise discharged from the lines; which, being unexpected on our side, killed and wounded several.

Though their bombardment in general, at this period, scarcely exceeded 450 rounds in 24 hours, yet the batteries at Willis's, notwithstanding the recent repairs, were again greatly damaged. The enemy's shot, though fired at so great a distance, frequently pierced seven solid feet of sand-bag work. To obviate this, strong wooden frames, called *caissons*, were constructed of the same dimensions as the merlons; which, when well rammed with clay, and covered in front and on the top

with junk cut in lengths for the purpose, were expected to resist better than the temporary repairs that had been done during the severity of the enemy's fire. The enemy also adopted the same mode in capping the merlons of Fort St. Barbara.

A flag of truce, on the 15th, informed us that two ships had been captured leaving the garrison, and that the prisoners were ready to be sent in. The *Fortune* sloop, in consequence, the next day brought over 141 English and Jews, men, women, and children. It was remarked that the enemy the preceding day continued their bombardment during the flag of truce; but a strict cessation was observed this day, owing, as we imagined, to some representations. We observed, on the 20th, a new camp of 112 tents in the rear of Barcelo's battery, north of Algeziras. The day following, Montague's bastion was opened on the enemy, as parties were repairing the St. Carlos's battery.

The bombardment now decreased daily. The fire of the enemy was chiefly directed to our upper batteries, for the town was almost a heap of ruins: they sometimes threw a long-ranger; but these shells seldom did any injury. The night of the 24th, the gun-boats fired upon the camp, but at such a distance, that little damage was received, though they expended 400 shot and 70 shells. We returned 88 rounds, principally small shells, whose fuses were so accurately cut, as to break just over the boats. The 27th, we observed another encampment (capable of quartering two battalions) at the tower between the river Palmones and Algeziras. Many were of opinion that this camp, with that at Barcelo's battery, was occupied by militia. The gun and mortar boats again bombarded our camp about midnight for two hours: they then made their usual signal, and as we imagined, were gone back; but soon after, they returned, and, recommencing a brisker fire than before, killed and wounded 12 or 14, the greatest number of which were of the 39th regiment. This was the most important loss which our troops had yet experienced from the gun-boats;

but we concluded ourselves in some degree fortunate in not suffering more considerably: as most of the regiments, imagining the bombardment over for the night, were in bed when they returned.

The disagreeable and frequent repetition of these attacks prompted the governor to adopt, if possible, some expedients to annoy the enemy's camp in return. The distance was conceived to be within the range of shells from the Old mole head: accordingly a 13-inch sea-mortar was removed to the extremity; and six cannon, five 32-pounders and one 18-pounder, were at the same time sunk in the sand behind the Old mole, and then secured with timber, &c. at different degrees of elevation. These arrangements had been for some time in agitation; and being now completed, he determined to make the experiment. About 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 28th, six rounds were discharged from each: three of the shells burst in the enemy's camp, and one over it. The other two exploded in their passage: all the shot went home. A battalion of Spanish guards, happening to be under arms, were greatly alarmed, and dispersed three different times; at length they were assembled, and marched off toward the left. This being only intended as an experiment, the artillery soon ceased firing; but it is scarcely possible to express the general satisfaction which his success diffused through the garrison. The mortar was loaded with from 36 lbs. to 28½ lbs. of powder at the usual elevation; the 32-pounder with 4, and the 18 with 9 lbs. of powder; all the latter at an elevation of 42 degrees.

The governor, beside this plan of retaliation, devised other schemes to cover and protect his camp, if possible, from future attacks. Two brigs were ordered to be cut down and converted into *prames*, each to carry four or five heavy cannon; which were to be moored between the New mole and Ragged Staff, at such distance from the works as to be easily protected, and yet far enough out to keep their boats at a respectful distance. Artificers

from the garrison assisted the navy in fitting out these vessels. One of them being finished previous to the before-mentioned experiment, was moored at the distance of about half musket-shot from the New mole head. She was named the *Vanguard*, mounted two Spanish 26-pounders, and two twelves, and was rigged like a settee. The enemy's squadron, on the 29th, was reinforced with five xebecs and two galleys, from the east. At night sailed a packet for Faro, in Portugal.

The 2nd July, additional tents were pitched at the new camp near the tower, north of Algeiras. About one in the morning of the 4th, the gun-boats repeated their attack; but contrary to their former custom, numbers of their shot and shells fell amongst the shipping. The Porcupine frigate, Sir Charles Knowles, Bart., and an Indianman, each received a shot; and the *Brilliant's* bottom was struck with a splinter of a shell, which burst under her; but no particular damage was received in the garrison, except two men being slightly wounded. The governor retaliated by ordering six rounds of shot and shells to be fired into their camp from the guns and sea-mortars at the Old mole: the cannon were pointed indiscriminately for the camp; but the mortars were laid for the fascine and artillery parks. One of the shells set fire to a hut, and alarmed them exceedingly. As the governor now determined to retaliate in this manner, we were in hopes it would deter them from so frequently disturbing us.

The enemy continued making gabions, and bringing much wood into the camp: on the other hand, our people were employed in repairs, and additions to the works. Traverses were erected at the Royal battery, and parties were employed on the north front, from the rock gun to the Old mole head. The 10th, a brig coming in from the east was taken by the enemy's cruisers, which for some weeks past had again kept a very vigilant look-out. The crew however escaped to the rock; and they had thrown the letters over-board before they abandoned the vessel.

The bombardment, which, by almost imperceptible degrees, had been decreasing, on the 12th nearly ceased. The cannon in their seven and fourteen-gun batteries were all drawn back, to facilitate, as we imagined, the repairing of the platforms and inner part of the batteries. The 13th some troops at the tower decamped, and in a few days afterwards a regiment marched away from the Algeiras camp. The 15th two settees and a brig sailed from Point Mala with gabions to the west. One vessel had sailed thence on the 13th. These materials, we conjectured, were for some new works in the neighbourhood; but we were afterwards informed that they were taken to Minorca, and were used in the approaches carried on against St. Philip's. Their firing was now confined to the night, and unless we provoked them, scarcely ever exceeded thirty rounds.

The Spanish general visited the lines on the 18th; but a fire breaking out in his camp, he returned immediately on its appearance. In the evening the caissons for the Queen's battery being carried up to Willis's, and the sand-bags brought from Pocoroca clay-pit, the engineers at dusk, with a party of 380 men, began to re-establish the merlons; and by the morning gun-fire of the 19th the old sand-bags were removed, the caissons placed, and filled with clay, sand, and junk, and the battery made fit for the reception of artillery. The governor was present the whole time, and expressed the highest approbation of the diligence and activity of the party. The caissons were made of oak timber, joined by strong iron bolts. Whilst they were at work the gun-boats fired upon the camp, and were seconded by the land batteries on the town: a hundred and thirty-two rounds were returned on the boats, and sixteen shells thrown into the enemy's camp. One of the artillery and one of the 73rd regiment were wounded.

The morning of the 20th the enemy fired a salute from the lines, followed by a *feu-de-joie* from the army drawn up in two lines in front of their camp, concluding with a grand discharge from their shipping and small craft at Alge-



ziras. The troops in garrison changed quarters on the 21st: the 39th and Hardenberg's regiments relieved the 72nd, and other detachments in King's and Montague's bastions, Waterport casemate, and Picket yard. The 58th, 72nd, and 73rd regiments encamped; the 12th regiment remained on their ground, and the 56th, Reden's, and La Motte's occupied the South barracks and other quarters. The enemy on the same day decamped from the ground north of Algeziras. Brigadier Ross sailed on the night of the 22nd in a boat to Faro, in his route to England; and the following day a privateer arrived in eight days from Mahon, with a packet. Two days afterwards a boat arrived from Portugal. The patron informed us that the army at that time before Gibraltar principally consisted of militia regiments, the regular troops having embarked for the West Indies: he further said, that the Spanish fleet had sailed from Cadiz on a cruise. Soon after this boat arrived a large fleet of upwards of seventy sail appeared from the west: when abreast of Europa we discovered amongst them a ship of the line, two frigates, two cutters, a bomb-ketch, and several armed vessels: they did not display any colours. This proved afterwards to be the fleet which blockaded Mahon, and conveyed the troops which besieged Fort St. Philip, under the command of the Duc de Crillon, and captured the island of Minorca.

Our camp was alarmed on the 27th with the report that the gun-boats were approaching. The batteries were manned, and the regiments assembled; but the enemy not appearing, they returned to quarters. The signals for seeing the boats in future were ordered to be a false fire, and two guns from the shipping.

August was introduced by an attack from the gun-boats. They came upon us by surprise; for we had no signal from our guard-boats. This was afterwards accounted for by the enemy having taken a circle; by which means our guard-boats, when they began to fire, were without, and the gun-boats between them and the garrison. Our

fire in return was well served, and appeared to do some execution: twelve large shells and fifteen shot were likewise thrown into the camp from the Old mole: several of the former burst just as they fell, consequently promised to do mischief. Their land batteries seconded the fire from the sea, but we did not experience any casualties. Two days afterwards the other prame, called the Repulse, mounting five twenty-six pounders, was moored about musket-shot to the southward of the Vanguard, and the same distance from our batteries. These vessels were of such annoyance to their boats, that whilst they remained out, we never afterwards were so much disturbed at the southward.

The artillery at Willis's endeavoured on the 4th to set fire to the canes and weeds in the gardens; but they were too full of sap to take fire. This attempt attracted a brisk cannonade for some time from the enemy. Early in the morning of the 6th a shell fell into a tent behind General La Motte's quarters, at the southward, in which were two men of the 58th, asleep. They were not awakened by its fall; but a serjeant in an adjacent tent heard it, and ran near forty yards to a place of safety, when he recollected the situation of his friends. Thinking the shell had fallen blind, he returned and awakened them: both immediately rose, but continued by the place, debating on the narrow escape they had had, when the shell exploded, and forced them with great violence against the garden-wall, but miraculously did no further mischief than destroying everything in the tent.

On the morning of the 7th, before the haze was quite dispelled in the Gut, a signal for an enemy was made by the Spaniards at Cabrita Point. As the fog dispersed, we discovered at a considerable distance a vessel becalmed, but rowing towards the garrison with the current. Fourteen gun-boats were then advancing from Algeziras to intercept her: upon which Captain Curtis, of the Brilliant, ordered out Sir Charles Knowles, with three barges, to endeavour to get alongside, and receive

any dispatches the vessel might have on board, whilst he attended the towing out of the Vanguard and Repulse prames, to cover them and protect her. Sir Charles personally executed his orders, and returned with a packet for the governor. The vessel by this time was about a league and a half from the garrison, and the headmost gun-boat within shot, advancing apparently with an intent to board: stopping, however, at the distance of a few hundred yards, she poured in a discharge of round and grape shot, and was immediately seconded by her consorts astern. The vessel, which we now discovered to be a king's sloop-of-war, returned the salute with a broadside, and musketry from her quarter-deck; and a spirited action commenced. Appearances at this juncture were so greatly in favour of the Spaniards, that the garrison gave up the sloop for lost. Becalmed a league from the rock, and fourteen gun-boats, each carrying a twenty-six pounder, full of men, cannonading her on every side with grape and round shot; a xebecque also bearing down with a gentle breeze, were circumstances which seemed to preclude the possibility of escape. After maintaining, however, a very warm, judicious, and well-served fire, often obliging the boats to retire, the westerly breeze at last reached her; and not long afterwards she was safe under our guns. She proved to be the Helena sloop-of-war, fourteen small guns, Captain Roberts, in fourteen days from England. Her loss during this action was much less than could have been possibly imagined, when we considered the showers of grape and round shot that every instant surrounded her: she had only one killed and two wounded; but her upper rigging and sails were much cut and injured. We attributed the hull's being scarcely touched to the construction of the gun-boats; for, being originally intended to annoy at a distance, their cannon could not be depressed. The enemy however did not escape so well: numbers were seen to drop in the boats from the musketry of the sloop, and several were towed off disabled; which were very con-

vincing proofs that their loss was considerable. •

A settée was taken on the 12th by the enemy's cruisers. The crew, excepting three Jew passengers, escaped to the garrison: they informed us that great preparations were making in the French and Spanish ports for some grand expedition: the object was however kept secret; but many at Minorca suspected St. Philip's to be the place.

The enemy's bombardment, if we may now call it by that name, scarcely exceeded, at this time, three shells in the 24 hours, which the soldiers (conjecturing that some allusion might be intended, by that superstitious nation, to the sacred Trinity) jocosely, though profanely termed, *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. It is not indeed altogether improbable that the Spaniards might entertain some bigoted respect for that mystical number, and, considering the British in the light of heretics, might apprehend some efficacy from it, in the great work of *converting the garrison to the Catholic faith*: at least, it is difficult, on any more reasonable ground, to account for their exactly continuing to fire neither more nor less, for so considerable a period.

The mention of this circumstance brings to my recollection another, of a ridiculous nature, which serves to demonstrate the thoughtlessness of the English soldiers, who can jest in the hour of danger, and indulge their prejudices at the expense of what other nations, however differing in sentiment, generally agree to hold in a degree of respect. It is first to be remembered, that, according to the articles of capitulation by which the garrison was surrendered to Admiral Sir George Rooke, it was stipulated that the inhabitants should be tolerated in their religion: the old Spanish church was therefore continued as a place of worship for those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and, as is usual in Roman Catholic churches, was decorated, amongst others, with figures, as large as life, of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary.

At the commencement of the firing, when the soldiers were engaged in a succession of irregularities, a party of

them assembled in the Spanish church, to carouse and be merry. In the midst of their jollity, the image of the Virgin Mary was observed in the ruins by one of the party, who instantly proposed, as a piece of fun, to place her ladyship in the whirligig.\* The scheme seemed to meet with general approbation, till one, wiser than the rest, stopped them with a remark, that it would ill become them, as military men, and particularly Englishmen, to punish any person without a trial. A court-martial consequently sat, with mock ceremony; and her ladyship was found guilty of drunkenness, debauchery, and other high crimes, and condemned to the whirligig, whither she was immediately carried in procession. The governor (who, notwithstanding the firing, regularly attended the parade), at guard-mounting discovered the poor Virgin in confinement; but expressed his disapprobation of the action, and ordered her instantly to be removed to the White Convent, where, by the bye, she was by no means exempt from further insult and disgrace. If a bigoted Spaniard could have beheld this transaction, he probably would have thought the English worse than heretics; and would have concluded, that their impiety could not fail to attract the special vengeance of Heaven.

The night of the 15th, the gun and mortar boats bombarded our camp; their disposition extending from off Little bay to the Old mole head: their fire, as had been the custom for some time before, was seconded by a brisk cannonade from the lines, which was very judiciously served. Many of their shells burst in the air, over our shipping; but the ships continued silent. Our artillery retaliated from the Old mole head, and small shells were discharged from the elevated guns, which seemed to answer very well. One of the 72nd regiment was killed; two of the artillery, and two of the 73rd, with a boy, an inhabitant, were wounded. In this attack, a shell fell amongst

some naval stores, in a ground-ward of the Naval hospital; and the most dreadful consequences might have been expected from this accident, if the fire had not been happily extinguished by the picket, which the governor had ordered, some time before, to assemble here, to prevent, if possible, such casualties. The other picket, which mounted at the southward, was stationed for the same purpose at the New mole.

A schooner arrived from Faro on the 17th, with fruit, onions, and salt. In the evening, a flag of truce came from the enemy, in answer to ours of the preceding day. The day following, another boat arrived from Faro: she brought a packet, with some private letters from Lisbon, which intimated the probability of our receiving a visit from the combined fleet, then cruising off Cadiz. At night several guns were heard in the Gut, and a number of signals made at the point. The succeeding morning, his Majesty's cutter the Kite arrived from England, with duplicates of the Helena's dispatches. In her passage she engaged a French cutter of 20 guns, and had three men killed and six wounded. The enemy's cruisers endeavoured to intercept her, but were driven to leeward. A boat also arrived about the same time from Portugal.

The firing from the garrison now varied according as the enemy's parties presented themselves: at this period they were busy in repairing Fort St. Philip, and in securing their works against the approaching rainy season. Our engineers were repairing the communications and batteries at Willis's, &c. A soldier of the 73rd deserted to the enemy the 25th: he had been absent from his corps five days, during which time he had concealed himself on the rock. Hunger probably pressing him, he determined to make a bold attempt to get off: accordingly stuffing a sand-bag with grass, he came to Landport, and placing, unobserved, the bag upon the spikes of the palisades, jumped, unhurt, on the glacis; then running over the cause-

\* A machine erected at the bottom of the Grand parade, for the punishment of scolding women, or others guilty of trifling misdemeanors.

way, he soon cleared Bay-side barrier, and, though many hundred rounds of musketry were fired from Landport and the Lines guards, he escaped. He was the fourth man lost by desertion in the course of six weeks.

Early the 27th, four men, who had been impressed from a privateer in the bay, deserted from the Repulse pprime. The next morning we were visited again by the gun and mortar boats; but they scarcely staid one-third of their former time. We returned 9 shot and 58 shells, which, from the shrieks and piteous cries we heard, must have done execution. We annoyed them in camp from the Old mole, as usual; and the artillery attempted to reach them from Willis's, but in vain. In this attack a wounded matross was killed by a shell in the hospital. The circumstances attending this man's case are so melancholy and affecting, that I cannot pass them over in silence. Some time previous to this event, he had been so unlucky as to break his thigh: being a man of great spirits, he ill brooked the confinement which his case demanded, and exerted himself to get abroad, that he might enjoy the benefit of the fresh air in the court of the hospital: unfortunately, in one of his playful moments, he fell, and was obliged to take to his bed again. He was in this situation when a shell from the mortar boats fell into the ward, and rebounding, lodged upon him. The convalescents and sick, in the same room, instantly summoned strength to crawl out on hands and knees, while the fuse was burning; but this wretched victim was kept down by the weight of the shell, which, after some seconds, burst, took off both his legs, and scorched him in a dreadful manner: but, what was still more horrid, he survived the explosion, and was sensible to the very moment that death relieved him from his misery. His last words were expressive of regret that he had not been killed on the batteries.

The enemy's attention to the blockade seemed now to be revived. Their cruisers were increased, and constantly on the watch. The force in the bay

at this time was one ship of the line, a xebecque having a broad pendant, a frigate, and five xebecques, with the gun and mortar boats, and small armed craft. The arrangement of these vessels for the purpose of blockading the garrison appeared to be as follows:—When the wind was west, two xebecques and four gun-boats anchored at Cabrita Point, cruising at night at the entrance of the bay and in the straits; when easterly, the frigate, xebecques, and four gun-boats cruised some between Ceuta and Europa, and others in the Gut; one xebecque was generally observed to lie-to off Europa Point, at the entrance of the bay. Though this disposition apparently obstructed all intercourse between the garrison and our friends in Portugal and Minorca, yet opportunities sometimes occurred when boats slipped out unobserved, and returned with the same success.

The evening of the 30th, the enemy's cannonade, which, except when the boats fired on our camp, seldom exceeded three shells in the 24 hours, was pretty smart for an hour or two, occasioned by our firing on their working parties. Such starts of retaliation they were often provoked to by our annoying their workmen in the batteries.

The prames had been found so useful that, in the beginning of September, the navy began to fit up the Fortune sloop, in order to add to their number. The 5th, a flag of truce from the enemy brought over — Pratts, an inhabitant of Gibraltar, who had been taken by the Spaniards in the Fox packet, about 12 months before, and whom, as it was said, the enemy for some time had objected to exchange. By this man we were informed that the Duc de Crillon, with 10,000 men, had landed at Minorca, and that it was reported he was to be joined by a French army from Toulon. The evening of the 7th, the captain at Willis's again endeavoured to set fire to the weeds, &c. in the gardens, which, from their height, afforded great cover to the enemy's advanced sentries; and in executing these orders a brisk cannonade was returned by the enemy, which continued till daybreak. Our

carcasses and light balls frequently took effect, but the canes were too green to be burnt to any purpose. In the course of this firing, several shot from the lines ranged as far as the South barracks and New mole. Great numbers of gabions were now observed in the enemy's fascine park.

The evening of the 12th, they fired a grand salute from their lines and shipping, and a feu-de-joie in camp. After the salute, they continued to cannonade from the lines, though for some days before they had only fired their mystical number, three, in the 24 hours. We imagined this salute to be on account of the Duc de Crillon having gained some advantage at Minorca. In the course of their firing, on the 15th, a circumstance happened similar to one which occurred in May, and both of them may be considered as extraordinary. A shell from the lines fell upon the rock, above the Red sands, and glanced off in a direction nearly at right angles with its range: it rolled to the bottom of the Princess of Wales's lines, burst on the platform of one of the 32-pounders, and a splinter cutting the apron of the gun, fired it off. The shot took away the railing at the foot of the glacié, and lodged in the line-wall near Ragged Staff.

We observed, on the 16th, that the enemy, during the preceding night, had thrown up three banks of sand in zigzags, beginning at the centre of the fourth branch of approach, which seemed intended as a line of direction for a new communication to the St. Carlos's battery. In the evening, the governor ordered the artillery to direct a brisk fire on this work, which was continued till daybreak of the 17th. The enemy returned the fire reluctantly, from a wish, as we imagined, not to increase ours. The next morning, we observed they had retained the sand thrown up the preceding night with casks; and from the materials seen in the vicinity of the works, other additions seemed intended to be made. At night, Crouchet's howitzer battery and Montague's bastion were opened, and, with Willis's, &c., were kept constantly going. About

midnight the gun-boats, attended by a bomb-ketch, as we conjectured, came over, and, contrary to their former practice, directed their fire towards Willis's, the lines, and north end of the town. So determined were they to land their shells, that one went over the rock, and many fell on the hill; and, in attempting to imitate us in bursting their shells in the air, several exploded in their mortars. They staid two hours and a half, and expended 130 shells and 87 shot, and their land batteries were not so sparing as the night before. We returned a smart fire on both sea and land; and retaliated on their camp, as usual.

A shell, during the above attack, fell in an embrasure opposite the King's lines bomb-proof, killed one of the 73rd, and wounded another of the same corps. The case of the latter was singular, and will serve to enforce the maxim, that, even in the most dangerous cases, we should never despair of a recovery whilst life remains. This unfortunate man was knocked down by the wind of the shell, which, instantly bursting, killed his companion, and mangled him in a most dreadful manner. His head was terribly fractured, his left arm broken in two places, one of his legs shattered, the skin and muscles torn off part of his right hand, the middle finger broken to pieces, and his whole body most severely bruised, and marked with gunpowder. He presented so horrid an object to the surgeons, that they had not the smallest hopes of saving his life, and were at a loss what part to attend to first. He was that evening trepanned, a few days afterwards his leg was amputated, and other wounds and fractures dressed. Being possessed of a most excellent constitution, nature performed wonders in his favour, and in eleven weeks the cure was completely effected. His name is Donald Ross, and he long continued to enjoy his sovereign's bounty in a pension of 9*d.* a day for life. A non-commissioned officer of artillery also lost his thigh on Montague's bastion; and a private of the 12th regiment both his legs: the latter died soon after the amputation was performed.

The morning of the 18th, a deserter from the Spanish guards came in from the St. Carlos's battery. He was pursued by four of the enemy, but in vain. He gave information of the enemy's intention to erect some new batteries. About ten o'clock in the evening, a shell from the lines fell into a house opposite the King's bastion, where the town-major, Captain Burke, with Majors Mercier and Vignoles, of the 36th regiment, were sitting. The shell took off Major Burke's thigh, afterwards fell through the floor into the cellar; there it burst, and forced the flooring, with the unfortunate major, to the ceiling. When assistance came, they found Major Burke almost buried amongst the ruins of the room. He was instantly conveyed to the hospital, where he died soon after the wounded part was amputated, much lamented by his friends as an amiable and worthy member of society, and by the governor as an indefatigable officer. Majors Mercier and Vignoles had time to escape before the shell burst: they were nevertheless slightly wounded by the splinters; as were a serjeant of the 39th, and his daughter, who were in the cellar underneath when the shell entered. This house had escaped almost untouched during the warmest period of the bombardment, till this unfortunate shell fell in, which deprived the garrison of this active and valuable officer.

The enemy did not increase their works the succeeding day, but debouched the fourth branch of the approach about the centre. In the evening, the *Helena* and *Kite*, with a privateer, left the bay for England, and a schooner for Portugal. Lieut. Lowe, of the 12th, who had lost his leg, and the invalids, went home in the former. Our firing was increased at night by the Catalan batteries; and Crouchett's was still kept open. The 20th, Captain Fowles, of the 73rd, was appointed town-major.

Our working parties were employed by the engineers, on the 21st, in repairing Princess Caroline's battery, at Willis's, which, owing to the spirited behaviour and example of the officers, was cleared, the caissons placed, filled,

and the battery completed, before night, under a most heavy fire from the enemy. When the work was finished, the party desired to give three cheers, but they were overruled by the captain of artillery, who recommended to salute the enemy with three rounds from each gun; which was immediately put in execution. The party had not a man materially hurt during the warm cannonade; but, in returning to be dismissed, a serjeant of La Motte's, who had braved the dangers of the day, was killed by a random shot below the artillery guard. Our firing continued with great vivacity on the 22nd, particularly with small shells from the Royal battery, Willis's, and Montague's bastion. These were kept going in the day; and at night these batteries, with the Catalans, Crouchett's, and batteries at the entrance of the lines, were in action. The enemy, in return, were not sparing of ammunition: in the preceding 24 hours they fired 775 shot, and 57 shells. The garrison discharged 773 rounds of different species.

The enemy's new works were erected with casks, covered and retained by fascines, with sand in the front. About 200 men appeared to be employed in the day; but they were often compelled to retire, our ordnance was so well served and directed. The gun-boats, on the morning of the 24th, visited us as usual; and it was thought that a bomb-ketch again attended them. They pointed their fire principally towards the Victualling-office, in town, and Willis's: some shells fell in the New mole, but few ashore at the southward. We returned their fire, and retaliated from the Old mole on their camp.

Early in the morning of the 25th, the fascine capping of the merlons of Fort Barbara took fire from the enemy's guns, and burnt extremely fierce. The officer at Willis's immediately directed a brisk fire on the fort, which the governor afterwards increased by opening the Grand battery. The firing, however, from the latter did not answer so well as was expected, owing, perhaps, to the unevenness of the platforms, which were of stone, and much worn. Nevertheless, the enemy were obliged

to evacuate the fort without extinguishing the fire. At daybreak, we saw only five fascine merlons standing; the other seven were all destroyed, with some gun-carriages, traverses on the rampart, and fascine-work in the ditch. We imagined that this accident would render the fort useless for some time; but they convinced us that our conclusions were premature, by firing, probably out of bravado, a few shot in the course of the day, which killed one of the 58th, and wounded another. In the morning, about seven, the Flying-fish cutter, of 20 guns, arrived with ordnance stores and intrenching tools; she informed us that government had engaged 20 cutters, of her force, for the same purpose. A xebec and four gun-boats opposed her passage, but in vain.

The 26th, Lieut. Clarke, of the 56th, died of a decline. In the course of the day, the enemy began to clear Fort Barbara, and in the evening to lay fascines (a great number of which were in the neighbourhood of the fort) towards repairing it. Our fire continued to be well directed, and considerably annoyed them. The 27th, a man was discovered near Catalan bay, by the guard at Middle-hill. A party of the navy immediately went round, and took him up. He proved to be a deserter from the 72nd regiment; but the wretch was so famished with hunger, and so bruised in getting down the rock, that his life was despaired of. The 28th, the enemy capped two merlons of Fort Barbara. Their parties were very diligent in making gabions and fascines; the former, we imagined, were removed, as they were finished, to the lines and advanced works, as we had observed several behind the fourth and fifth branches of the approach. This circumstance, with their unusual activity in completing others, confirmed our late intelligence, that they intended additional batteries near the St. Carlos's.

The firing from the garrison now exceeded 700 rounds in the 24 hours; and the enemy frequently returned 800, and sometimes more. Our casualties consequently began again to be

pretty frequent amongst our parties, which, in a great measure, was owing to the want of prudence in the men, who were become so habituated to the enemy's fire as scarcely to regard their shot; and in fact, if a shell were at their feet, it was almost necessary for the officers to caution them to avoid its effects. It was really wonderful to behold with what undaunted coolness they persisted in their several occupations, though exposed to the enemy's whole artillery: indeed the generality appeared totally callous to every sense of danger.

Both sides continued indefatigable in their operations. The enemy finished two or three merlons in Fort Barbara, erected traverses near the tower, in the rear of the new communication, and were continually bringing large quantities of fascines, &c. to the lines. On the other hand, our engineers caissoned the terrace batteries, replaced the sand-bags before the merlons of the Queen's battery, and had parties daily employed in repairs. The 30th, a soldier of the 72nd lost his legs by a shot from Fort Barbara, from which they continued occasionally to fire. He bore amputation with prodigious firmness, but died soon after, through the loss of blood, previous to his being brought to the hospital. This fact being represented to the governor, the sergeants of the different regiments were ordered to attend the hospital, to be taught by the surgeons how to apply the tourniquets; which was afterwards productive of very beneficial consequences. Tourniquets were also distributed to the different guards, to be at hand in case of necessity.

The enemy for several days had made very little addition to the new communication, and the third return appeared still unfinished. A party of the enemy was however discovered from Willis's, on the evening of the 1st of October, working to the west of the St. Carlos battery; and they persisting in their labour, our fire was increased from the batteries below, which brought on a warm return. At daybreak we observed, at the extremity of the new approach, a large epaulment.

of forty-five gabions long, two in height, and four or five in breadth. On the top were several layers of sand-bags, and sand was banked up to protect it in front. It was situated within the western *place d'armes* of the St. Carlos's battery, towards the beach, in a direction forming a very obtuse angle with the front of the above battery. Our engineers immediately agreed that this epaulment was intended for mortars; which induced the governor, in the course of the 2nd, to order two embrasures (masked at the Old mole head, to cover the mortars which we usually fired into their camp) to be opened, and two howitzers to be kept in action from thence. At night, our firing at intervals was so astonishingly brisk, that the whole north front, from the rock gun to the Mole head, was obscured in smoke. This fire was continued, with little intermission, till daybreak; and though the enemy did not return it warmly, they made up for their silence the succeeding day. During the 24 hours they discharged 1263 rounds, and the preceding day 1948; which to us was a proof that they were considerably galled by our fire.

We had observed, for some weeks, a party of the enemy erecting a building upon an eminence near the stone quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair, which at length turned out to be a signal tower; but no use was made of it till the beginning of this month, when we discovered that it was intended to give information to their batteries in the lines when our working-parties were going up the hill. On their marching up, the morning of the 3rd, a signal was made from the tower, and their batteries immediately increased their fire on the heights: on their return in the evening, the signal was repeated. This practice they continued for some time. At night, the body of a soldier of the 12th regiment, who attempted to swim to the enemy from Waterport, was discovered floating near the *Repulse* prame. The sailors on the watch, imagining some large fish had got foul of their cable, darted a harpoon into the body, but soon found out their mistake. The

succeeding morning, we observed that the enemy had thrown up a cover from the eastern shoulder of the new battery to the western magazine of the St. Carlos's: they also raised a shoulder on the western extremity, and erected five traverses in the rear.

Our firing, on the 4th, was ordered to be diminished; only Montague's and the hill batteries were kept going: few shot were now used, as the enemy seemed to pay little attention to them; and we had ocular proofs daily of the annoyance from the small shells, which immediately made them desist, and get under cover. The same day a mutiny was discovered on board his Majesty's cutter the *Speedwell*, Lieut. Gibson; and four of the ringleaders were seized and confined. The plan of this conspiracy was to murder the officers of the watch, cut the cable, and run away with the vessel to Algeziras, where they computed she would sell for a handsome sum, which was to be equally divided amongst the people interested, who were then to depart for England. Near half the crew were concerned; and the same evening, if the wind continued favourable, the scheme was to have been put in execution. Happily one of the party (I believe a Spanish deserter) confessed in time to render the whole abortive. It was somewhat singular that Mr. Gibson had been so unfortunate, when in England, as to have the cutter he then commanded run away with by the crew into a French port, whilst he and his officers were ashore.

The enemy, on the night of the 4th, threw up a line of casks and sand, extending upwards of 60 feet in a parallel line to the front of St. Carlos's. Some additions were also made to the new battery. The raising of the former work induced many to believe that they were come at last to the determination of besieging the garrison in form; and that this, with other works to be erected, would be the first parallel of attack. It was a lucky circumstance, in some respects, to have an enemy so tardy in their operations. Our troops were now accustomed, by six months' bombardment, to the discharge and effect of heavy artillery



their firing had pointed out our weak places, which the governor and engineers had been indefatigable in strengthening, so that the garrison was now really in a better state of defence than at the commencement of the bombardment. In the nights of the 5th and 6th, the parallel, as we called the line to the east, was extended about 100 feet, and the new mortar battery raised with fascines. Small traverses were also made in the rear of the new approach from the fourth branch.

The gun and mortar boats had now been absent some time; probably owing to the repairs which the mortar boats necessarily demanded. On the evening of the 7th they, however, renewed their visit, much earlier than was customary, and staid upwards of two hours. Their shot seemed all directed at our prames, whilst their shells, the fuses of which were remarkably dark, were thrown ashore. They fired about 300 shot and 23 shells, killed one of the 73rd, and wounded two of the 12th. We returned 43 shot, 16 grape, and 279 shells. The 8th, two mortars were mounted in the new mortar battery; and from the pickets marked for the platforms, we concluded it would mount eight mortars. In the afternoon a shell fell into a house in town, in which Ensign Stephens, of the 39th, was sitting: imagining himself not safe where he was, he quitted the room to get to a more secure place; but just as he passed the door the shell burst, and a splinter mortally wounded him in the reins, and another took off his leg. He was conveyed to the hospital, and had suffered amputation before the surgeons discovered the mortal wound in his body. He died about seven o'clock, much regretted as a promising young officer.

The enemy's parties appearing numerous within the new works, our firing from the garrison was increased on the 11th, and was as briskly returned. The governor, however, ordered the artillery to be less profuse in future, unless some casualty demanded an additional fire; for their loss, he was of opinion, bore no proportion to our expenditure. Our small

shells were also decreasing very fast; and the enemy appeared too well covered with traverses in the new works to be much annoyed by them. The succeeding day our fire scarcely exceeded a hundred rounds; and the enemy's was equally diminished.

Their naval force before Gibraltar at this time was rather insignificant, though perfectly sufficient for the blockade. Most of their xebèques had left the station, as we imagined, to block up Mahon; and only one line-of-battle ship, one frigate, one xebèque, and two bomb-ketches, with the small craft and gun-boats, remained in the bay. The 13th, the governor ordered our lower batteries to be silent, in order to prove whether the enemy could be diverted from firing on the town, as their batteries, contrary to the usual practice of besiegers, seemed to be guided in a great measure by ours; and the manœuvre had the desired effect. Their parties were now employed chiefly in finishing the interior part of the new mortar battery.

The garrison, on the 15th, fired only forty rounds; and the enemy did not exceed double the number. The night of the 18th, they were heard hard at work; but this circumstance produced no additional fire from us, as our artillery had been limited to a certain quantity since the governor ordered the firing to decrease. The subsequent morning we observed they had erected a battery, of six embrasures, joining the second branch of the new communication, and bearing on Waterport and the town, about 1200 yards from the Grand battery: only four merlons appeared finished; the other three were in a rude state, with a number of fascines, pickets, and planks lying about the work, and at the débouchure of the fourth branch. The governor, in the morning of the 19th, ordered a warm fire on the new battery, which the enemy instantly returned. One of our carcasses set fire to the first branch of the new approach, and it burnt for some time. The following morning we found they had removed the sand to extinguish the fire, and displaced many of the fascines, which, with other

materials, were lying in a confused manner in the vicinity of the breach.

The night of the 20th, we were visited by the gun-boats; but their stay was much shorter than usual, owing to the springing up of a brisk easterly wind: one of their shells slightly wounded Assistant-engineer Evans. This attack, we imagined, was intended to engage our attention from the land side, where the enemy were heard busily at work; it had not, however, that effect, as our batteries directed an additional fire, and continued it the whole night. At daybreak we found they had repaired the breach made by the fire, and strengthened the merlons of their gun battery with gabions and sand heaped up in front.

The situation of this battery afforded a more serious appearance than any operations yet undertaken by the enemy. Colonel Tovey, the commandant of artillery, therefore recommended to the governor to open upon it, without loss of time, from such heavy guns and howitzers as might be soon brought to bear upon it; assisted, at the same time, with some thirteen-inch shells, and a few *red-hot* shot from an eighteen-pounder or two. The following morning the enemy had almost completed the battery; the governor was therefore induced to comply with the representation of Colonel Tovey, and ordered the upper batteries, &c. to be opened on the enemy's works, and to continue to fire from his direction. About four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd (a captain and two subalterns, with the artillery picket, manning the lower batteries) the firing commenced, and was continued with unremitting spirit and regularity the remainder of the evening and night. The enemy, in return, discharged repeated volleys from their lines; but to little purpose. Our artillery soon drove them from the battery, which frequently was set on fire by the carcasses, but extinguished. On the morning of the 23rd we had the mortification to find, that, notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up on it in the night, five of the embrasures were masked with sand-bags, to enable the whole better to resist the effect of our

shells. The work was nevertheless considerably damaged, though not in a degree equal to our expense in ammunition. The firing at noon was therefore ordered to cease, as we had expended 1596 shot, 530 shells (most of a heavy nature), 10 carcasses, and 2 light balls. It must appear almost incredible, that a battery at such a distance should be able to resist such heavy ordnance, without being levelled to the ground; but indeed few works were ever erected so strong and compact. The St. Carlos's battery was silent the whole time; and from the lines they returned 1012 shot and 302 shells. Our loss was not very great; but on the enemy's side, many were observed to fall, and several to be carried into the lines; their gallantry, we may therefore imagine, cost them dear.

The succeeding night they repaired the damage done by our fire, and erected two traverses in the rear of the gun battery; it is probable they were working also on the platforms; and during the two following nights they strengthened it with other additions. The 25th the enemy's fire was rather singular. In the afternoon, about nine, their batteries, for near an hour and a half, discharged repeated salvos from both cannon and mortars; not directing their fire to any particular object, but scattering their shot in every direction towards the garrison, and bursting the shells principally in the air. In the afternoon, about three, this mode of firing was repeated, and continued nearly the same time. The 26th, Lieutenant Vicars, of the 56th, was slightly wounded in the lines.

The night of the 29th, a brisk cannonade was heard towards the west; and soon after, by the moon, we discovered a cutter engaging a frigate, a xebec, and several gun-boats. The cutter answered a signal made by the Brilliant at the commencement of the action, by which we knew her to be a friend. After the engagement had continued very warm for a considerable time, the firing ceased, and she was obliged to submit to so superior a force. The succeeding night, the Uni-

corn cutter arrived, and four boats from Faro; the former informed us, that the parted company with several cutters bound for Gibraltar. The fruit, &c. brought in the Portuguese boats, was immediately purchased by the governor, for the use of the sick in the hospitals; and some of the crew were confined, being suspected to come as spies. The 31st, the enemy's engineers were observed placing pickets to the westward of the six-gun battery; apparently with a view of extending that work. Since our last attack upon it, the firing on both sides was much diminished. In the course of the month, three men deserted from the garrison.

The night of the 2nd of November, the signal was made for the approach of the enemy's gun and mortar boats, which for some time had not paid us the regular visits they formerly did; owing, as I have remarked before, to the repairs which the boats must necessarily demand; but the Vanguard and Repulse prames firing several shot, they retired. The 3rd, the Fortune prame, mounting five twenty-six pounders, was towed out, and moored to the southward of the Vanguard. The next day, about seven in the evening, 13 gun and 6 mortar boats fired briskly upon the garrison, seconded by the lines; they stayed near an hour and a half, and threw a vast number of shells; but few were directed towards our camp. Lieutenant John Frazer, of the 73rd, had his leg shot off on Montague's bastion; and Lieutenant Edgar, of the 56th, was wounded with splinters of stones. Two of the 58th and 73rd were likewise wounded. The enemy continued, on the 6th and 7th, to make some few alterations, and collect fascines, gabions, and other materials at their lines, and various parts of the approaches. The parallel they also strengthened; but the six-gun battery still remained masked with sand-bags.

As it appeared of greater consequence, at this period, to annoy the enemy from the Queen's battery at the Old mole head, which formed an excellent cross-fire with the other batteries,

than to fire into their camp, the mortars used for the latter purpose were removed, and the masked embrasures at the extremity, with two others adjoining, were ordered to be opened, and so altered as to admit of four howitzers bearing on the new battery. During the night of the 11th, the enemy erected an additional battery of six embrasures, westward of the other, where the pickets were observed at the close of last month. This work was retired a few yards, but joined the extremity of the shoulder of the old battery, and extended almost in the same direction towards the beach. It appeared very strong, and seemed to be intended against the Old mole head and Waterport.

During the night of the 12th, many signals were made in the Gut and along the coast. In the morning we observed a cutter standing for the bay: a xebec and three gun-boats attempted to intercept her, but she got in without firing a gun. She was called the Phoenix, and was laden, on government account, with ordnance stores. Colonel Ross, who had left the garrison some months before, was a passenger, and returned to take the command of his regiment, the 72nd, or Royal Manchester Volunteers. The lieutenant who commanded the cutter, informed us that he parted company with two others, destined for the garrison, on the 11th; at which time one of them was engaged with two of the enemy's cruisers. In the afternoon some signals were made at Algeziras; and a cutter was observed standing in for the bay, chased by a frigate; whence we consequently concluded it must be one of the two mentioned by the Phoenix. At this time several gun-boats were cruising off Cabrita Point and at the entrance of the bay, waiting to intercept her. In the Straits the wind was W., but N. W. in the bay, and not very strong. About six in the evening she came up with the gun-boats and an armed xebec: a smart engagement immediately commenced. Whilst she was retarded by these, a second division of gun-boats from Algeziras cut her off from the garrison; and the frigate

coming up, after a most vigorous and resolute resistance, she struck. When she first appeared, six barges were ordered from our frigates to assist her, and a signal was hoisted on board the *Brilliant*, which she answered. The boats rowed out a considerable way, and, the evening being dark, found themselves amongst the enemy's gun-boats, from whom, with some difficulty, they extricated themselves. The subsequent morning we had the mortification to see the cutter towed into *Algeziras* by five gun-boats, with colours flying, and other marks of exultation and triumph..

The enemy about this time adopted the mode of cutting the fuses of their shells, so that most of them which were fired for a long range burst in the air. They continued their practice of making signals at the tower above the Quarry, whenever our parties were assembled, or appeared at work: and the shot were in general better directed than before; but their effects against the works were considerably weakened by pieces of junk hung over the merlons of the batteries. Our workmen were chiefly employed at Willis's, in repairing the Tower battery, &c., and at the Old mole. Other detachments were also engaged in various duties on the north front. The night of the 15th, the enemy lengthened the parallel considerably, and, the succeeding night, made further additions. In the forenoon of the 16th, a long-ranged shell, from the *St. Carlos's* battery, burst in the air over *Hardy Town*, and a splinter of it flew into the sea, beyond *Buena Vista*, a distance of more than three miles. Another shell fell, in the course of the morning, at the foot of a wine-house, south of the barracks; and several burst high in the air over *South shed*. We attributed these uncommon long ranges to the force of the wind, which, blowing in the same direction in which the shells were thrown, undoubtedly increased their velocity. Mr. *Tinling*, assistant-engineer, was wounded the same day at Willis's. A boat arrived on the 18th from *Faro*: the crew were separately examined, before they were per-

mitted the liberty of the garrison. The patron of this boat informed us, that seven cutters, destined for *Gibraltar*, had been taken by the Spaniards.

Two deserters came in, about seven in the evening of the 20th; one a corporal, the other a private in the *Walon guards*. The former appeared to be very intelligent, and informed us of many circumstances, with which we were not before acquainted. The new mortar battery, he said, was called *St. Paschal's*; and corroborated our intelligence, that it mounted two mortars and six elevated guns. The two six-gun batteries were named *St. Martin's*. He further acquainted us, that the camp was principally composed of militia regiments: that the men were much dissatisfied with their situation, and greatly harassed in raising the additional batteries: that they had suffered lately very severe losses from our fire; particularly instancing the 22nd and 23rd of the preceding month, when 7 officers and 80 men were killed and wounded. One of the latter was an engineer of rank, who died three days afterwards. We had remarked, in the course of the above firing, an officer to be particularly active, which we now found to be this engineer: he braved, for a considerable time, the dangers of the day, but at length fell, and was carried off. This deserter gave the governor further information, respecting the strength and arrangement of their guards; and the next morning was conducted to Willis's, where he described to him various parts of the enemy's works and camp. It had always been customary for the governor to detain the deserters at the convent a few days, till he was sufficiently informed of every particular; but these he immured so close, that, excepting some general information, the garrison had an opportunity of learning but few circumstances, till an event took place, which will presently be related.

The firing from both sides varied as objects offered. Many of the enemy's shells ranged as far as the *South barracks*; and others, agreeably to their newly-adopted plan, burst in the air

The morning of the 22nd, a soldier of the 58th regiment, who had been missing several days, was seen to go into Fort Barbara, from behind the rock. The following day the enemy mounted guns in the St. Martin's battery; and a party was employed in completing the six eastern embrasures, which were now unmasked. We kept upon them our usual fire of small shells from Willis's and the upper batteries; but the lower ordnance were silent. In the course of the day the governor reconnoitred the enemy's works; and it was reported that all the batteries were to be again opened upon them, as soon as the four embrasures for the howitzers, at the Old mole head, were completed.

The night of the 23rd, the besiegers added to the parallel a return of cask-work to the west: it appeared very slight and trifling. The two succeeding days, their parties were very active in finishing the batteries, which, on the 26th, exhibited a perfect and formidable appearance. This was the crisis which the governor considered as proper to frustrate all their immediate views, by destroying these stupendous works, the construction of which had cost them such immense labour and expense. By the deserters who came in on the 20th instant, he was acquainted with the inactivity which prevailed throughout the enemy's camp, and with the strength of their advanced guards. Lulled into security by their superiority of force, they never suspected the garrison capable of attempting so bold and hazardous a coup-de-main. The governor, however, secretly conceived this important design, and never imparted his intention till the evening in which it was put in execution.

The gates were no sooner shut, after first gun-firing, on the evening of the 26th, than he ordered a considerable detachment to assemble on the Red sands at midnight, with devils, fire-faggots, and working implements, to make a sortie on the enemy's batteries. The general, field, and other officers to be employed on this service, were convened in the interim, and the disposition of attack communicated; but,

lest some matters might have escaped him in the multiplicity of arrangements, the governor desired every person to propose, without restraint, whatever would, in his or their opinion, further promote the success of the enterprise. The following are the heads of the orders issued on this occasion.

*"Evening Garrison Orders."*

"Gibraltar, Nov. 26, 1781.

*"Countersign, Steady."*

"All the grenadiers and light infantry of the garrison, and all the men of the 12th and Hardenberg's regiments, officers, and non-commissioned officers now on duty, to be immediately relieved, and join their regiments: to form a detachment, consisting of the 12th and Hardenberg's regiments complete, the grenadiers and light-infantry of all the other regiments (which are to be completed to their full establishment from the battalion companies); 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 10 non-commissioned officers, and 100 artillery and 3 engineers, 7 officers, and 12 non-commissioned officers overseers, with 160 workmen from the line, and 40 workmen from the artificer company. Each man to have 36 rounds of ammunition, with a good flint in his piece, and another in his pocket. No drums to go out, excepting two with each of the regiments. No volunteers will be allowed. The whole to be commanded by Brigadier-General, Ross; and to assemble on the Red sands at twelve o'clock this night, to make a sortie upon the enemy's batteries. The 39th and 58th regiments to parade at the same hour on the Grand parade, under the command of Brigadier-General Picton, to sustain the sortie if necessary."

These were the principal orders for forming the detachment. At midnight the whole were assembled, and being joined by 100 sailors, commanded by Lieuts. Muckle and Campbell, R.N., the detachment was divided into three columns, agreeably to the following disposition.

<i>Left Column.</i>				<i>Centre Column.</i>				<i>Right Column.</i>					
Lieut.-Col. Trigge.				Lieut.-Col. Dachenhausen and Major Malwell.				Lieut.-Col. Hugo.					
				<i>The Reserve.</i>									
	<i>o.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d. r. &amp; f.</i>		<i>o.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>r. &amp; f.</i>		<i>o.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d. r. &amp; f.</i>		
72nd grenadiers	4	5	0	101	39th grenadiers	3	3	57	Reden's grenadiers . . . .	3	7	0	71
72nd lt. infantry	4	5	0	101	39th lt. infantry	3	3	57	La Motte's grenadiers . . . .	3	7	0	71
Sailors, with an engineer . . .	3	3	0	100	73rd grenadiers	4	5	101	Engineer with workmen . . .	4	6	0	50
Artillery . . . .	1	4	0	35	73rd lt. infantry	4	5	101	Artillery . . . .	1	2	0	25
12th regiment	26	28	2	430	Engineer with workmen . . .	6	14	150	Hardenberg's regiment . .	16	34	2	296
55th lt. infantry	3	3	0	57	Artillery . . . .	2	4	40	56th lt. infantry	3	3	0	57
					56th grenadier	3	3	57					
					58th grenadiers	3	3	57					
	41	48	2	824		23	40	620		30	59	2	570

In these columns, Brigadier Ross, and several officers who accompanied him as aides-de-camp, are not included, which will explain the difference between them and the annexed summary of the whole force of the garrison at this time.

	Colonels. Lieut.-Cols. Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Qr. Ma- jors.	Sur- geons.	Mates.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.			
Total out with the sortie	1	3	3	26	60	14	0	3	0	0	2	147	4	1914	{ Exclusive of the sailors from the frigates.
Sick in hospital.....	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	28	6	557		
Remaining in garrison .	5	5	5	45	71	31	3	7	8	9	14	266	181	2531	
Total strength of the garrison before the sortie .....	6	8	8	72	132	46	3	10	8	9	16	441	191	5002	Total strength, 5932.

The detachment being formed in three lines, the right column in the rear, and the left in the front, tools for demolishing the works were delivered to the workmen, and the following directions for their destination communicated to the principal officers.

"The right column to lead and march through Forbes's barrier, for the extremity of the parallel; keeping the eastern fences of the gardens close on their left. The centre immediately to follow, marching through Bay-side barrier, and directing their route through the gardens for the mortar batteries. The left column to bring up the rear, marching along the strand for the gun batteries. No person to advance before the front, unless ordered by the officer commanding the column: and the most profound silence to be observed, as the success of the enterprise may depend thereon. The 12th and Hardenberg's regiments to form in front of the works, as sustaining corps; and are to detach to the right and left, as occasion

may require. The reserve to take post in the farthest gardens. When the works are carried, the attacking troops are to take up their ground in the following manner. The grenadiers of Reden's and La Motte's behind the parallel; the 39th and 73rd flank companies along the front of the fourth branch; and the 72nd grenadiers and light infantry with their right to the fourth branch, and left to the beach."

By the time the destination of the columns was made known to the different officers, and other arrangements had taken place, the morning of the 27th was far advanced; and as the moon had then nearly finished her nightly course, the detachment, about a quarter before three o'clock, began its march, by files from the right of the rear line for the attack. Although nothing could exceed the silence and attention of the troops, the enemy's advanced sentries discovered the right column before they passed Forbes's barrier, and after challenging, fired upon them.

Lieut.-Col. Hugo, finding they were alarmed, immediately formed the attacking corps, and pushed on at a brisk pace for the extremity of the parallel; there finding no opposition, he took possession, and the pioneers began to dismantle the works. Part of Hardenberg's regiment, which was attached to this column, mistook the route of the grenadiers, owing to the darkness of the morning; and in pursuing their own, found themselves, before they discovered their error, in front of the St. Carlos's battery. In this dilemma, no other alternative offered but pressing forwards, which they gallantly did, after receiving the enemy's fire. Upon mounting the parapet, the enemy precipitately retreated, and with great difficulty they descended the stupendous work, forming with their left to the tower. They were thus situated, when Lieut.-Col. Dachenhausen, at the head of the 39th flank companies, entered the St. Carlos's battery, and naturally mistaking them for his opponents, fired, and wounded several. Further mischief was however prevented by the countersign; and the Hanoverians joined the remainder of their corps, which now formed *en potence*, in front of the parallel. The 73rd flank companies were equally successful in their attacks; and Lieut.-Col. Trigge, with the grenadiers, and light company of the 72nd regiment, carried the gun batteries with great gallantry. The ardour of the assailants was irresistible. The enemy on every side gave way, abandoning in an instant, and with the utmost precipitation, those works which had cost them so much expense, and employed so many months to perfect.

When our troops had taken possession, the attacking corps formed, agreeably to their orders, to repel any attempt which the enemy might make to prevent the destruction of the works, whilst the 12th regiment took post in front of the St. Carlos's battery, to sustain the western attack; and the reserve, under Major Maxwell, drew up in the farther gardens. The exertions of the workmen and artillery were wonderful. The batteries were soon in a state for the fire-faggots to operate;

and the flames spread with astonishing rapidity into every part. The column of fire and smoke which rolled from the works, beautifully illuminated the troops and neighbouring objects, forming altogether a coup-d'œil not possible to be described.

In an hour the object of the sortie was fully effected; and trains being laid to the magazines, Brigadier Ross ordered the advanced corps to withdraw, and the sustaining regiments to cover their retreat: but, by some oversight, the barrier at Forbes's was locked, after the flank companies had returned; which might have proved of serious consequences to Hardenberg's regiment, as they were, from that circumstance, under the necessity of following the 12th regiment through Bay-side barrier.\*

Several small quantities of powder took fire whilst the detachment was on its retreat; and just as the rear had got within the garrison, the principal magazine blew up with a tremendous explosion; throwing up vast pieces of timber, which, falling into the flames, added to the general conflagration. Although the enemy must have been early alarmed, not the smallest effort was made to save or avenge their works. The fugitives seemed to communicate a panic to the whole; and, instead of annoying our troops from the flanking forts, their artillery directed a ridiculous fire towards the town and our upper batteries, whence we continued a warm and well-served discharge of round shot on their forts and barrier. Only 2 officers and 16 privates were taken prisoners; and little opposition being made, very few were killed in the works. The guard, from the best information, consisted of one captain, three subalterns, and 74 privates, including the artillery.

Thus was this important attack executed beyond the most sanguine expect-

\* It was not a little singular, that these two regiments, which at the memorable battle of Minden had fought by each other's side, and, according to the natural course of events, could never expect to meet again, should be employed a second time on the same occasion, and be the only entire regiments out.

tations of every one. The event challenges greater admiration, when we reflect that the batteries were distant near three-quarters of a mile from the garrison, and only within a few hundred yards of a besieging enemy's lines, mounting 135 pieces of heavy artillery.

The detachment had four privates killed; Lieut. Tweedie, of the 12th regiment, with 24 non-commissioned and privates, wounded; and one missing, supposed to be left wounded on the batteries. Of this number, Hardenberg's regiment had two killed and 12 wounded. The ordnance spiked in the enemy's works amounted to 10 13-inch mortars, and 18 26-pounders.

General Elliott's anxiety, on the occasion would not permit him to wait the issue within the garrison; but, acquainting the lieutenant-governor with his intention, he accompanied the sortie, and expressed the highest approbation of their behaviour by the following public orders: that "the bravery and conduct of the whole detachment, officers, sailors, and soldiers, on the glorious occasion, surpassed his utmost acknowledgments."

Although the attack was not totally exempted from those little derangements which naturally attend night expeditions of this nature, yet, to the honour of the whole, neither musket, working-tool, nor other implement, was left behind: a volunteer indeed of the 73rd regiment lost his kilt in the attack, which the governor being acquainted with, promised him a substitute in return; and not long afterwards presented him with a commission in an established corps. When our troops entered the batteries, the written report of the commanding officer was found in one of the splinter-proofs, which, when the guard was relieved, was intended

to have been sent to the Spanish general. The report expressed, that "nothing extraordinary had happened," which, it must be acknowledged, the captain had been a little premature in writing.

Before the detachment returned from the neutral ground, Lieut.-Col. Tovey, of the artillery, died. He was succeeded by Major Lewis in the command of that department.

The night of the 27th, the enemy were alarmed with an explosion in the ruins of their batteries; and immediately directed a smart discharge of musketry, with round and grape-shot, toward the spot. We imagined they suspected that we had made a second sally, to finish the destruction of what remained; and their error probably would have continued some time, had they not been undeceived by our throwing a shell amongst the ruins; after which they instantly ceased. By the number of lights seen in their camp, we had reason to conclude that their army assembled on the alarm. The enemy had not yet thought proper to take any measures toward extinguishing the flames, but avenged themselves by a brisk cannonade upon the town. In their camp several men were executed, who probably might be some of the unfortunate actors in the late disgrace. The 30th, their batteries continued burning in five different places: when they ceased to smoke; the works seemed completely destroyed; nothing but heaps of sand remaining. Five dismounted mortars could be seen in the St. Carlos's battery from the summit of the rock; one gun also in St. Paschal's, and three in the St. Martin's. At night we fired several rounds of grape at their horse-patroles, which, since their late misfortune, appeared more numerous than before.



## CHAPTER VI.

The Spaniards determine to restore their batteries—Establish several defensive posts—Repair their works, but are considerably retarded by the garrison—Description of a new invented depressing gun-carriage—Gallant behaviour of the *Mercury*, ordnance-ship—The *Vernon* store-ship arrives with several gun-boats, in frames; also the *Cerberus* and *Apollo* frigates, with a reinforcement of men—Singular quality of quick sight in two boys belonging to the garrison—Spaniards resolve to make a vigorous attack upon Gibraltar, under the command of the Duc de Crillon—Begin to convert large vessels into battering-ships at Algeziras—A party of Corsicans arrive, and offer to act as volunteers in the garrison during the siege—Enemy's army reinforced—Unfortunate accident in a magazine at Willis's—A strong reinforcement of French troops joins the enemy's army—The Duc de Crillon assumes the command of the combined forces; and the besiegers' batteries for some time are silent.

THE Spaniards for several days appeared totally at a loss how to act after their recent disgrace. Their batteries continued in flames, nor were any attempts made to extinguish the fire. In the beginning of December, however, they seemed as if suddenly roused from their reverie; upwards of 1000 men were at work making fascines, &c., for which purpose large quantities of brush-wood were collected from the country. From these operations we concluded, that they were resolved to restore their works, when sufficient materials were prepared.

The 1st of December, a flag of truce brought letters from the English prisoners lately captured in the cutters bound to the garrison. Not a syllable was mentioned by the Spanish officer of the late transaction; nor did he even inquire whether we had taken any prisoners. As we had observed the enemy to post strong guards in the stone guard-houses on the neutral ground, particularly in the centre one, the governor ordered the artillery to endeavour to dislodge them. Answers were returned, on the 2nd, to the letters brought the preceding day: letters also were sent from the prisoners taken in the sortie to their friends in camp. The Spanish officer, on receiving the letters, appeared much surprised, put them in his pocket, but was silent; and the boats parted. One of

the officers taken prisoner was the Baron Von Helmstadt, an ensign in the Walon guards, with the rank of captain: the other was Don Vincente Freese, a lieutenant of artillery. The baron was dangerously wounded in the knee, and, not without many intreaties, submitted to amputation. When the surgeons first informed him that this operation was absolutely unavoidable, he resolutely opposed it: amputation, he said, very seldom succeeded in Spain; besides, he was then betrothed in marriage to a lady, and would rather risk his life than present himself before her with only one leg. The governor, being told this determination, immediately visited the baron, and used every argument to persuade him to comply. His mistress, the general said, must undoubtedly esteem him the more for the honourable wound which he had received in the service of his country; and, as to the operation being fatal, he might almost assure himself of a certain recovery, since, in the many similar cases which had occurred in the garrison during the siege, our surgeons had been generally successful; and to convince him by ocular proof, ordered several mutilated convalescents into the room. This generous attention of the governor had a powerful effect on the baron, who, no longer able to resist his importunities, at length consented to the operation. The enemy,

the night of the 3rd, repaired the damage done to the third branch of approach; and did some trifling work at the fourth branch. The next day a flag of truce from the enemy brought letters of thanks from the Spanish general, Don Martin Alvarez, and the Walon guards, to the governor, for the humanity shown to the prisoners taken in the batteries. In the boat came some poultry for the wounded baron; also clothes and money for the officers. Their guards in the lines now appeared to be about 800 infantry, with 100 artillery; besides 60 or 70 cavalry for patrols. The governor, on the 5th, ordered that "no officer of the line, commanding at a post, should interfere in the mode of loading, pointing, or firing the cannon. If at any time he judged it necessary to fire upon the enemy, he was to point out the object to the artillery, and submit it to their opinion, whether it was practicable or not." The morning of the 7th, a cutter appeared from the west, and, after an obstinate action with the enemy's gun-boats, was obliged to strike. In this engagement we observed that the enemy had made some alterations in the construction of their boats, which before would not allow the guns to be depressed.

Notwithstanding our fire, the enemy seemed determined to establish themselves at the centre stone guard-house, round which, on the night of the 7th, they made a trench, and also lined with fascines part of the fourth branch of approach. Our firing continued to vary as their operations were more or less noticed; in the day we directed it principally to parties observed near the tower, and at night to the centre guard-house; against which they had heaped up sand, and continued every evening to make other additions.—The garrison at this period was so extremely sickly, that a hundred men were curtailed from the working parties; and the officers' servants, with others who usually were exempted from these duties, were ordered to assist, to lessen the fatigue of their comrades. Near 700 were at this time on our hospital

lists.—The Unicorn cutter sailed, in the night of the 12th, with dispatches for England; and the following evening, the Phoenix, with duplicates.

The operations of the enemy seemed now entirely defensive. The western stone guard-house on the beach was unroofed in the same manner as the centre guard-house, and strengthened with sand; with a trench dug round at some distance in the front. We imagined that strong guards were stationed every night at these posts, to protect their remaining works. The evening of the 16th, about ten o'clock, one of the enemy's advanced sentries, near Bay-side, fired his musket; which was taken up by others in the gardens, and the alarm spread to the lines, and thence to the camp. Lights were immediately observed moving about, and the drums beat to arms. After some hours' confusion they were calm and quiet. Their works, particularly the St. Paschal's battery, continued to smoke in several places, on the 18th. No ordnance could now be seen in any of the batteries: their fire was rather smart, but no particular object seemed to engage their notice.

Brigadiers Ross and Green were appointed, in the orders of the 20th, to be major-generals in the army; and the next evening General Ross sailed in a boat for Faro, on his return to England. General Green some time afterwards received a letter of service, and Lieutenant Holloway, his brigademajor, was appointed his aide-de-camp. The same day a flag of truce brought over several letters, with money and clothes for the prisoners. At night, the enemy extended the fourth branch in the same direction, toward the western stone guard-house; and several pickets were driven, and fascines laid in the ruins of the batteries, in order to retain the sand, and prevent it being washed down by the rains. The night of the 23rd they raised an epaulment on the top of the centre guard-house, and finished the first line of the new approach from the fourth branch.

Two soldiers of Hardenberg's and

the 72nd regiment, on the 25th, attempted to desert by a rope from Mount Misery: the former got down, though the rope broke; which accident was the cause of the latter being retaken. A few days after, a sergeant of the artificers was ordered to reconnoitre the place where this deserter descended; and he got down far enough to discover the unfortunate man dashed to pieces at the foot of the precipice. The night of the 27th the enemy made several additions to the centre guard-house. The Baron Von Helmstadt being dangerously ill about this period (not in consequence of the amputation he had undergone, but from some inward malady), flags of truce were daily passing and repassing to inform his friends of his dangerous situation. The 28th, the baron died; and the following day his body was carried to the New mole, accompanied by the grenadiers of the 12th regiment, with the usual honours of war, where two barges waited to convey it to the enemy's camp. The governor, and principal officers in the garrison, with Don Vincente, attended the ceremony. The fowls and other refreshments sent by his friends, with the money not used by the baron in his sickness, were also returned, to the most minute article.

The enemy, on the night of the 30th, added to the trench in front of the centre guard-house, which, a few evenings before, they had altered from its original form. Our engineers the same night erected a blind of canvas, &c., in front of Princess Anne's battery (Willis's), which the engineers afterwards caissoned, when their fire became less warm on this new object. Another was afterwards placed before the Princess Amelia's, for the same purpose. The materials with which the works at the northward were now repaired, were collected from the coal-ships that had been run ashore in the New mole after Admiral Darby's departure. The sides of these vessels were cut up, under the direction of the engineers, into large solid pieces, of such form and dimension as the purpose dictated to which they were to be applied. Of these ma-

terials the batteries at Willis's were at this time formed; the angles being connected and secured by strong knees and bolts having transverse pieces within, which were also kneed. When the caissons for the merlons were thus framed, they were filled in the front with layers of junk, and sand-bags behind. The height of the merlons was between ten and eleven feet; and the upper parts were supported by strong beams across the embrasures, forming *hoods* (as the engineers called them) over the muzzles of the cannon: these hoods were three feet deep, and extended about six feet in length over the embrasures; by which improvements the guns were preserved from being broken by the shells in their descent, and the artillery-men on duty were well covered. The solid construction of these new works, and the adoption of a similar mode in repairing the other defences of the garrison, will account, in a great measure, for the general casualties of the troops not being so numerous as might otherwise be expected; and, to evince the permanence of them, no other proof, I imagine, need be adduced, than that upward of 100 shot-holes have been plugged up in the front of one merlon, and yet the battery was not materially damaged.\*

Two ordnance-ships arrived in the course of December. As we are now arrived at the close of the year, it may not be impertinent to insert a return of casuls, from the 12th of April to the 31st of December, 1781, that the reader may have an idea of our general loss in that period.

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\* When the enemy's proceedings afterwards rendered some alterations necessary in the works at Willis's, the ship timber was found very useful in further securing the upper batteries, and in protecting our artillery. The height of the parapets permitted the engineers to erect splinter-proofs between the guns, of curved pieces of timber cut from the bottom of a ship, which were placed against the breasts of the merlons, and made bomb-proof by layers of sand-bags, which also formed a traverse across the battery. By these additions the communications between the ordnance were covered, and the batteries well traversed against the enemy's eastern enfilade-fire.

		Ser'ts.	Drums	Rank & File.	Total.
Killed and dead of wounds . . . . .	3	10	1	108	122
Disabled . . . . .	2	7	1	36	46
Wounded . . . . .	13	22	6	359	400

The new year's day of 1782 was remarkable for an action of gallantry which is worthy of being rescued from oblivion. An officer of artillery at Willis's, observing a shell falling towards the place where he stood, got behind a traverse for protection; which he had scarcely done, ere it fell into the traverse, and instantly entangled him in the rubbish: one of the guard, named Martin, observing his distress, generously risked his own life in defence of his officer, and ran to extricate him; but, finding his own efforts ineffectual, called for assistance; when another of the guard joining him, they relieved the officer from his situation; and almost at the same instant the shell burst, and levelled the traverse to the ground. Martin was afterwards promoted, and rewarded by the governor, who at the same time told him "he should equally have noticed him for relieving his comrade." Several similar instances of heroism occurred during the siege, all of which were equally honourable to the garrison.

The enemy persevered in carrying on their works; the centre guard-house now began to assume a regular figure. The ditch formed three sides of a hexagon, extending to the rear in obtuse angles with the front; and the fascine parapet, joining the building, was lengthened each way. Materials continued to be daily brought down to the lines and advanced works. Their workmen were however considerably annoyed, in repairing the fourth and fifth branches of the approach, from the Old mole head and Moutague's bastion. The ship *St. Philip's Castle*, in government service, arrived on the 4th from Mahon, with dispatches from General Murray: on board her came several prisoners taken by that general in a sally made from Fort *St. Philip's*. The enemy endeavoured to cut her off from the bay, but could not accom-

plish it. She returned to Minorca on the 10th. Since their army had landed at Minorca, the enemy's attention to the eastward was visibly abated; nor did they make so many signals from the tower on the Queen of Spain's Chair as had been their custom formerly. The subsequent evening, our prames made the signal for the approach of the gun-boats: an easterly wind however springing up, they threw up their rockets, and retired. We could not otherwise account for their not firing in an easterly wind, than by imagining they were apprehensive of some accident in their magazines, which, being in the stern of the boat, might run some danger of being blown up by the sparks from the discharge of their ordnance. The night of the 7th, beside making additions to the centre guard-house, the enemy debouched from the fifth branch, and dug a trench about fifteen or twenty yards towards the east. A court of inquiry, on the 8th, sat on Antonio Juanico, the spy who was discovered in the *Faro* boat; and some time afterwards he was ordered to prepare for execution. The governor however at last pardoned him.

The enemy, about this time, removed several guns from the camp to the lines, taking others back. Most of their cannon (we had reason to imagine for some time past) had been greatly damaged by the firing; as the shot, at periods, were observed not to fly with the same velocity as at first. The last deserter said they had spoiled three sets of guns from the commencement of the bombardment. In the night of the 9th, they raised the epaulment joining the centre guard-house; and opened four embrasures, two on each side of the building. They were all masked with fascines, and appeared solely for defence. The night of the 12th, the enemy formed a trench from the débouchure of the fifth branch, to

the front of the ruins of the St. Carlos's battery, toward the western beach: part of it was lined with fascines. They also raised a place d'armes on the east flank of the St. Carlos's battery, joining the fifth branch. At night sailed the Henry and Mercury ordnance-ships to the westward. Don Vincente Freese went passenger in the former for England, with the prisoners taken in our sortie, and those bent by General Murray. About the 14th or 15th, the enemy raised another place d'armes on the west flank of the St. Carlos's battery, and joining the ruins of the St. Paschal's battery; and the subsequent evening strengthened and capped it with fascines. In the night, signals were made in the Gut, and at daybreak two cutters appeared at the entrance of the bay; but the wind blowing somewhat northerly, and dying away, they were driven to leeward by the current: a frigate and 11 gun-boats from Algeziras immediately gave chase, and soon after they were joined by a frigate and xebeque from Centa. The cutters finding it impossible to make the bay, and observing the force of their pursuers, prudently crowded sail to the eastward. In the afternoon some of the gun-boats got within range, and a few rounds were exchanged; but the wind freshening towards sunset, the cutters evidently left the enemy considerably astern. When night prevented us from continuing our observations, they had indeed gained such a distance, that we did not in the least doubt but they would escape.

The enemy had made, for several preceding evenings, considerable additions to the centre redoubt; and on the night of the 17th, they raised a work embracing each extremity of the fascine-ditch which was in the front of it: this post now appeared finished. They likewise raised and threw sand in front of the place d'armes, and brought vast quantities of different materials to their advanced works. Their firing was not at this period remarkable; but as they directed their ordnance principally among our working parties on the hill, we experienced a few casualties. Our batteries in return were well served;

and the fire pointed to all quarters. In the morning of the 18th, just after gun-firing, signals were made from the enemy's advanced works, which were repeated to their camp. The batteries at the same time kept up a brisk fire, all in a low direction. This gave us reason to think they were apprehensive of another sortie: and the following morning the four embrasures in the centre redoubt were unmasked, and animated with four howitzers; and a considerable number of troops left the lines soon after daybreak: all which circumstances served to countenance our conjecture. In the evening of the 20th, the artillery at Willis's discovered a party of the enemy erecting a line of communication from the fourth branch to the centre redoubt. The Old mole head and Montague's were immediately opened on them in addition to the upper batteries; and we plied them so briskly, that the party was obliged to retire about midnight, leaving the work, as the morning evinced, in great confusion. The subsequent night, notwithstanding our fire, they raised and strengthened the new communication. In this duty they were well covered by a brisk fire from the lines; and which, from the repeated volleys discharged, afforded room to think that their workmen had suffered materially the night before.

The night of the 23rd they repaired the parapet of the St. Carlos's battery nine fascines in height, and began to rebuild the magazine in the rear. Great quantities of fascines, &c. were in and about the battery. The succeeding afternoon, about four o'clock, the governor opened the lower batteries on this work, and our fire was exceedingly well served for some hours. The carcasses several times set fire to the fascines, but the enemy as frequently extinguished it: At first their batteries returned our fire sparingly; but receiving a reinforcement of artillery-men from the camp, the cannonade became warm on both sides. Our lower batteries ceased in the evening. The next day the governor renewed his endeavours to burn these works. The carcasses were equally successful as the

preceding day, but their guards and workmen soon extinguished the fire. The Spanish lines returned the cannonade with great vivacity, having in the twenty-four hours discharged 1045 shot and 83 shells: our batteries diminished their fire about four in the afternoon. The carcasses used by the artillery on this occasion were made of the enemy's blind shells, in which were perforated three large holes, and the cavity filled with composition. They were found to answer extremely well; some of them burning fresh a quarter of an hour after the enemy had smothered them with sand, which was the mode they adopted to put them out.

We observed, on the 27th, four large piles of fascines at the eastern extremity of the parallel. We were not at all at a loss to guess their meaning in placing these fascines to the eastward; as it was evident that they wished to draw off our attention as much as possible from the St. Carlos's battery. The manœuvre did not however answer. The following evening, about ten o'clock, arrived the two cutters which had been pursued by the enemy's cruisers to the eastward: the largest of them, called the *Viper*, was of 460 tons burthen, mounted 28 guns, and was esteemed the largest vessel of her kind ever built; the other was the *Lively* of 14 guns; both laden with ordnance stores. They informed us that the evening of the day they were chased through to the east, several of the gun-boats got up and engaged them, but were soon beaten off: at length the wind freshening, the boats were left astern. The breeze, they said, increased to a brisk gale, which, as the gun-boats were some leagues from land, might greatly distress them. This conjecture appeared confirmed, by none of them being observed to have returned to the bay. The night of the 28th, the enemy took down half of the old tower, or windmill, which they probably thought was too conspicuous an object of direction for our artillery in the night: they added also considerably to the St. Carlos's battery, and made some alterations in the centre redoubt, which they palisaded in the rear, and within it hung a

barrier gate. The same night, arrived the Dartmouth Tartar cutter with stores. The night of the 30th, our opponents were observed very busy to the eastward of the centre redoubt. We instantly opened upon them, and drove them from the place. At daybreak we found they had traced out a work of five sides, with a large opening in the rear, and erected before it a screen similar to ours at Willis's, but so injudiciously placed, that the workmen behind were not at all concealed from our upper batteries. This work was never carried on; and the screen some time afterwards was knocked down, and removed. Our engineers, of whom little has been mentioned for some time, were indefatigable in repairing the splinter-proofs, magazines, traverses, and communications, along the north front, which were damaged by the enemy's fire: the King's, Queen's, and Prince's lines had likewise a share in their attention. Parties were also engaged in securing and repairing the skeleton traverses, formed of timber and sand-bags in front of the doors, windows, &c., of the powder-magazines near the New mole; and deposits of fascines, sand, and other materials, were collected in different parts of the garrison.

In the beginning of February, great numbers of mules continued bringing fascines, &c. to the enemy's lines; and, by the number of gabions missing from their fascine park, it was thought they had concealed them in different parts of the approaches for new works. The St. Carlos's battery appeared nearly completed: it consisted of an epaulment with two shoulders; five dodging traverses were erected in the rear, and behind them two larger ones for magazines: the latter, however, were not of the same form as those erected before. A gate was also hung at the opening of the fifth branch, and the places d'armes, on each flank of the battery, seemed finished. Part of the parallel joining the fifth branch, in extent about 40 yards, was likewise lined with fascines, and repaired. In this state were their works near the tower, when, on the night of the 2nd, they restored the

western part of the St. Martin's battery, making only five embrasures to open upon the town and Waterport. Our firing was pretty smart at this period; but their artillery did not exceed 100 or 150 rounds in the twenty-four hours.

In this tedious and uninteresting manner affairs proceeded; every night the besiegers making some trifling addition to their advanced works. The afternoon of the 7th, one of their shells set fire to a magazine-box on the Queen's battery (Willis's), in which were a few loaded small shells and cartridges. These instantly blew up, and fired an adjoining gun, but did not the smallest injury to the officers, or any of the guard, though the former were close to it when the accident happened. On hearing the explosion, the enemy immediately increased their fire, and continued it the remainder of the evening. The enemy added, on the night of the 10th, another embrasure to the new battery; and two nights following, they prolonged the parallel about 40 yards to the eastward. Vast quantities of materials were at this time scattered in various parts of their works.

The afternoon of the 15th, some practice was made from a gun mounted upon a new-constructed depressing carriage, the invention of Lieutenant Koehler, of the Royal Artillery, which was highly approved of by the governor and other officers present. The gun was fixed in a bed of timber, the under side of which was a plane parallel to the axis of the piece: from this bed, immediately under the centre of gravity, projected a spindle eight inches in diameter. This spindle passed through a groove formed for its reception in a plank, the upper side of which was also a plane: upon this under-piece the bed and gun recoiled, being attached to it by a key passing through the spindle. The bed and gun by these means were at liberty to move round upon the axis of the spindle, and when fired, slid upon the under plank in the line directed by the groove. The under-piece was then connected, by a strong hinge in front, to two cheeks of a common garrison

carriage, cut down to be little higher than the trucks. The gun could be laid to any degree of depression under 20 degrees, by a common quoin resting upon the cheeks of the carriage; but when greater depression was necessary, two upright timbers, with indented steps, were fixed to the cheeks; by which, with the assistance of a movable plank, to slide in upon the steps, and a quoin, the back part of the plank, upon which the gun slid, was elevated at pleasure by iron pins in the uprights; and the gun depressed to any angle above 20 and under 70 degrees.

Many advantages, beside that of immediate depression, resulted to the artillery from this invention. The carriage, when the gun was depressed, seldom moved; the gun sliding upon the plank to which the bed was attached by the spindle; and returning to its former place with the most trifling assistance. When the shot was discharged, and the bed with the gun had recoiled to the extremity of the groove, the matross, by turning round the gun to lie horizontally across the carriage (which was done with the greatest facility), was also enabled to load under cover of the merlon, unexposed to the enemy's fire, and avoided the difficulty of ramming the shot upwards. It equally allowed the gun to be fired at point blank; and (by turning the muzzle to the back part of the carriage) at every elevation, to 45 degrees, but in that state did not particularly excel. As to the accuracy of the depressing shot, no farther proof need be adduced, than that, out of 30 rounds, 28 shot took place in one traverse in the St. Carlos's battery, at the distance of near 1400 yards.

A polacre had arrived on the 15th; and on the 17th, came in the Flying-fish cutter, with ordnance stores: the latter was opposed, and engaged in the bay by a frigate, a xebec, and three gun-boats; but got in, by perseverance and superior skill, without a single man killed or wounded. At night, a party of the enemy was discovered at the eastern extremity of the parallel; and a brisk fire was immediately pointed to the spot. At daybreak, we

remarked they had traced out with fascines a work (of five sides, leaving the gorge open) at the west return from the parallel. It appeared to be for another redoubt. About the morning gun-fire, a brig was hailed from Europa, and answered, "from Cork:" finding she was a friend, the captain was directed to anchor at the Mole; but, imagining the ships, as before the war, remained at Waterport, he passed our prames, and did not discover his error till he had gone too far to return: he was consequently obliged to put about, and the vessel grounded at the back of the *Old mole*. When the enemy observed her in the morning, the Black battery and Fort St. Philip directed a smart fire upon her; but, though it was continued the whole day, not a shot struck the hull. Captain Curtis brought away the crew, and at night went with several boats, and cut away her masts: part of her cargo was also removed; but the greater portion of it was damaged by the sea-water. In the evening, Waterport guard was reinforced with a picket.

The enemy, on the night of the 18th, added five embrasures to the gun battery, and left a space, seemingly for two others. This addition made it appear as if they intended the whole for one battery, which before was divided into two. Great quantities of materials were dispersed in various parts of their works, and brushwood continued to be brought into their camp from the country. The succeeding night they erected an epaulment of 39 casks long, faced with fascines, within the hexagon figure, at the extremity of the parallel. The front work was also raised, and a ditch, extending along the front of the parallel to the east flank of the St. Carlos's, lined with fascines. They worked also on the platforms of the new battery. The morning of the 20th, 10 gun-boats returned to Algeziras from the east: they were supposed to be the same which had chased the Viper and Lively cutters. Intelligence from Portugal mentioned that several of them had been lost in the gale which sprung up the same evening: we were rather dis-

appointed therefore to see so many return. In the evening the Viper, Lively, and Dartmouth Tartar cutters, sailed for England. About the time of their departure, a traverse in the St. Carlos's was set on fire by our artillery, which produced a smart cannonade for some hours. The succeeding day, another traverse was set on fire, and burnt for some time. The enemy always behaved with great spirit on these occasions. The night of the 21st they completed their gun battery, which now presented to us 13 embrasures: they likewise repaired the damage done by the fire.

About noon on the 23rd, several signals were made at Cabrita Point, which brought out a frigate and a xebecque from Algeziras. Soon after, we observed a vessel standing into the bay with a flowing sail. The xebecque passed her astern; but the frigate bore down, and appeared as if she intended to board. The vessel, however, in coming abreast, threw in so well-directed a broadside, that the Spaniard was greatly confused, and fell astern. The frigate afterwards wore, and returned the salute; but the vessel was at such a distance that no damage was received. On her arrival at the New mole, to our surprise we found her to be the Mercury ordnance-ship, which had left the bay in January, and, as we imagined, was bound to England. Several inhabitants, supposing the same, had taken their passage on board her for England; and never discovered their mistake, till, to their great mortification, they found, on their entrance into the Straits, the unpleasant shores of Spain and Barbary, instead of the exhilarating coast of Britain. Captain Heington, who commanded her, on leaving the garrison, had secret orders to put into Lisbon, where he was to take in a cargo of various articles, and return, which orders he had directions not to divulge to any person, lest the enemy, by their emissaries, should get information of the plan, and waylay him in his voyage back. He accordingly put into Lisbon, and took in his cargo of wine and fruit. When everything was completed, he pretended



some further business would still delay him, and pressed the passengers to embrace the opportunity of the packet, and sail for England. They however approved of their accommodation too well to remove; and Captain Heington was reluctantly obliged to bring them back to the garrison. The governor did not suffer the gallant conduct of Captain Heington to pass unrewarded, but generously presented him with a handsome *douceur*, and strongly recommended him to the Admiralty for promotion; which accordingly succeeded. On the afternoon in which the *Mercury* arrived, the enemy fired a grand feu-de-joie in camp, commencing with a salute from the lines. They repeated the fire a fourth time; which led us to imagine they had gained some advantage at Minorca; and we afterwards found that our apprehensions had been too well founded.

The enemy's ships in the bay were reinforced on the 24th and 25th with a frigate, four or five xebèques, and several armed settees; part of which probably had been employed to block up the port of Mahon. The morning of the 25th, arrived the *St. Ann*, ordnance-ship, with a supply of powder, and two gun-boats, on a new construction, in frames. We were informed by her that the *Vernon* store-ship, under convoy of a frigate, was on her passage for Gibraltar, with ten other gun-boats on board. The following morning we observed the enemy had entirely new-faced the eastern epaulment, and raised it to the height of eight fascines. They also worked on the magazine of the *St. Martin's* battery, and debouched from the centre of the parallel, throwing up a trifling line extending towards the south-west. The 27th, four rows of ten tents each were pitched in the rear of the Catalanian camp. We imagined they were occupied by the artillery cadets. At night the enemy added several traverses to their thirteen-gun battery. Beside the arrivals already noted, three other vessels and several boats came in in the course of the month.

The 1st of March a flag of truce went to the enemy, in answer to one from them some days before. The

Spanish officer who received the packet informed us that Fort *St. Philip*, in Minorca, had surrendered on the 5th of February. The succeeding day, a carcass set fire to the enemy's thirteen-gun battery, which continued blazing for two hours. On their attempting to extinguish the fire, we plied them so briskly, that several were killed and most of them driven from their work; but their usual gallantry at last prevailed. At night they raised a place d'armes at the western extremity of the thirteen-gun battery. These defensive works demonstrated that they were determined to provide as much as possible against another sortie. The following night they repaired the damage done by the fire. The carpenters of the navy, on the 4th, laid the keel of one of the new gun-boats. The 6th, six rows of tents, ten in each row, were pitched in the rear of the second line of the enemy's camp, near the horse-barrack. A large party was also employed in making a road from the beach to the barrack, and others were engaged in landing shells and different ordnance. These, with other appearances, bespoke a determined resolution to prosecute the siege. Our governor, on the other hand, with unwearied attention employed the garrison in repairing, and putting in the best order of defence, the upper batteries, and other works which had suffered from the continued bombardment of the enemy. The bridge in the ditch at Landport was likewise pulled down, and other alterations took place in that quarter. The enemy, on the 8th, raised one face of the eastern redoubt several fascines in height; and from the noise heard the preceding night, we imagined they also finished platforms in their batteries. The day following, Lieutenant Cuppage, of the Royal Artillery, was dangerously wounded on the Royal battery, from a splinter of a small shell, which burst immediately after being discharged from the rock gun above and in the rear of the Royal battery: this was the second accident of the same nature. The 11th a frigate and xebèque passed to the west, with six top-sail vessels, supposed to be part of the late Minorca

garrison. The night of the 13th the enemy traced out a work within the western place d'armes of the St. Carlos's battery, apparently with an intention of extending the epaulment. The firing on both sides was now considerably increased; that from the enemy amounted on an average to about 300 rounds in the twenty-four hours.

The operations of the besiegers still continued tedious. On the 16th they palisaded the gorge of the centre redoubt, and on the 18th began to pitch a new camp near the grand magazine on the beach. At night they erected the epaulment of St. Paschal's mortar battery, and raised three traverses in the rear. Lieutenant White, of the 56th, was slightly wounded on the 16th. On the night of the 20th the St. Paschal's battery was raised three fascines. At night the wind blew so strong a gale, that the new windmill, on Windmill-hill, took fire from the violence of the friction, and was burnt to the ground. The 22nd the enemy made some trifling additions, and fixed a barrier-gate at the extremity of the fourth branch of approach. The subsequent evening, a little before midnight, we were gratified with the safe arrival of the Vernon store-ship, having on board the remaining ten gun-boats and other materials for the garrison. Some hours after, the Cerberus and Apollo frigates, Captains Mann and Hamilton, with four transports, having the 97th regiment on board, anchored under our guns.

The Vernon's arrival may be considered as truly fortunate, since no less than thirty Spanish men-of-war of different force were out purposely to intercept her and the Success frigate, Captain Pole, her convoy. Some leagues to the westward of the Straits they fell in with a forty-gun frigate, which had left our (blockade) station, and was one of the above-mentioned cruisers. A warm action consequently commenced; but the Spaniard, finding the Vernon well armed, and that she boldly bore down to support the Success, after an engagement of several glasses, in which the Vernon had a considerable share, thought proper to submit. On board

the prize were found papers describing the Vernon to the most minute part of her rigging, at the same time mentioning the officers' names who were passengers, and every particular article of her cargo; and from the prisoners we learned the number of ships which were cruising to intercept her. Captain Pole afterwards burned the Santa Catalina, and separated from the Vernon on the appearance of the Cerberus with her convoy, which he mistook for the enemy's cruisers. The Vernon therefore proceeded alone for the garrison, and, at the entrance of the Straits, in the evening, fell in with, and indeed was surrounded by, the enemy's ships; but, happily, the sky prognosticating a rough night, and she tacking at the same time they did, they supposed her a friend, and stood in for the high land; and at dusk she altered her course, and was soon safe in her destined port. Lieutenant-Colonel Gledstanes, of the 72nd regiment, and other officers, came in her as passengers, with recruits for the different regiments in the garrison. The next day the 97th regiment, commanded by Colonel Stanton, disembarked 700 complete, and were immediately quartered in Scud-hill and Rosia barracks. This regiment soon after became very sickly, and, though they were attended to with the greatest care by the governor and officers, in a few months many of them died, and the rest were of little assistance to the garrison before September.

The enemy, on the night of the 24th, were discovered, from Willis's, at work in the front of the epaulment, at the eastern extremity of the parallel; a few rounds of grape, however, quickly drove them under cover: they made several attempts to proceed, but were as constantly obliged to retire. The succeeding morning we observed they had employed parties in other parts of their works. The communication to the centre redoubt was raised, many traverses were erected behind the fourth approach, and a considerable quantity of fascines and other materials brought down to their works. In the forenoon of the 25th, the Spanish officers belonging to the Santa Catalina, who were

brought to the garrison in the Vernon, were sent by a flag of truce into Spain on their parole. In the course of the day a shot came through one of the capped embrasures on Princess Amelia's battery (Willis's), took off the legs of two men belonging to the 72nd and 73rd regiments, one leg of a soldier of the 73rd, and wounded another man in both legs; thus four men had seven legs taken off and wounded by one shot. The boy, who was usually stationed on the works where a large party was employed to inform the men when the enemy's fire was directed to that place, had been reproving them for their carelessness in not attending to him, and had just turned his head toward the enemy, when he observed this shot, and instantly called for them to take care; his caution was, however, too late; the shot entered the embrasure, and had the above-recited fatal effect. It is somewhat singular that this boy should be possessed of such uncommon quickness of sight as to see the enemy's shot almost immediately after they quitted the guns. He was not, however, the only one in the garrison possessing this qualification; another boy of about the same age was as celebrated, if not his superior. Both of them belonged to the Artificer company, and were constantly placed on some part of the works to observe the enemy's fire; their names were Richardson and Brand; the former was reputed to have the best eye.\*

The night of the 25th, the enemy extended their parallel in a continued direction with the old work about one hundred yards, with casks and fascines, banked up with sand in front. The succeeding evening, we perceived seven-

ral guns in the St. Martin's battery; and it was imagined, that ordnance were brought forward for the other batteries. The night of the 26th, they began merlons for six embrasures in the eastern redoubt, two in each face opening on the Devil's Tower, Lines, and Old mole: they also lengthened the parallel, and strengthened that part which was raised the preceding night. The 28th, they scaled several guns and mortars in the advanced batteries; and the following day, we concluded, they mounted all their ordnance, as their working parties gave a general huzza, and then withdrew for the day.

Our opponents at this time scarcely expended more than 200 rounds in the 24 hours; but we frequently saluted them with double that number in that period. The night of the 28th and 29th, the enemy lined with fascines the prolongation of the parallel, and erected five traverses in the eastern redoubt. Their batteries near the tower now appeared to be completed; the fourth month being just expired since they had been destroyed. The 31st, being a grand festival, our batteries were double manned, expecting the besiegers would open their advanced batteries; but not firing, the reinforcement was remanded at noon. In the evening, about six o'clock, a shell set fire to the flank of the eastern redoubt, and, the flame being assisted with a brisk discharge, burned rapidly for some hours: at last, however, the enemy extinguished it. The succeeding morning, we perceived that they had covered with sand the part which had taken fire, and a number of fascines were lying in great confusion about the work. The same night, a boat came in from Portugal with sheep, oranges, lemons, and fowls: two others also arrived in the course of the month.

On the evening of the 1st of April, a soldier of the 39th regiment deserted from Landport: several hundred rounds of musketry and grape were discharged at him, some of which it is imagined took effect, as he dropped just before he got to the St. Carlos's battery, and was carried into the work by seven of the guard. At dusk, a volunteer of

\* These boys were afterwards patronized by some officers of their corps, and, being found quick and very intelligent, were placed in the engineer's drawing-room, and eventually obtained commissions in the corps of engineers. One of the works of these young men, while pursuing their studies at Woolwich, was to finish the large model of the Rock of Gibraltar, which formerly stood in the model-room there, and was much admired for beauty of execution and minute correctness. It was destroyed in the fire by which that building was consumed. Richardson and Brand both died of yellow fever in the West Indies.

Arragon came over to us: he brought his arms and some necessaries, which, with other circumstances, occasioned a suspicion of his being a spy. He reported that the enemy had suffered considerably in restoring their batteries; upward of 400 being killed, and nearly as many more wounded. The eastern redoubt, he informed us, was called the Mahon battery. The enemy, on the 2nd, began to pitch tents in rear of the Walon guards: they were afterwards increased to six double rows, capable of quartering a battalion of infantry.

As grates for heating shot were distributed on the different northern batteries in the beginning of this month, we imagined the governor intended applying red-hot shot against the enemy's works, which appeared now complete. We were however disappointed; they were still reserved as a *bonne bouche*, for the closing of the scene.

The night of the 5th, the enemy erected, at the extremity of the parallel, a place d'armes, of four sides, one of which was the parallel lengthened, the other three extending in obtuse angles to the rear. The 6th, Colonel Stanton was appointed a brigadier-general; and Captain Blanckley, of the 97th regiment, his brigade-major. The 8th, we perceived some tents pitched upon the plain beneath the ruins of Carteia; and the following day this camp was increased with five double rows of tents: a regiment in white took possession in the evening. The 9th, a regiment in blue marched into the new camp, pitched the 2nd of this month. The same day all the carpenters of the regiments in garrison (those of the 97th regiment excepted) were ordered, with a hundred additional real men, into the King's works. At night the enemy made some alterations near St. Paschal's battery, and strengthened the place d'armes at the extremity of the parallel. The 10th, Lieutenant Wetham, of the 12th regiment, was killed by a splinter of a shell, marching at the head of the spur-guard up the ramp, from Landport ditch. His servant also lost his arm, and the drummer had his drum

broken to pieces: but the rest of the guard escaped. This young officer being much liked, his death was much regretted; and it seemed particularly unfortunate, as the enemy only fired that fatal shell, and one shot, in the earlier part of the day.

A Faro boat arrived on the 11th from Portugal, with dispatches for the governor. A private letter, sent from Lisbon by this boat, communicated to us most important intelligence: it mentioned, that great preparations were making at Cadiz, and in the Mediterranean ports, for a most vigorous attack on Gibraltar; and that the Duc de Crillon, who had lately taken St. Philip's, was to command with 20,000 French and Spanish troops, in addition to what were at present before the garrison; with Monsieur d'Arçon, a French engineer of great eminence and abilities; and Admiral Don Bonaventura Moreno, with 10 sail of the line, beside floating-batteries, gun and mortar boats, &c. &c. The truth of this intelligence we little doubted, as many circumstances now occurred daily that served to confirm it. The enemy's cannonade, in the course of the 12th, was singular indeed: from six in the morning to sunset, they fired every two or three minutes a single gun or mortar; and being the anniversary of their bombardment, it appeared still more extraordinary. Some jocular persons in the garrison remarked, that perhaps they were commemorating the day with fasting and prayer, and by their minute-guns expressing their sorrow, that so many thousand barrels of powder, and rounds of ammunition, should have been expended to so little purpose. Their firing from the 12th gradually decreased, for about a week; when, for a few nights, they fired brisker than usual. It afterwards diminished to about a hundred rounds on an average in the 24 hours, and scarcely exceeded that number during the remainder of the month. Their fascine parties continued to be actively employed preparing materials in their parks; and long strings of mules were constantly removing them to the lines and advanced batteries. Throughout

their camp new life seemed to be infused into the troops: instead of that inactive languor which had so long prevailed in all their operations, every person now appeared in motion.

The morning of the 16th we remarked that the enemy had repaired the eastern part of the Mahon battery, which had been burnt down the latter end of the preceding month. Some other trifling additions were also made to this work. The 20th arrived the Antigallican ordnance-ship from England. The nights of the 21st and 22nd the enemy's parties added some further repairs to the Mahon battery: they also raised a small work near the tower, and erected several traverses in various parts of the parallel. The 24th one of our new gun-boats, which had been launched on the 18th, was tried with an eighteen-pounder on board; and the practice met with the approbation of the governor and officers of the navy. As a person was sent out in the Vernon to superintend their construction, the keels of several other boats after his arrival were immediately laid on the stocks; and the carpenters, being now acquainted with the marks, proceeded with confidence and expedition: four or five more therefore were in great forwardness. We observed about this time numbers of boats passing and re-passing between Algeziras and Point Mala; and two ships in the river Palmones, which we imagined were fitting out as fire-ships: precautions were therefore taken to render them ineffectual, in case they resolved on another attempt to burn our frigates. The 25th, a little before daybreak, a deserter came in from the enemy: he was a native of Arragon, and comrade to the last: he confirmed our information from Lisbon respecting the intended attack, under the command of the Duc de Crillon; adding, that they had resolved to make the principal attack by sea; for which purpose large ships were to be fitted up in a peculiar manner with junk, cork, &c. The new camp, near Rocardillo Point, he said, was occupied by the regiment of Cordova infantry, lately arrived from Centa.

Though their camp had been considerably reinforced within the preceding six weeks, yet we could not observe that they had made any addition to their advanced guards, which continued to be about the same number as mentioned some months before. The 28th they raised the merlons of the Mahon battery with sand-bags. In the course of the day they brought down two guns from their artillery park to Fort Tonara, whither they had carried four the preceding day. The 30th they began laying platforms in the Mahon battery: on the same day we launched our second gun-boat. Seven more were on the stocks.

In the beginning of May the enemy repaired the west branch of the St. Carlos's, which fell down some time before, and made some alterations in the Black battery. Several hundred mules came likewise with clay to the lines. From seven in the evening of the 4th, to the same hour the succeeding afternoon, both the garrison and the enemy were silent. This was the first twenty-four hours in which there had been no firing for the space of nearly thirteen months.

The evening of the 7th the Cerberus and Apollo frigates, with four transports and four ordnance-ships, sailed for England. The succeeding morning we observed that three of the transports were captured, and, in company with the enemy's cruisers, were then turning to windward. In the afternoon of the 9th, a line-of-battle ship, with seven large vessels and a few polacres and tartans, arrived in the bay from the west, and anchored at Algeziras. At dusk the large vessels, which appeared to be the old men-of-war or galleons, hauled close in shore. The governor, at night, ordered a picket to reinforce Waterport guard. The enemy still continued discharging about a hundred rounds every twenty-four hours; and their parties as well as ours were employed in making trifling additions and repairs. The arrival of the above-mentioned shipping at Algeziras occasioned various conjectures: from many circumstances we had reason to imagine they were intended for the attack

by sea, which was meditating against the garrison. The governor and chief engineer's attention consequently became engaged toward the sea-line: the beach behind the Old mole was fortified with a row of sloping palisades; Waterport gateway was well barricaded, and a chevaux-de-frise ordered to be got ready to place at the foot of Landport glacis: the ramp in the ditch was likewise removed; and those batteries on the sea-line, which they conceived might probably be opposed to the enemy's attack, were inspected, and put in the best order of defence.

The enemy, about the 12th, removed and made a new arrangement of their ordnance in the forts and batteries along the coasts: we supposed they were changing them for others of a larger calibre. The 14th several of the large ships at Algeiras struck their yards and top-masts, and a great number of men appeared on board them; which movements left us no longer to doubt that they were intended to be fitted up as floating batteries for the grand attack: this opinion was confirmed in the afternoon, by their beginning to cut down the poops of two of them. The subsequent day three store-ships, the *Queen Charlotte*, *Leonora*, and *Charles*, arrived from England with powder, shells, bedding, and timber. Three gun-boats, on their appearance in the Gut, went from the point to speak them; but, the ships hoisting French colours, and standing for Algeiras, the boats were deceived, and returned: the false colours were soon after struck, and British displayed; and they arrived without opposition. The new gun-boats which were launched were on this occasion of particular service; and before night 1900 barrels of powder were secured in our magazines. The enemy on the 17th opened thirteen large port-holes in the larboard side of one of the ships at Algeiras, and seven in another.

Their operations now in the advanced works almost totally ceased; their whole attention seemed occupied by the ships at Algeiras, and by arrangements in their camp. Cannon and a variety of military stores were

landed beyond Point Mala, and a strong party was employed in erecting a large building near the landing-place, which we conjectured was for an hospital. The firing on both sides varied as circumstances directed. Three men of the 58th regiment were missing on the 19th; and, a party being immediately sent in quest of them, their bodies were found dashed to pieces behind the rock; the rope by which they were to have descended being maul yards too short. The enemy were very active about their ships; eleven port-holes were opened in the side of a third; and, on the 21st, they began to strengthen their larboard sides with some materials which appeared like junk. The elasticity and resistance of this article rendered it very eligible for the purpose. On the land side they continued collecting brushwood from all parts of the country, and had strong parties at work making fascines. At the landing-place stores of every species were daily disembarked. On the other hand, the garrison, with unwearied assiduity, made various dispositions to repel their attack. The sloping palisades at Waterport by this time were finished, and the gateway barricaded, excepting a small passage for the wicket. To this post the governor seemed particularly to attend. The intentions of the enemy were no longer mysterious: every preparation was therefore made to give them a warm reception: an additional number of grates for heating shot were made and distributed along the line-wall; and the navy lowered their yards and topmasts, to be in readiness to act on shore at a moment's notice.

A privateer xebecque arrived on the 25th from Leghorn, with a Corsican officer and 12 privates, who came to offer their services as volunteers during the approaching attack; which the governor accepted, and ordered them to be entertained by different regiments till the others arrived, who, they informed us, were on their passage. In the evening a large building, to the east of the Catalonian camp, took fire, and was totally consumed: it had formerly been a barrack, but was now, as the deserters informed us, a granary

for forage and corn. We numbered at this time upward of 100 pieces of cannon in the artillery park of the enemy. The 25th the engineers began to mine a gallery from a place above Farrington's battery (Willis's), to communicate through the rock to a notch or projection of the rock, below Green's Lodge, in which the governor proposed to make a battery. The 26th another vessel arrived from Algiers, and brought letters, acquainting us that it was universally believed in Spain, that the garrison, from the magnitude of the preparations for the attack, inevitably must be taken before the end of July. The same day about noon a large fleet appeared from the east, upward of 100 sail of which we observed in the evening enter the bay, and anchor between the river Palmones and Algeziras. The succeeding morning we were enabled to make our observations on them: three were large and armed, one of them with a flag at her mizen: the rest were ships with troops on board, and small polacres and settees, supposed from their appearance to be laden with stores. In the course of the 27th, 28th, and 29th, they landed, it was imagined, about 12 battalions; which, calculated at about 750 to each battalion, amounted to about 9000 men, if the regiments were complete. As the troops disembarked, they encamped in the rear of the second line, extending toward the horse-barrack now called Buena Vista, which, we understood from the last deserters, had been fitted up for the commander-in-chief's quarters: others of them occupied the ground on the left of the first line, and on the right of the Catalonians, in an obtuse direction up the hill toward the Queen of Spain's Chair. Large parties were detached to land the military stores.

A flag of truce came from the enemy on the 28th, with a letter from Mr. Anderson, a merchant who had left the garrison some days before, and had been taken on his passage to Faro. Before the purport of the flag was known, the governor, speaking to the officers near him, said "he supposed the duke was arrived, and had sent to

summon the garrison; but he should give him a short answer, No,—No, and hoped the gentlemen" (addressing himself to the officers present) "would all support him." He had not, however, an opportunity of being so spiritedly laconic. The day following we perceived a new encampment between the Catalonians and the left of the first line, and great additions were made to those mentioned before. Six of their battering-ships were now in hand, and an universal activity was observed throughout their camp. The firing on both sides varied very little: if there were any difference in the number of rounds, the garrison had the advantage. Our engineers at this time were employed in repairing the damaged and uneven platforms on the sea-line batteries, and the artillery in disposing of the heavy ordnance where they would act with greater execution and effect. Scarce a day now passed but vessels of all denominations arrived in the bay, at the enemy's camp, the generality of which seemed laden with military stores and materials for the siege.

June did not commence with anything extraordinary. The 2nd Brigadier Stanton died of a coup de soleil. The enemy, the following day, pitched several large tents to the southward of Algeziras, for the accommodation of the workmen employed in fitting up their ships. The 4th, being his Majesty's birthday, the last of our new gun-boats was launched; and at noon the whole fired a salute, commencing with a salvo of 44 guns shotted, from the north front of the garrison: the enemy's batteries instantly returned our land-fire, and in so smart a manner as to convince us they had prepared to retaliate. The following are the names of the gun-boats, and ships from which they were manned:—

*From the Brilliant frigate.*

Revenge . .	one 24-pounder	21 men
Defiance . .	one 24 do.	21 do.
Resolution .	one 18 do.	21 do.
Swiftfire . .	one 18 do.	21 do.
Dreadnought	one 18 do.	21 do.
Thunder . .	one 18 do.	21 do.

*From the Porcupine frigate.*

Europa . . .	one 24 pounder	21 men
Terrible . . .	one 18 do.	21 do.
Fury . . .	one 18 do.	21 do.
Scourge . . .	one 18 do.	21 do.
Terror . . .	one 18 do.	21 do.

*From the Speedwell cutter.*

Vengeance .	one 18 do.	21 do.
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On the 5th, three rows of double tents, ten in each row, were pitched near Barcelo's battery, at Algeziras. Mr. McGregor, a volunteer in the 73rd, was wounded the same day by a shell, of which article the enemy's artillery, within a day or two, had been more profuse than usual. The 6th, Captain Wideburg of Reden's was wounded in the Queen's lines. On the 7th, our artillery practised from the King's bastion, with red-hot shot, against the Irishman's brig, which was stranded at the back of the Old mole. In the first round, whilst one of the artillerymen was putting in the shot, the fire by some means immediately communicated to the cartridge, and the unfortunate man was blown from the embrasure in some hundred pieces: two others were also slightly wounded with the unexpected recoil of the carriage. The practice after this accident was discontinued. In the evening, a shell fell into a quarter in town, and carried away part of a chair, in which Ensign McKenzie, of the 73rd, was sitting: it immediately burst in the room below, and lifted him and the chair from the floor, without farther injury.

The enemy's inactivity in their advanced batteries was sufficiently compensated by their diligence and celerity at Algeziras: six ships were now in great forwardness, and on the 10th they began upon another. Of this interval of tranquillity, as we may call it (though the enemy had not quite discontinued their fire), the governor took advantage, and employed it with indefatigable zeal in completing the works of the garrison. New batteries bearing on Waterport, which appeared to be his grand object of defence, were opened in the Moorish castle; a caissoned battery was also erected at Upper Forbes's, and some alterations made in the lines;

movable palisades, with casks of earth, sand, &c. were distributed in various parts along the line-wall, to be ready in case a breach should be effected; and the outworks at Landport underwent some advantageous alterations. Two or three men about this time attempted to desert; but they were all retaken.

On the 11th, between ten and eleven o'clock, an unlucky shell from the enemy fell through the splinter-proof, at the door of the magazine on Princess Anne's battery (Willis's), and bursting, communicated to the powder, which instantly blew up. The explosion was so violent as to shake the whole rock, and throw the materials on both sides an almost incredible way into the sea. Three merlons on the west flank of the battery, with several unfortunate men who had run behind them for shelter, were forced down from the level of the platforms into the Prince's lines, which, with the Queen's below, were almost filled with rubbish. Another magazine near it happily escaped, though the door was thrown open by the explosion. Our loss by this dreadful accident was chiefly among the workmen who were employed on the flank of the battery: 1 drummer, and 13 rank and file, were killed; 3 serjeants, 3 drummers, and 9 rank and file, wounded. Immediately after the report of the explosion, and on the appearance of the large column of smoke, the enemy gave a loud huzza; their drums beat to arms in the camp; and some persons aver that their first line assembled, and were actually on their march towards Fort St. Philip, but afterwards returned. As the engineers, after the accident, got together the remains of the party, to effectually secure the magazine which had so miraculously escaped, the enemy continued the cannonade the remainder of the day; and, as if fate was resolved at that particular time to sport with our anxiety, in the course of this firing two other shells fell upon the remaining magazine, and one into the very splinter-proof in front of the door. Happily the latter did not go through; for if it had, this magazine might have shared



the fate of its neighbour, and the whole of the batteries at Willis's have probably been materially injured. Princess Anne's battery, the flank of it excepted, was not considerably damaged; the caissoned merlons were much shaken, and the battery filled with rubbish. However before night the whole was cleared away, and several rounds fired from that battery, as well as from the other batteries, to convince the enemy that the misfortune was not of so much importance as they probably imagined. Indeed, from so dreadful an accident it was wonderful that the injury was not of greater consequence.

The navy, on the 13th, under the direction of the engineers, began to caisson the west face of the New mole fort. About sunset, a soldier of the 58th regiment, who had lately joined in the Vernon, deserted from Landport: at night a picket was ordered to reinforce that guard. The 14th, a French frigate, with 18 or 19 polacres, &c. arrived in the bay. The same afternoon, a xebecque, returning to Algeziras, from the east, stood in so close to the garrison, that she was perplexed by the eddy-winds, and remained a considerable time stationary. The garrison fired upon her, and the gun-boats were manned, and rowed out to attack her; but two of the enemy's boats, coming to her assistance, towed her head round; and soon after a breeze carried her out of all danger. If our boats had got out a little earlier, she might have been roughly handled; and some were sanguine enough to think she might have been taken.

As boats were constantly detached by the navy at nightfall, to row guard at some distance from the garrison, and give information of the approach of the gun-boats, or any other vessels, curiosity often prompted them to approach the enemy's shore; and for some preceding nights they reported, that they heard, at Algeziras, a noise like that of men hard at work; whence we concluded, their impatience to finish their battering-ships made them embrace all opportunities, both by day and night. The 16th, a new camp was observed

between the grand magazine and the Orange-grove. The battalion which occupied it were supposed to be disembarked from the small convoy which arrived on the 14th. At night, a noise of boats was distinctly heard from our prames, at some distance in the bay; it however ceased on a gun being fired towards that quarter. This circumstance occasioned new signals to be appointed for the prames. The 97th regiment, on the 17th, for the first time, gave a picket of 40 men. The following day, Hardenberg's regiment was ordered, in case of an alarm, to act with the 58th at Europa, instead of marching to town. In the afternoon, a French convoy, of upwards of 60 sail, under 3 frigates, anchored in the bay, off the Guadalaranque, from the east. As most of the ships had troops on board, we concluded it was the French reinforcement, of which we had received previous information. It proved to be a detachment from the French army, which had succeeded in the capture of Minorea a short time before. The following evening, several Spanish and French general officers, with their suites, visited the lines; where they remained, excepting one general, who, accompanied by an artillery-officer and an engineer, came forward to the advanced works, and stood some time in front of the St. Martin's battery. At this time a group of those who remained in the lines were assembled on the glacis: our artillery thought proper to give them a shot, which the general in the advanced works probably took as a hint to retire; for he immediately pulled off his hat, and returned into the battery. This circumstance served to confirm us in our conjectures that the reinforcement was French; and it was computed to be about 5000 men. Soon after the above fleet arrived, 5 gun-boats approached very near the town, apparently out, of bravado, to demonstrate to their new friends how contemptuously they considered us; but, a few rounds taking effect, they retired in great confusion, and most likely paid dear for their arrogance. The 20th and 21st, the French troops disembarked, and encamped to the east of

the stone quarry, immediately under the Queen of Spain's Chair.

As affairs were daily becoming more interesting, the serjeants, and such drummers of the garrison as were able, were ordered, in case of alarm, to turn out with firelocks and accoutrements; which were accordingly delivered to the different regiments from the grand store. The governor seemed determined to have no idle hands in the place at such a critical time. Musicians, who before had been exempted from duty, also returned to the use of the firelock and shovel.

The morning of the 21st, two Genoese, formerly inhabitants of the garrison, who had been taken by the

enemy in a settee bound for Gibraltar, made their escape in a boat from a prison-ship at Algeziras. They informed us that the grand attack was fixed to be in September; but that all, both sailors and soldiers, were much averse to the enterprise. In the afternoon, two general officers again visited the lines; and we remarked their guards did not relieve at their usual hour, but probably came down after twilight. From the 19th to the 21st, the enemy's fire daily diminished; and on the 22nd, about five in the evening, their batteries were totally silent. This sudden cessation induced us to conclude that the Duc de Crillon had assumed the command of the combined army.

## CHAPTER VII.

Spaniards very active in completing their battering-ships—The nephew of the celebrated Corsican general, Pascal Paoli, arrives at Gibraltar, and offers, with others of his countrymen, to act as a volunteer during the siege—Enemy, after great preparations, commence the additional works on the isthmus—Letters between the Duc de Crillon and General Eliott—Enemy's works are by accident set on fire, which induces the duke to protect them by a temporary cannonade—The British seamen landed and formed into a marine brigade—Active operations of the besiegers—Some of the battering-ships remove to the Orange-grove, where the enemy begin to assemble their maritime force—Lieut. General Boyd recommends an immediate trial of hot shot, the success of which provokes the enemy to open their new batteries before they are completed—The combined fleets of France and Spain arrive in the bay of Gibraltar—The grand attack—The battering-ships destroyed, and the enemy rescued from inevitable death by the gallantry of the marine brigade—Conduct of the besiegers after their defeat, till their small craft disperse.

THE court of Madrid, whose whole attention seemed bent upon the recovery of Gibraltar, had hitherto found all her attempts, whether by sea or land, totally ineffectual, and the repeated disgrace which her arms had suffered could not fail to mortify her pride. The cruel and wanton destruction of the town had tended to no other purpose than to reflect dishonour on her measures in the eye of Europe. Pride and revenge, therefore, now urged her to the utmost exertions of her power and skill, so that no means were neglected, no expense was spared, to insure success. Her treasures were lavishly expended; the labour of the nation was exhausted in the magnitude of the preparations; and her whole naval and military force now appeared directed to the recovery of that natural and ancient appendage of the crown.

The Duc de Crillon, lately returned from the conquest of Fort St. Philip, who had formerly commanded at the Spanish lines before Gibraltar, and was perfectly acquainted with the situation of the garrison, was appointed to conduct the military force to be employed in this arduous and interesting enterprise. With him were joined Monsieur d'Arçon (a French engineer

of great repute) and Admiral Moreno. The former had projected a plan, which had met with the approbation of his Most Catholic Majesty, for attacking the place with battering-ships, constructed upon such principles that they were equally considered as *impregnable* and *incombustible*; and, from the prodigious powers of which, little else was expected than almost the annihilation of the garrison: the latter had rendered himself equally eminent with the general in the preceding conquest of Minorca. Under commanders of such distinguished ability, aided by every combination of force which human invention could devise, we need not in the least wonder at the flattering idea, universally formed by the nation, of the event.

General Eliott, on the opposite side, gnawed by the impending storm, provided for every circumstance which might occur. Though surrounded on every hand with enemies, and far distant from any hopes of relief and assistance, yet he reposed such confidence in the vigorous and united exertions of the little army under his command, whom he had already found superior to the greatest hardships, that he was not apprehensive of trusting the event to the decision of that fortune, which

had been so often favourable to the interests of the garrison.

The 24th of June, the garrison began to practise parapet-firing, with ball, at casks placed at different distances in the bay. Two days following, the enemy's cannon were all under metal, and their advanced sentries and guards were reinforced. At Algeziras they still continued to work on seven ships: and in camp numerous parties were employed in landing great quantities of stores, and in ranging ordnance, &c. in their artillery park. Early on the morning of the 27th, the captain of the Queen's lines' guard challenged two persons who had approached to Forbes's barrier; one of whom, finding they were observed, cried out in French, "Don't fire!" after which, both instantly ran away toward the lines. In their retreat, one of them fell, and, his cloak coming unfolded, our sentries could distinguish that his uniform was white; which circumstance, added to that of their speaking French, induced us to conclude they were officers of that nation. A person of distinction, supposed to be the Duc de Crillon, on the 30th, visited the lines and advanced works. Our artillery fired a shot over him and his suite, to show them that they were observed. At night, a soldier of the 56th, attempting to desert from the Signal-house guard, was dashed to pieces in his descent. The next day his body was exposed as a public spectacle, to intimidate others from provoking a similar fate.\*

In the beginning of July, the tenth ship had been in hand two or three days; and the enemy's artificers were at work on the tops of those which were in the greatest forwardness, placing strong timbers, in form of a *dos d'âne*, to serve as bomb-proofs. At night they raised their parallel several fascines in height, and banked it up in front with sand. Though the enemy's batteries had continued silent since the 22nd of June, the garrison persevered in a brisk discharge, directing their fire to all parts of the lines, as well as the advanced works. The evening of the 2nd, a party of the enemy advanced to Bay-side barrier;

but several rounds of grape, which were fired from Willis's, soon forced them to retire. The succeeding evening they again attempted to take post there, and met with a similar reception. Our navy, under the direction of an engineer, about this time repaired the boom of Waterport, and sunk anchors in the shallow water at the back of the Old mole. The enemy, though we expected it, never molested them in this duty: indeed they seemed too intent upon their own operations to pay attention to any of ours.

The success attending our progress in the gallery above Farringdon's battery, produced the idea of making a communication from the extremity of the King's to the Queen's lines; and, on the 6th, a party of miners began this new subterranean passage. Early the day following, a brig, coming in from the west, was taken by a xebecque and carried into Algeziras. If the master of this vessel had acted prudently, he might probably have escaped. On his first appearance, he coasted under French colours; but being abreast of the point, and observing a felucca standing out to speak him, he hoisted British, and fired a shot. This circumstance spread the alarm: four or five gun-boats immediately rowed out and opposed her passage till a xebecque came up and run her aboard.

The afternoon of the 18th, an extraordinary instance of gallantry and presence of mind occurred at the laboratory adjoining the South bastion. An artilleryman, named Hartley, was employed in the laboratory filling shells with carcass composition, and driving fuses into  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and 6 inch shells. One of them, by some unaccountable accident, took fire in the operation; and, although he was surrounded with unfixed fuses, loaded shells, composition, &c., with the most astonishing coolness he carried out the lighted shell, and threw it where it could do little or no harm, and two seconds had scarcely elapsed before it exploded. If the shell had burst in the laboratory it is almost certain the whole would have been blown up, when the loss in fixed ammunition, fuses, &c., &c., would have been

irreparable, exclusive of the damage which the fortifications must have suffered from the explosion; and the lives that might have been lost. He was handsomely rewarded by the governor. The night of the 10th, a soldier of De la Motte's, who had been missing from the 5th, was discovered by the quartermaster of that regiment stealing bread from the men's tents: he was instantly pursued, but could not be overtaken. The next day, however, he was found concealed in a cave. Two others had also been retaken within a few preceding days. Such attention had been paid to scarping the back of the rock, that it was little short of madness in these wretches, at this period, to attempt desertion.

Some experiments were made, in the beginning of this month, with large stones, cut to fit the calibre of a 13-inch mortar. The stones had a small hole drilled in the centre which being filled with a sufficient quantity of powder, they were fired with a short fuse, to burst over the enemy's works; and the fragments were expected to do some damage, as well as alarm their workmen. It was an unusual mode of annoyance, and for its novelty was used for some time, but was soon laid aside. The 11th, in the afternoon, four sailors, under pretence of visiting some fishing-pots, deserted to the enemy. Two of them were concerned in the conspiracy to run away with the *Speedwell* cutter, as mentioned, some months before. The following evening, a serjeant of the 72nd regiment, who had absented himself several days from his corps, and who, previous to his absence, had left a letter signifying his intention to desert, was retaken half-way down the rock, between Charles the Fifth's wall and Mount Misery. He was so situated as to be unable to descend or return, and was at length obliged to cry for assistance; which being heard by the guard at the former post, search was made for the unhappy man, and he was afterwards executed.

A deserter from the regiment of Bechart came in on the 14th: he acquainted us that the Duc de Crillon had assumed the command of the siege,

and that General Don Alvarez had quitted the camp; that the combined army consisted of forty-five battalions of infantry, including eight French battalions, two battalions of Spanish, and four companies of French artillery, beside cavalry; but, owing to desertion, their numbers were considerably diminished. The battering-ships, he said, were to have on board French artillery; and it was reported they would be completed in about six weeks, the time we had calculated ourselves from observations on their progress. About this period additional *forçats* for beating shots were established in different parts of the garrison, with all the proper apparatus. The 15th, the enemy laid a boom of spars from the breakers north of the island at Algeziras towards the northward: some few days afterwards it was considerably lengthened, and the gun-boats were ranged in front of it: a boom was also placed between the island and the main land. We concluded these obstructions were intended to defend their battering-ships from any attempts we might make to destroy them before they were completed. The same day an embrasure was opened in the face of the rock, communicating with the gallery above Farrington's: the mine was loaded with an unusual quantity of powder, and the explosion was so amazingly loud, that almost the whole of the enemy's camp turned out at the report: but what must their surprise have been when they observed whence the smoke issued! The original intention of this opening was to communicate air to the workmen, who before were almost suffocated with the smoke which remained after blowing the different mines; but, on examining the aperture more closely, an idea was conceived of mounting a gun to bear on all the enemy's batteries, excepting Fort Barbara: accordingly orders were given to enlarge the inner part for the recoil; and, when finished, a twenty-four-pounder was mounted.\*

\* This novel formation of a covered battery was afterwards extended, and the work was prosecuted with such success, that four, if not five guns were mounted in the gallery, before the subsequent September; and in a little

The 18th, a soldier of the 56th regiment who had escaped from the quarter-guard some days before, and who, it is imagined, had endeavoured to desert, surrendered himself voluntarily to the main guard. One of the 58th, and another of the 97th regiment, had got off in the former part of the month: the discouragement, however, which had of late attended these deluded wretches, we were in hopes, would now deter others from attempting to abandon their colours at this critical juncture.

Our artillery, as the firing was very inconsiderable, were now chiefly engaged in preparing shells and carcasses to be used against the enemy's ships. The engineers were also equally indefatigable in their department. On the part of the besiegers, multitudes of mules were constantly employed in different duties in their camp, and large parties continued to land military stores and powder at the Orange-grove. The 25th, the St. Philip's Castle and the Hector cutter arrived from the eastward, and communicated the agreeable news of the entire defeat of the French fleet in the West Indies by Admiral Sir George Rodney, with the capture of the Ville de Paris, and the French admiral, the Comte de Grasse. In consequence of this victory, a grand salute was fired at noon; and in the evening a feu-de-joie, by the troops drawn up from the Grand battery to the New mole fort. Signor Leonetti, nephew to Pascal Paoli, the celebrated Corsican general, with two officers, a chaplain, and 68 volunteers, came as passengers in these vessels to offer their services to the governor. In the course of the same day, our engineers began to fix a chevaux-de-frise from the foot of Landport glacis, adjoining Waterport, to the sloping palisades on the causeway, and thence to be continued across the Inundation to the advanced covered-way, leading to Lower Forbes's bar-

rier. The enemy did not molest the party on this duty; which to us appeared very extraordinary.

A boat arrived on the 26th with two packets from Faro, which mentioned that, the enemy's preparations for the attack would be complete by the middle of August, and that all the boats along the coast in the vicinity of Cadiz were already engaged to embark troops for the expedition. A private letter by this boat gave us some general information of the immense preparations which were making, and some idea of the construction of the new-invented vessels, which had inspired the enemy with such confidence of success. It recited, "That ten ships were to be fortified six or seven feet thick, on the larboard side, with green timber bolted with iron, cork, junk, and raw hides; which were to carry guns of heavy metal, and be bomb-proof on the top, with a descent for the shells to slide off: that these vessels, which they supposed would be impregnable, were to be moored within half gun-shot of the walls with iron chains; and large boats with mantlets were to lie off at some distance, full of troops, to assist, and be ready to take advantage of occurrences: that the mantlets of these boats were to be formed with hinges to fall down, to facilitate their landing: that they were to have 40,000 men in camp, and the principal attack was to be made by sea, to be covered by a squadron of men-of-war, with bomb-ketches, floating batteries, gun and mortar boats, &c.: and that the Comte d'Artois, brother to the King of France, with other great personages, was to be present at the attack."

Toward the conclusion of the month, our attention was engaged for several nights successively by a great noise on the isthmus, like that of a large body of men at work: a few light balls were thrown in different parts to discover whence it proceeded; but we could never discern any men, except their patrols: it was therefore imagined these parties were employed within the lines. The 29th, the wooden buildings in the navy yard at the New mole were taken down and removed to Rosia, where they

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more than twelve months from the day the engineers commenced, it was advanced to the projection of the rock, where the governor purposed to make a battery; which afterwards was effected, and is now distinguished by the name of St. George's Hall.

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 were afterwards re-established on an enlarged plan. As the communications along the line-wall, &c. to the northward were expected to be much exposed to the enemy's fire when the ships were brought before the walls, the engineers, about this time, began a covered-way along the rampart, from Orange's bastion to the Grand parade, and thence to be continued to Southport: this was done by clearing away the rubbish from the old houses immediately under the works, and filling others up, which also served as traverses against the land batteries. Another covered-way was likewise made to communicate from the Princess of Wales's lines with the South barracks. The 31st, upward of 100 covered waggon came to the enemy's lines from the camp, supposed to be laden with ammunition and stores for the batteries.

Appearances became daily more important in the month of August. The enemy's artificers were remarkably diligent at Algeziras, and the cruisers became more attentive to the blockade. They were particularly suspicious of every vessel that came in sight from the west; and the gun-boats were stationed out as night-cruisers; which probably was the reason why we had not been for some time visited by them. In their camp every person seemed employed; and their dépôts of fascines and pickets were very considerable, notwithstanding the quantities continually removed to the lines. Nor were we less active in taking advantage of this interval: large and lofty traverses were raised along the line-wall; new communications were made at Willis's; the flank of the Princess Anne's battery was rebuilt, and heavy metal mounted, to bear over Waterport. The 4th, the Corsican volunteers were formed into an independent corps, under Signor Leonetti, who was appointed captain-commandant. The company consisted of a captain and captain-lieutenant, first and second lieutenants, one adjutant, one chaplain, four serjeants, four corporals, two drummers, and sixty-eight privates. They were armed with a firelock and bayonet, each a horse-pistol slung on the left side, and two cartridge-boxes.

The governor quartered them on Windmill-hill, and committed that post to their charge.

As the completing of the subterranean communication from the King's to the Queen's lines appeared (from the difficulty at that time attending the reinforcing of the latter, in case of an alarm) to be an object of great importance, the governor, on the 5th, ordered all the miners in the different regiments into the King's works, to prosecute it with greater diligence, and assist in the gallery above Farringdon's, which now extended 140 feet in the solid rock. The same day the enemy removed the old masts out of several of the battering-ships, substituting jury-masts in their places. Three hulls now appeared nearly finished. The evening of the 6th, the governor thought proper to detach a trusty serjeant, with four men, from Landport, to a recess in the rock under the Queen's lines, near Lower Forbes's, with orders to advance a sentry to the barrier, who was to listen attentively to what was transacting upon the neutral ground; but by no means to fire, except in his own defence. This party was to withdraw at the grey of the morning, that they might not be observed by the enemy.

The 7th came in a deserter who had been formerly in our service at Minorca. He swam from behind Fort Barbara, and landed at the Devil's tower; near which place he met a patrol of cavalry, but, throwing himself on the ground, was not observed. He said the duke was resolved to fire, the 25th instant; and, from the prodigious number of mortars mounted in the lines, reports were industriously propagated in the camp, that our ordnance would soon be silenced by their superior fire, and the batteries *beaten to powder*. He further acquainted us, that there were 34,000 men in camp, and but little intercourse between the Spaniards and their allies, who were principally new levies, and very little disciplined; concluding with a confirmation of the last intelligence, that the soldiers in general so disrelished the business, that many daily deserted

with their arms into the country. We continued to fire a few light balls at night, for fear the enemy should make any addition to their advanced works, which, from the immense quantity of materials brought to the lines, we suspected would be commenced very soon; and, as it was apprehended their advances would be made to the eastward, the guns at Willis's and the heights bearing toward that quarter were loaded with grape to be more effectual in the execution, in case they were discovered. On the 11th, the 72nd regiment, which was quartered in the bastions in town, independent of their quota towards the other duties of the garrison, voluntarily offered to assist in making the new covered-way from the Grand parade to Orange's bastion; and 100 of them were immediately employed. The governor, however, as a compensation for their zeal, ordered them to be paid as real-men (that is, to receive two reals each per day; which is equal, at par, to about 9d. sterling) with the addition to each man of a pint of grog.

The enemy on the 13th got up the masts and yards in several ships, and bent the sails of two; but, from the appearance of the whole, we did not think they could be finished by the 25th. Some few days before, they lined the upper port-holes of the two-deckers with tin, to protect, as we imagined, the cheeks of the ports from being burnt by the constant firing of the cannon. In the evening, the 97th regiment furnished, for the first time, a working party of 120 men, to remove ship-timbers from the New mole to Montague's bastion, where the engineers intended to erect a cavalier for two guns.

About this time a species of influenza made its appearance on board the frigates in the Mole, and soon communicated with the garrison. Its general symptoms were sudden pains, accompanied with a dizziness in the head; though others were affected in a different manner. For several days near 100 men were daily taken to the hospital; but bleeding and a night's rest usually removed it. It was attributed at that time to the extraordinary heat

of the atmosphere, which was unusually warm, owing to the extensive fires made by the Spaniards on the neighbouring hills, and the stagnant state of the air; but we have since learned that it was universal over Europe, and we had reason, at that time, to think the enemy were not less affected by it than the garrison.

A general officer, supposed to be the Duc de Crillon, but who, it was afterwards learned, was the Comte d'Artois, visited, on the 15th, the advanced works; we soon had reason to believe that his object was to reconnoitre the ground, previous to entering upon the succeeding additions which were made to the parallel; for, the subsequent morning at daybreak, to our great astonishment, we discovered that they had raised, during the preceding night, a very strong and lofty epaulment, in extent about 500 yards, connecting the parallel to the eastern breach, with a communication, near 1300 yards long, extending from the principal barrier of the lines to the east end of the new epaulment. Their works now embraced each shore of the isthmus, and fully completed the first parallel. The communication, or boyau (as it was distinguished by our engineers), consisted of casks filled with sand, which was also thrown up in front, having traverses at equal distances in the rear, made of casks and fascines; but the epaulment appeared to be raised entirely with sand-bags, from ten to twelve feet high, with a thickness proportionable; and altogether was a most stupendous work. Its purpose however was not immediately pointed out. To erect these new additions in so short a time, we computed, at a moderate calculation, must have employed 10,000 men, which was afterwards confirmed to us by their officers; and that so numerous a party should be at work within 800 yards of the garrison, itself on the alert, and not be discovered, must appear, to a person not present, almost incredible. We threw a few light balls whilst they were at work, one of which, we afterwards learned, greatly alarmed them; but, finding they were not discovered, they resumed



their occupation, and withdrew in the morning unobserved. The Spanish gazette described this parallel as of 239 toises\* in length; and added, that *of a million six hundred thousand sand-bags* were used in raising it. The communication it mentioned to have been in length 630 toises, and formed of fascines and casks. The governor at night did not order an increase of firing on the new works: a few rounds were discharged, with several carcasses and light-balls; but the latter were almost immediately extinguished.

The night of the 17th, the enemy brought a great number of casks, pickets, and fascines, to the rear of the eastern communication, which was raised to a little extent near the barrier. They also erected three epaulments with retiring flanks of sand-bags, for mortar batteries in the parallel. Two were to the westward, and the third to the eastward of the Mahon battery.

The morning of the 18th, we observed one of the battering-ships at anchor off Barcelo's battery. About noon, the men-of-war at Algeziras were decorated with flags, as was customary on the celebration of a festival; and, what did not escape our observation, the English ensign was at the main-top-gallant mast-head of the admiral's ship, with the Spanish ensign flying triumphantly over it. Soon after, seven barges with crimson awnings rowed from Algeziras to the Orange-grove, where they received on board some great personages, and returned to Algeziras, escorted by 15 gun-boats, which repeatedly fired salutes, as did the men-of-war: on their return amongst the shipping, the battering-ships hoisted their ensigns, and salutes were again fired by the men-of-war. The barges then proceeded to the battering-ship which was anchored apart from the rest, where they remained some time; and, on the company's quitting the ship, she fired a salute of eight guns, and the boats went alongside the admiral. About three, the battering-ship got under way, and

sailed to the northward, past the flag-ship: she endeavoured to sail back, but in vain; and was obliged to be towed to her station by 10 gun-boats. At six o'clock, three barges only returned from the Spanish admiral to the Orange-grove, and were saluted and reconducted with the same ceremony as before. We now imagined that the Comte d'Artois was arrived, and these compliments were paid in consequence of his dining with the Spanish admiral. Our firing at night was very brisk. The succeeding morning we perceived that the enemy had constructed nine traverses adjoining the eastern part of the epaulment, and had raised the boyau with fascines. The epaulment for another mortar battery was likewise erected in the parallel opposite the Centre redoubt. At night the enemy were heard hard at work: our firing was consequently increased by the addition of the lower batteries: the enemy did not return a shot.

On the 19th, a small magazine blew up in the enemy's camp, near Buena Vista, which set a hut on fire. About noon, a flag of truce came from the duke: the officer appeared to be a person of rank, as the boat had a crimson awning, and the rowers were in uniform. After passing and repassing several times, our boat returned with a present, from the duke to the governor, of ice, fruit, vegetables, &c. The officers informed us that the salutes fired the preceding day were in compliment to the Comte d'Artois, &c. The following was handed about as a genuine translation of the duke's letter on this occasion; therefore, without vouching for its authenticity, it is here inserted to gratify the curiosity of the reader.

"Camp, of Buena Vista,  
Aug. 19, 1782."

"SIR,—His Royal Highness Comte d'Artois, who has received permission from the king his brother to assist at the siege, as a volunteer in the combined army, of which their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in this camp the 12th instant. This young

\* A toise is equal to our fathom, or six feet.

prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters which had been sent to that capital from this place, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison: his Royal Highness has desired that I would transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention I should add the strongest expressions of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greatest pleasure in giving this mark of condescension in this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext, which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in camp, to assure you of the highest esteem I have conceived for your Excellency, of the sincerest desire I feel of deserving yours, and of the pleasure to which I look forward of becoming your friend, after I shall have learned to render myself worthy of the honour, by facing you as an enemy. His Highness the Duc de Bourbon, who arrived here twenty-four hours after the Comte d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem.

"Permit me, Sir, to offer a few trifles for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need, as I know you live entirely upon vegetables: I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add a few head of game for the gentlemen of your household, and some ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable in the excessive heat of this climate at this season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. B. DUC DE CRILLON.

"His Excellency  
General Elliott, &c."

The barge which brought the letter and present ranged at a short distance along the town, from off the Old mole head to Ragged Staff, where she was stopped by our flag; but being thought rather too near, as they might thence make what observations they chose on our batteries, a shot was fired over her from the Repulse prame; upon which she rowed further out in the bay, and

waited at a considerable distance for the return of our flag. The night of the 19th, the enemy raised the semicircular parapet of the place d'armes joining the east flank of the St. Carlos's battery, with sand-bags eight or nine feet high, apparently for a battery: they also made some considerable additions to the eastern works. The day following, a flag of truce went from the garrison with an answer to the duke's polite letter of the preceding day: the governor's letter was reported to be to the following purpose:—

"Gibraltar, Aug. 20, 1782."

"SIR,—I find myself highly honoured by your obliging letter of yesterday, in which your Excellency was so kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his Royal Highness the Comte d'Artois, and the Duc de Bourbon, to serve as volunteers at the siege. These princes have shown their judgment in making choice of a master in the art of war, whose abilities cannot fail to form great warriors. I am overpowered with the condescension of his Royal Highness, in suffering some letters for persons in this town to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriages. I flatter myself that your Excellency will give my most profound respects to his Royal Highness, and to the Duc de Bourbon, for the expressions of esteem with which they have been pleased to honour so insignificant a person as I am.

"I return a thousand thanks to your Excellency for your handsome present of fruits, vegetables, and game. You will excuse me, however, I trust, when I assure you, that, in accepting your present, I have broken through a resolution to which I had faithfully adhered since the beginning of the war; and that was, never to receive or procure, by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for my own private use; so that, without any preference, everything is sold publicly here; and the private soldier, if he have money, can become a purchaser as well as the governor. I confess I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity in common with the lowest of my brave fellow-soldiers. This fur-

nishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take, of entreating your Excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your presents to my own private use. Indeed, to be plain with your Excellency, though vegetables at this season are scarce with us, every man has got a quantity proportioned to the labour which he has bestowed in raising them. The English are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation; and here we find our amusement in it, during the intervals of rest from public duty. The promise which the Duc de Crillon makes, of honouring me in proper time and place with his friendship, lays me under infinite obligations. The interest of our sovereigns being once solidly settled, I shall with eagerness embrace the first opportunity to avail myself of so precious a treasure.—I have the honour to be, &c.

“G. A. ELIOTT.

“His Excellency  
the Duc de Crillon, &c.”

Our artillery, on the night of the 20th, fired with great vivacity from the upper and lower batteries, in all directions; for the objects now were numerous and divided, the parallel being upwards of half a mile in extent, that we could not always be certain where to find them employed. In the morning we observed they had raised the boyau, and made some alterations in the western works. The enemy's operations were not now carried on in the same slow manner as formerly: the duke seemed determined to act with vigour, and astonish us by the rapidity with which he raised his batteries. His army was numerous, and his orders (if we may credit report) with respect to means and materials unlimited. Every exertion was therefore used to complete them with expedition. Whilst our opponents were so active, we were not on our parts indolent, or inattentive to the defence of the garrison. The late additions of the enemy made considerable alterations necessary in the works at Willis's, &c. Our parties were therefore augmented, and em-

ployed in strengthening the communications, repairing the splinter-proofs, and on other important duties of the same nature. Green's lodge and the Royal battery were ordered to be caissoned with ship-timber: the intrenched covered-way from the Princess of Wales's lines was continued, and sloping palisades placed under those parts of the line-wall, from the eight-gun bastion to the New mole, which were not well flanked from above. A boom of masts was likewise laid from the former to the head of the watering-tank, and anchors sunk in the shallow water between that bastion and Ragged Staff.

The afternoon of the 21st a carcass from Willis's set fire to some loose fascines in the rear of the Eastern boyau, which soon communicated to the work itself; and the line for a considerable extent was involved in the flames. On the appearance of the smoke our lower batteries immediately opened, and a most animated cannonade was directed from the garrison. A party of the enemy endeavoured to extinguish the fire; but, finding their efforts to stop its progress in vain, they gallantly pulled down the line on each side to prevent the flames from spreading; which they at length effected, but not without considerable loss from our artillery. For some time we imagined the enemy would remain silent spectators of the conflagration; but, an officer arriving at the lines about six o'clock, their batteries instantly returned the fire, seconded soon after by the new thirteen-gun battery near the Tower; the latter, however, after four or five discharges, was silenced by the Old mole head howitzers. Our fire was so brisk and so well served, that it exceeded theirs by four to one. About half-past seven the flames burnt out; and our additional ordnance, as well as the enemy's batteries, ceased. In this short firing they returned 743 shot and 38 shells; and we expended in the 24 hours, including what were discharged on this occasion, 90 barrels of powder. We had three men slightly wounded. In the prior part of the day, 13 feluccas arrived in the bay from the east: some imagined they

were intended for additional gun-boats; others, for debarking troops. The 22nd, the enemy had repaired the damage done by the fire the preceding day; but in the afternoon another similar accident had nearly happened: a carcass was thrown into the St. Martin's battery, and took effect; but the guard exerted themselves with such activity and bravery, that it was soon extinguished, although our lower batteries were again open to support it. The enemy were on this day totally silent. The succeeding night they dressed and raised the new communication, and made some additions to the eastern part of the parallel: they were also at work in their new mortar batteries; and great quantities of materials were brought down to the lides, and into the advanced works.

The 24th, the inhabitants in Hardy-town began early to remove their bedding, &c. towards Europa: they were confident, from the information of the last deserters, that the enemy would again open their batteries the succeeding day, being the anniversary of St. Louis; and no persuasions could banish their apprehensions. They were however convinced, the following day, that the duke was not prepared, whatever his intentions might have been some weeks before.

The enemy being heard at work, on the night of the 24th, drew a warm fire from our batteries. In the morning we found they had raised additional traverses to the sand-bag epaulment, which now presented a formidable battery of sixty-four embrasures, divided into four batteries of fourteen embrasures each, and one of eight; leaving a space at the eastern extremity, as we concluded, for mortars. The original epaulment remained entire, the additional merlons joining at proper intervals the front work, which served to mask the embrasures till the batteries were finished. Several embrasures of the 8-gun battery they had already lined with fascines. Some additions were also made to the St. Carlos's battery, the parapet of which was lengthened toward the west. The following night the enemy, notwithstanding

ing a warm fire from the garrison erected three large magazines, and, began a fourth in the rear of the 64-gun battery: they likewise lined many of the embrasures with fascines, and raised a sand-bag traverse to cover the communication from the west flank of the 64-gun battery to the parallel.

The 26th, the Queen Charlotte, Leonora, and Charles, ordnance-ships, with the St. Philip's Castle, were ordered into the Mole to be run ashore till the expected attack was decided. The seamen belonging to the frigates were employed also about this time in carrying sails and yards to erect tents for a camp at Europa, where they were to be stationed when the governor should think proper to order them on shore. In the evening, about ten o'clock, came in a deserter, an Irishman, who formerly had been in our service: he swam from the beach beyond Fort St. Philip, and attempted to land at Bay-side, but was fired upon by their advanced sentries. He informed us it was reported that the duke had intended firing on the 25th, but was prevented from finishing his batteries so soon as he expected by the heavy fire from the garrison: that, in their endeavours to extinguish the flames on the preceding 21st, the party had sustained very considerable loss: a colonel and 17 men of the regiment to which he belonged were killed. He corroborated the intelligence, by the last deserter, concerning the number of men in camp, and respecting the prevalence of desertion.

We did not discover any material additions the morning of the 27th: a fifth magazine was erected; also several traverses in the rear of the parallel. Another of the battering-ships anchored the same day off Barcelo's battery, apart from the rest: as she swung round with the tide, we had an opportunity of viewing with glasses the star-board-side, which we perceived was not closed in and finished like the opposite side; the bomb-proof only extending about three parts over, leaving considerable openings between the strong uprights which supported it from the

deck, for the convenient reception of men, provisions, and ammunition. We observed, the same day, a great number of boats ranged along the shore at Algeziras. In the afternoon, the *Repulse* prame came into the New mole; and the succeeding morning the *Fortune* and *Vanguard* were likewise withdrawn from the bay. At night the enemy erected a number of traverses in rear of their parallel and battery, and finished some interior work, as they had done the preceding night, though we kept up our usual fire.

The enemy's squadron was reinforced on the 28th with six Spanish line-of-battle ships and a xebec, under a commodore, from the west. In the course of the day, two 24-pounders were taken up the hill to the gallery above Farrington's, for the embrasures already opened; and 400 additional workmen were ordered into the works. Upwards of 600 men were at this time daily employed at Willis's, covering and strengthening the flanks; likewise in forming new communications, with splinter-proofs, traverses, &c., as the new battery enfiladed most of the old covered-ways, and rendered a thorough change necessary in those works, before the artillery could be properly covered. The communications in town and at the south were therefore discontinued, till the above were put in the best state of defence and security. At dusk, three serjeants were posted upon the North, King's, and South bastions, to observe and report the enemy's signals in camp, and along the coast. At night, a deserter from the *Walons* came over in the same manner as the last. He reported, that a very strong party was ordered for work that evening; which induced the governor to increase the firing from Willis's, the lines, and lower batteries. He further acquainted us, that we killed numbers of their workmen; and that the 15th of next month was fixed for opening upon the garrison: but that all, even the volunteers, were disheartened at the very thoughts of the attack. Ninety pieces of cannon, he likewise said, were brought into the 64-gun battery; which number was to

be increased, to supply the place of those which might be damaged, or over-heated. The night of the 28th, the enemy raised more traverses, and began communications to their magazines: 153 of the former were erected behind the long boyau. They also worked upon the mortar batteries.

It was about this period that the Spanish 26-pounders, with other guns of the same heavy nature, were distributed on the sea-line in room of ordnance of smaller calibre, which were mounted in their places against the enemy's batteries. By this disposition the duke would not have it in his power to return any of the shot we fired, as his cannon were all 26-pounders; and the governor was enabled to retaliate on their shipping, those shot which he had received from the land; annoying them, by this means with their own weapons. Toward the conclusion of the month, the influenza had almost disappeared: the working parties were therefore reinforced, though the heavy duty of the guards would with difficulty permit it: on the 29th, the engineers paraded upwards of 1700 workmen, including non-commissioned officers. The enemy, on the night of the 29th, raised merlons for four embrasures, joining the semicircular sand-bag epaulement, east of St. Carlos's battery. Six battering-ships were at anchor off Barcelo's battery on the 30th. The same day our seamen were ordered on shore, to encamp at Europa. At night, the artillery, in addition to their former fire, opened the Grand battery: it did not however prevent the enemy from platforming the 64-gun battery, and making further additions to the mortar batteries. They also lined with fascines the embrasures of the semicircular 4-gun battery. Many hundred mules were still employed in bringing clay and fascines to the parallel. Our fire was very destructive amongst these animals, as well as their workmen; two, three, and sometimes more of the former being frequently seen dead on the sands at daybreak.

Our engineers, by the close of the month, had extended Landport che-

vaux-de-frise to the causeway, and begun the other across the inundation. Carpenters were also engaged in caissoning the Royal and Green's lodge batteries, and raising new traverses at those posts. The enemy's squadron in the bay at this period was as follows: four line-of-battle ships, and one of 50 guns (on board of which was the flag), two frigates, three cutters, four bomb-ketches, and smaller armed vessels, were at Algeziras: two ships of the line were at anchor off the Orange-grove; and a frigate, with an armed brig, was at Cabrera. To these we may add the battering-ships and gun-boats. Since two of the men-of-war had removed nearer the enemy's camp, boats full of soldiers were frequently observed going on board them; and as the guns were seen to be drawn back from the ports, and suddenly run out again, whilst the troops were on board, we suspected that they were practising to work the guns, previous to their embarking on board the battering-ships.

Affairs seemed now drawing to a crisis: and, as every appearance indicated that the attack would not long be deferred, the inhabitants, apprehensive of the consequences, were wonderfully active in securing places of retreat for themselves and their property. The besiegers wrought hard the night of the 31st: two cross-communications lined with fascines were thrown up from the long boyau, leading to the parallel; one to the western flank of the 64-gun battery, the other to the westward of the Mahon battery. Five traverses were also erected within each of the new mortar batteries, and magazines for ammunition were begun near them, joining the parallel. We imagined they were likewise employed in bringing down ordnance to the advanced works. Our artillery amused them with a brisk fire; but the governor rather objected to such a quantity of powder being at this time expended, as he was of opinion they were now too well covered in their batteries to be much annoyed; and we might afterwards have more occasion for the ammunition.

The evening of the 1st of September,

a small boat manned with English sailors sailed for Portugal. Lieut. Campbell, of the navy, sailed in her with dispatches from the governor for England. At night, the enemy erected an epaulment of sand-bags, apparently for two guns, adjoining the west flank of the Mahon battery; and raised the new communications several fascines in height. Some additions were likewise made to the magazines. Long strings of mules still continued bringing down fascines and other materials, which were deposited in different parts of their works. We imagined these animals also brought down shot and shells, as their piles in the artillery park were considerably diminished. In the garrison, our engineers were indefatigable in raising defences against the enemy's formidable new batteries; and coals were distributed to the grates and furnaces for heating shot.

We perceived very little alteration in the operations of our opponents on the 3rd: they lined the embrasures of the new 2-gun battery, and added to the cross-communications. In the course of the day, their squadron was reinforced with two French men-of-war from the eastward, which were conducted into the bay by a Spanish frigate. The 4th, the enemy removed the guns from the two 14-gun batteries in the lines, and dismounted most of the ordnance in the mortar batteries, probably to repair the beds and platforms. The removing of the cannon from the former gave us no small pleasure, as we had experienced more fatal effects, during their late wanton bombardment and cannonade, from those batteries, than from any other in their lines. The guns, we supposed, were brought forward to the parallel, for we observed 10 in the eastern extremity of the 64-gun battery. In the forenoon, 16 boats, with mantlets or barricades in the bow, came from the river Palmones, and anchored off the landing-place beyond Point Mala: these, we concluded, were for the sea-attack. About sunset, those battering-ships which were finished, removed from Algeziras to the Orange-grove: they appeared to sail rather heavily, and

used sweeps, notwithstanding the breeze. About the same time, two grand salutes were fired by the French men-of-war.

During the night of the 4th, the enemy's parties masked the six western embrasures of the St. Martin's battery, and raised the parapet with fascines, intending, as we imagined, to convert it into a mortar battery, as six mortars were seen, the preceding day, lying in the rear. The howitzers were also removed from the Centre redoubt, and some additions made to the epaulment, in front of the St. Paschal's battery, which was now completed for eight mortars. They likewise sunk four deep excavations behind the eastern boyau, as reservoirs for water, in case of fire. At night, another battering-ship joined the others at the Orange-grove: soon afterwards, the enemy shipped powder on board them from the pier. Early on the 5th, a large body of men marched in a very irregular manner from Algeziras to the camp. We imagined they were the artificers who had been employed upon the ships, and were encamped south of the tower, half of which camp was now struck. During the day, 29 square-sailed boats arrived, under convoy of an armed brig, from the west, and, with upwards of 120 from Algeziras, assembled in a line off Rocabillo Point, at the mouth of the Guadaraque. A large floating battery was also towed out and anchored at the entrance of the Palmones. Toward evening, about 500 men, escorted by a body of cavalry, embarked from the pier on board the battering-ships: the singular mode of conducting them to the beach could not fail to attract our notice, and to cause in us some degree of surprise. About eight in the evening, a deserter came in from the regiment of Naples: he reported that the 8th was named for the grand attack, and that all hands were actively employed in completing everything in the several departments.

Few additions were perceived on the 6th: some sand-bags were placed on the mortar battery of the St. Martin's. In the forenoon, more boats joined the

others at Rocabillo, from the west; the floating battery was likewise towed to the pier near Point Mala. The governor, the same day, made some new arrangements in the garrison detail. An additional field-officer was ordered to mount in the lines, to be independent of the field-officer in town; and the field-officers of the day, in future, were directed to make such disposition of the guards, pickets, and ordnance in their several districts, on every occasion, as appeared to be most for the benefit of the service. A subaltern was added to the New mole guard, who was at night to be detached with 20 men to the Mole head; and the pickets in future were ordered to mount fully accoutred, with ammunition complete. The 39th regiment was also ordered to town, the battalion companies to encamp in Southport ditch, and the grenadiers and light infantry to be quartered in the picket-yard bomb-proofs, before occupied by part of the 72nd regiment, who, on this disposition, joined the rest of their regiment in Montague's and King's bastions.

The enemy's works on the land side were now every hour advancing to perfection; but the duke's attention toward completing them seemed so entirely to engage him, as, in a great measure, to prevent his taking the prudent precautions necessary for their defence. The advanced batteries in the parallel were either unfinished (though nearly completed) or undergoing such alterations, that the materials in their vicinity greatly obstructed the use of the ordnance which were mounted; and their batteries in the lines (except the forts) were in a similar situation, the cannon, to permit the necessary repairs, being totally removed from some, and the mortars drawn back or dismounted in others. The forts and some few mortar batteries were therefore the only defences left to protect these immense works from insult and attack. This state of their works presented an opportunity in some respects not unlike that which General Elliott had embraced in the preceding year, when, by an unexpected sally, he gloriously destroyed

the labours of so many months. The honour, however, of causing a second disgrace was reserved for Lieutenant-General Boyd, the lieutenant-governor, who, in the forenoon of the 6th, recommended, by letter to the governor, the immediate use of red-hot shot against the land-batteries of the besiegers. General Elliott acquiesced in the proposal, and immediately ordered Major Lewis, the commandant of the artillery, to wait on Lieutenant-General Boyd for his instructions and commands, submitting entirely to him the execution of the attack which he had projected. In consequence of the governor's assent, preparations were instantly made; and, in a short time, everything was properly arranged for the service. In the interval we must not, however, omit to take notice of the enemy's operations.

Early in the morning of the 7th, several gun-boats were discovered off the Old mole head retiring from the garrison, which we imagined had been sounding under cover of the night. The garrison orders of this day contained the following arrangements:—"The marine brigade (which composed a corps of about 900 men) to take rank on shore according to the king's regulations; Captain Curtis, as colonel, with the rank of brigadier; Captain Gibson, as lieutenant-colonel; Captain Bradshaw, as major; eight lieutenants, as captains; eighteen midshipmen, as ensigns; and the brigade to mount Europa Advance and Little Bay guards. A picket of the line to be detached every evening to the Prince's lines, and an additional subaltern at the same time to Landport. One captain and eight privates to be added to Waterport guard, whence a detachment of a subaltern and thirty men was to be sent, at sunset, to the Old mole head, which, at second gun-fire, was to be joined by one of the captains. Twelve privates to the main guard. One serjeant, nine privates, and a gunner, to Ragged Staff; detaching a serjeant and six men, with the gunner, at retreat-beating, to the Wharf head." The alarm-posts were

also fixed as follows:—"The 39th flank companies to take post on the North bastion town; three battalion companies of the same regiment, the South bastion; the remaining five at Ragged Staff, extending toward the eight-gun bastion. The 72nd regiment—right, the North bastion town; left, Orange's bastion, extending as far further from the King's bastion as possible. The 73rd regiment (which was quartered at the southward) to take post on the left of the 72nd, toward the South bastion. Captain Martin's company of artillery, the Grand battery and Waterport. Captain Lloyd's company, the King's and South bastions. Brigadier-General Pictou to command the corps in town. The Hanoverian brigade, from the eight-gun bastion south to Prince Edward's battery inclusive, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dachenhausen. The 56th regiment, South parade. The 12th regiment, New mole parade. The 97th regiment, Rosia parade. The 58th regiment, in front of their encampment, detaching a flank company through the hole in the wall upon Windmill-hill, to reinforce Europa Advance guard." (This regiment was to receive orders from Brigadier Curtis.) "The engineers and artificers in two divisions, one to assemble at the Esplanade town, the other at the Esplanade south." It was recommended at the same time to the commanding officers to have a sufficient reserve in case of deficiencies, and to pay particular attention to the flanks and redans which commanded the front of the line-wall.

As the above exhibits the governor's disposition of the troops, it will not be improper to insert in this place a detail of the guards which mounted in the garrison at this period, with the strength of the garrison, and men daily on duty. The strength of the garrison, with the marine brigade (including the officers), in September, was about 7500 men; upwards of 400 of whom were in the hospital. The number daily upon duty is shown in the following abstract.



Guards	1091	men, including officers.
Pickets (including the additions of the 12th)	813	ditto.
Working parties, under the chief engineer and the quartermaster-general	1726	{ exclusive of the engineers and overseers.
Total	3430	{

beside many who were constantly and indispensably employed as orderlies and assistants in the hospital, and in other departments in the garrison.

GUARDS.	Artillery.								DETACHMENTS TO
	Field Officer.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	N. Com.	
TOWN DISTRICT	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Governor's, or Convent gd.	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	0	N.B. Grenadiers.
Lieut. Governor's	0	0	0	1	1	0	9	0	N.B. Lt. Infantry.
Willis's, &c.	0	1	2	0	0	0	6	58	
Flag-staff	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	15
Landport	0	1	4	5	12	2	86	1	4
Grand battery	0	0	1	1	4	1	26	0	0
Waterport	0	2	2	4	6	2	88	0	2
Main	0	1	1	2	4	2	40	1	3
Southport	0	0	1	2	4	1	29	0	1
Castle	0	0	0	1	2	0	12	0	0
North line-wall	0	0	0	1	2	0	15	0	0
South line-wall	0	0	0	1	2	0	9	0	0
Artillery-magazine	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	0	0
Middle-hill	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	2	0
Signal-house	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	1	0
Victualling office	0	0	0	1	1	0	9	0	0
Patroles	0	0	0	9	0	0	18	0	0
Orderlies	0	0	0	13	0	1	2	0	0
LINES	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prince's	0	1	1	3	6	2	50	1	1
King's	0	0	1	1	4	1	50	0	2
Queen's	0	1	1	1	2	1	30	0	1
SOUTH DISTRICT	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Europa	0	1	1	1	3	2	32	1	8
Europa Advance	0	0	1	1	1	1	20	1	4
Little Bay	0	0	1	1	1	1	18	0	1
Ragged Staff	0	0	1	2	2	1	30	0	1
Rosia	0	0	1	1	2	1	30	0	2
New mole	0	1	2	3	3	2	59	0	3
Buena Vista	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	0
Camp	0	0	0	1	1	0	9	0	0
Hospital	0	0	0	1	1	0	12	0	0
Magazine	0	0	0	1	1	0	15	0	0
South Shed	0	0	0	1	2	0	21	0	0
Princess of Wales's line	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	0	0
Windmill-hill	0	0	0	0	1	0	9	0	0
General De la Motte's	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
Orderlies	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total	3	9	22	64	73	23	773	18	108

In the evening of the 7th, a little before midnight, two large lights appeared on the shore west of the Orange-grove, forming a right line with our Grand battery; and at the same time, two similar fires were seen behind Fort St. Philip; whence, if a line was produced, it would to appearance have

intersected the former, about 800 or 900 yards to the north-west of the Old mole head. These unusual signals made many conjecture that the enemy were sounding in that quarter. A few rounds were accordingly fired at intervals in that direction from the North bastion.

By the morning of the 8th. the preparations, in the department of the artillery, under General Boyd's directions, were completed; and, the success of the attack in a great measure depending upon embracing the favourable moment, it was no longer deferred. At seven o'clock, the town-guards being relieved, the firing commenced from all the northern batteries which bore upon the western part of the parallel, and was supported through the day with admirable precision and vivacity. The effect of the red-hot shot and carcasses exceeded our most sanguine expectations. In a few hours, the Mahon battery of 6 guns, with the battery of 2 guns on its flank, and great part of the adjoining parallel, were on fire; and the flames, notwithstanding the enemy's exertions to extinguish them, burnt so rapidly, that the whole of those works before night were consumed. The St. Carlos's and St. Martin's batteries however on this occasion escaped the fate which they had formerly experienced. They were nevertheless so much *deranged* by the breaches made to obstruct the effects of the carcasses, &c. that the enemy were under the necessity of taking down the greater part.

The enemy, for near an hour, continued silent spectators of our cannonade. About eight, they fired a few guns from the St. Martin's battery; and between nine and ten, returned our fire from Forts St. Philip and Barbara, with the 7-gun battery in the lines, and soon after from 8 new mortar batteries in the parallel. This tardiness in returning our fire, in some degree we attributed to the works being confounded with materials, and some of the batteries being deficient in ammunition. It might however be owing to want of discretionary orders, as an officer of rank was observed to enter the lines about the time when their cannonade became general: a reinforcement also marched down from the camp.

The astonishing bravery displayed by the enemy in their repeated attempts to extinguish the flames, could not fail to attract our particular notice

and admiration. Urged on most probably by emulation, they performed prodigies of valour; so that their loss, under so well directed a fire, must have been very considerable. The French brigade, we afterwards understood, had 140 killed and wounded. If the Spanish casualties bore an equal proportion, their united loss must have greatly exceeded our calculation.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the cannonade abated on both sides, and the enemy soon after were totally silent, though we continued our usual fire. The garrison had two or three killed, and several wounded. Lieut. Boag, of the artillery, and Ensign Gordon, of the 58th regiment, were of the latter number. The former officer had been wounded before: on this occasion he was pointing a gun from Hanover battery in the lines, when a shell fell in the battery. He had scarcely time to throw himself down in an embrasure, when the shell burst, and fired the gun under the muzzle of which he lay. The report immediately deprived him of hearing, and it was some time before he recovered a tolerable use of that faculty. Major Martin, of the same corps, had likewise a very fortunate escape from a 26-pounder, which shot away the cock of his hat close to the crown. I insert this anecdote, because it is commonly believed, that if a cannon-ball of large diameter passes so near the head of a person, the wind of it is generally fatal. The major was considerably stunned by the passage of the shot, but experienced little further injury. In the forenoon of the 8th, two more ships of the line removed to the Orange-grove, followed some time afterwards by 22 gun and mortar boats; and in the evening, one of the French men-of-war joined them from Algeziras. In the course of the day, a number of troops were embarked on board such of the battering-ships as were finished; and at night, our artillery replaced the ammunition in the expense magazines, which had been used to such good purpose in the morning.

This unexpected insult undoubtedly precipitated the duke's measures; and

by provoking him to the attack, before the preparations in the other departments were ready to combine with him in a general and powerful effort against the garrison, served greatly to frustrate the enterprise. Apprehensive, probably, that, elated by our good fortune, we might renew our attempts finally to destroy the land works which had escaped, the duke determined to avoid the blow (which also might be in other respects fatal in its consequences) by opening his batteries, even in their unfinished state. Actuated, most probably, by these motives, the embrasures of the new batteries were unmasked during the night of the 8th; and the succeeding morning, at day-break, we were surprised to find every appearance in their works for firing upon the garrison. Two rockets from the forts in the lines were the signals to begin; and the cannonade commenced at half-past five o'clock, with a volley of about 60 shells from all their mortar batteries in the parallel, succeeded by a general discharge of their cannon, amounting, in the whole, to about 170 pieces of ordnance, all of large calibre:—a discharge, I believe, not to be paralleled!\* Their firing was powerful, and entirely directed against our works; but was not, after the first round, altogether so tremendous and destructive as we had reason to expect from such a train of artillery. At intervals, from 10 to 20 shells were in the air at the same moment; but their effects were not equal to the numbers expended. The town, southward of the King's bastion, was little affected; but the northern front, and line-wall leading from the Grand parade to the North bastion, were exceedingly warm; and the lines and Landport were greatly annoyed by the shells from the howitzers, which were distributed in various parts of their parallel. Montague's and Orange's bastions seemed to be the centre of the enemy's cross-fire; whilst the line-wall in their vicinity and to the southward was taken *à revers* by the shot

which passed over the lines from the 64-gun battery.

Not imagining, from the rough appearance of the enemy's works, that they could possibly retaliate so soon, the guards and pickets at the north end of the garrison were for some time exposed, and some casualties occurred: but we soon discovered whence we were chiefly annoyed, and consequently became more cautious. Lieut. Wharton, of the 73rd regiment, was dangerously wounded at Landport.

Whilst the land batteries were thus pouring forth their vengeance upon the northern front, nine line-of-battle ships, including those under the French flag, got under way from the Orange-grove, and passing along the sea-line, discharged several broadsides at the garrison, and particularly at a settee which had just arrived under our guns from Algiers. When this squadron had got round Europa Point, they suddenly wore, and returning along the Europa, Rosia, and New mole batteries, commenced a regular and heavy fire upon the garrison. The marine brigade and artillery returned the salute till they passed, when the men-of-war wore and returned to the eastward. About the same time that the enemy were thus amusing us at the southward, 15 gun and mortar boats approached the town, and continued their fire for some time; but, the artillery giving them a warm reception from the King's bastion, two of them were towed off with precipitation, and the rest retired in great disorder. One was thought to be very considerably damaged; and some imagined that her gun was thrown overboard to save her from sinking.

This mode of annoying us on all sides exactly corresponded with the accounts which we had received of the plan of attack suggested by Monsieur d'Arçon, the French engineer, who superintended the enemy's preparations. They hoped probably to confound and overwhelm us, by presenting to us destruction under such various forms, and by the enormous quantity of fire which they poured in upon the garrison. The governor however did not approve of

\* A French account of the siege gives 186 as the number of the enemy's ordnance on the land side at this time.

his troops being thus subjected to be harassed at their pleasure, and resolved therefore, if possible, to put a stop to their sea-attacks. For this purpose the furnaces and grates for heating shot, at the New mole, were ordered to be lighted: and some new arrangements took place in the ordnance upon Windmill-hill. Toward dusk the enemy abated in the fire from their cannon; increasing however in the expenditure of shells, which, being generally fired with short fuses, broke in the air. This practice seemed well calculated for the purposes in view. In the day, they could observe with greater certainty the effect of their shot, and alter as circumstances directed: the firing at night must unavoidably be less depended upon: shells were therefore burst over the heads of our workmen, to prevent them, if possible, from repairing at night the damage received in the day. It did not nevertheless obstruct the duties in the department of the engineers; and the artillery were not hindered from further completing the expense magazines with ammunition. The 97th regiment was now so far recovered, as for some time to assist in the fatigue duties of the garrison: and this day the officers, with 100 men, were added to the general roster. The town guards were also ordered to assemble in Southport ditch.

The enemy's men-of-war (as we expected) repeated their attack very early on the morning of the 10th. Each ship carried a light at her mizen-peak; but they did not approach near enough to produce much effect. We received them with a well-supported fire; and the next morning observed one of them at anchor, with her bowsprit unshipped, at Algeiras. The remaining 8 renewed their cannonade about 9 in the forenoon, and killed 2 of the marine brigade, and wounded a serjeant of artillery and 2 others. After they had passed as before, they wore ship, apparently with an intention of continuing their visits, but suddenly put about, hauled their wind, and anchored off the Orange-grove. We were afterwards informed, that the discovery of a red-hot shot on board one of the ships was

the immediate cause of this hasty manoeuvre.

The enemy continued their firing from the isthmus, recommencing at morning gun-fire on the 10th from their gun batteries. At 7 o'clock, including the expenditure on the 8th, they had discharged 5527 shot and 2302 shells, exclusive of the number fired by the men-of-war and mortar boats. The garrison, on the contrary, took no further notice of them, than to return a few rounds from the terrace batteries at their working parties, who were repairing the damage done on the 8th, and completing the rest of their works. In the course of the day, the Brilliant and Porcupine frigates were scuttled by the navy in the New mole; and at night the engineers, with a working party, cleared the lines of rubbish, and restored those traverses which had been demolished. At night, the enemy's fire was under the same regulation as the preceding evening.

The next morning, when our guards were relieving, a signal was made at the tower, near the quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair; and the enemy's cannonade became excessively brisk: fortunately few casualties occurred. Their firing, when this object ceased to engage them, seemed to be principally directed against the obstructions at Landport, and in that part of the garrison. Many of the palisades in the covered way were destroyed, and the chevaux-de-frise considerably injured: artificers were however constantly detached to repair those breaches, so that the whole were kept in a better state than might be expected. In the afternoon, we began to conclude, that the attack with the battering-ships was no longer to be deferred. Several detachments of soldiers embarked from the camp, and others were standing on the neighbouring eminences; which, with the appearance in the evening of signals like those which had been observed on the night of the 7th, led us to imagine that every preparation was complete; and the wind at that time blowing gently in the bay, from the north-west, favoured our conjecture. Landport and Waterport guards were

immediately reinforced, the furnaces and grates for heating shot were lighted, and the artillery ordered to man the batteries.

Thus prepared, we waited their appearance; for it seemed to be the general opinion, that the battering-ships would advance, and be moored in the night, that they might be less exposed to annoyance in this duty, and open with greater effect together at day-break. Our attention was however called off from the bay to the land-side, where the enemy had set fire to the barriers of Bay-side and Forbes's; and the whole of those palisades, to the water's edge, were instantly involved in flames. The northern guards and pickets were immediately under arms, and a smart discharge of musketry was directed upon several parties, which, by the light of the fire, were discovered in the meadows. The enemy increasing their bombardment, and nothing new happening in consequence of the conflagration, the pickets and guards were remanded under cover; but the artillery continued upon the batteries. We had scarcely recovered from this alarm, before the gun and mortar boats, with the bomb-ketches, began to bombard the northern front, taking their positions off the King's bastion, extending towards Fort St. Philip. They commenced about an hour after midnight; and their fire, added to that of the land batteries, exceedingly annoyed Waterport and its vicinity. The out-pickets were again under arms, but providentially our loss was trifling. We returned a few rounds from the sea-line, but still disregarded the batteries on the isthmus; excepting when their workmen appeared, or were thought to be employed. Major Lewis, commandant of the artillery, was unfortunately amongst the wounded. The confinement of this active officer at this critical juncture might have been highly prejudicial to the service, had not his seconds been of confirmed ability and experience: owing to their united exertions, the several duties in that complicated and important department continued to be conducted with efficiency and success.

When the gun-boats retired, nothing new occurred till the morning of the 12th: the enemy's firing continued to be supported at the average of 4000 rounds in the 24 hours. About 8 o'clock, reports were received from Europa guard, that a large fleet had appeared in the Straits from the westward. The wind was brisk, and we had scarcely time to form any conjectures concerning them, ere they approached the bay; and proved to be the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of 7 3-deckers, and 31 ships of 2 decks: with 3 frigates and a number of xebecs, bomb-ketches, and hospital-ships; the whole under the command of ten admirals, and a broad pendant. In the afternoon, they were all at anchor in the bay between the Orange-grove and Algeziras.

This great accumulation of force could not fail to surprise, if not alarm the garrison. It appeared as if the enemy meant, previous to their final efforts, to strike, if possible, a terror through their opponents, by displaying before us a more powerful armament than had probably ever been brought against any fortress. 47 sail of the line, including 3 inferior two-deckers, 10 battering-ships, deemed perfect in design, and esteemed invincible, carrying 212 guns; innumerable frigates, xebecs, bomb-ketches, cutters, gun and mortar boats, and smaller craft for disembarking men; these were assembled in the bay. On the land side were most stupendous and strong batteries and works, mounting 200 pieces of heavy ordnance, and protected by an army of near 40,000 men, commanded by a victorious and active general, of the highest reputation, and animated with the immediate presence of two princes of the royal blood of France, with other dignified personages, and many of their own nobility. Such a naval and military spectacle most certainly is not to be equalled in the annals of war. From such a combination of power, and favourable concurrent circumstances, it was natural enough that the Spanish nation should anticipate the most glorious consequences. Indeed their confidence in the effect to

be produced by the battering-ships passed all bounds; and, in the enthusiasm excited by the magnitude of their preparations, it was thought highly criminal, as we afterwards learned, even to whisper a doubt of the success.

In drawing these flattering conclusions, the enemy, however, seemed entirely to have overlooked the nature of that force which was opposed to them; for, though the garrison scarcely consisted of more than 7,000 effective men, including the marine brigade, they forgot that they were now veterans in this service, had been a long time habituated to the effects of artillery, and were prepared by degrees for the arduous conflict that awaited them. We were, at the same time, commanded by officers of approved courage, prudence, and ability; eminent for all the accomplishments of their profession, and in whom we had unbounded confidence. Our spirits too were not a little elevated by the success attending the recent practice of firing red-hot shot, which in this attack we hoped would enable us to bring our labours to a period, and relieve us from the tedious cruelty of another vexatious blockade.

Before the garrison had well discovered the force of their new visitors, an occurrence happened, which, though trifling in itself, I trust I shall be excused for noticing. When the van of the combined fleet had entered the bay,

and the soldiers in town were attentively viewing the ships, alleging, amongst other reasons for their arrival, that the British fleet must undoubtedly be in pursuit; on a sudden, a general huzza was given, and all, to a man, cried out, the British admiral was certainly in their rear, as a flag for a fleet was hoisted upon our Signal-house pole. For some moments the flattering idea was indulged; but our hopes were soon damped by the sudden disappearance of the signal. We were afterwards informed by the guard at that post, that what our creative fancies had imagined to be a flag, was an *eagle*, which, after several evolutions, had perched a few minutes on the westernmost pole, and then flew away toward the east. Though less superstitious than the ancient Romans, many could not help fancying it a favourable omen to the garrison; and the event of the succeeding day justified the prognostication.

In the morning of the 12th, the governor reinforced the pickets of the line; nine of which, in future, were stationed in town, and distributed as follows; two at Waterport, two at Landport, two in the lines, and the remaining three in the picket-yard, with the field-officer of the town district. The other picket of the line was stationed at the southward. The following return specifies the strength of the pickets at this period.

	<i>sub.</i>	<i>d. r. &amp; f.</i>
The artillery, and Hanoverian brigade, each corps.....	1	1 39
The 12th, 39th, 56th, and 58th regiments ditto .....	1	1 54
The 72nd and 73rd regiments . . . ditto .....	1	1 76
The 97th regiment . . . ditto .....	1	1 56

Total four captains, one of the artillery and three of the line 11 11 11 580

In the evening about dusk, a number of men were observed to embark from the Orange-grove on board the battering-ships; which, with the presence of the combined fleet, and the wind blowing favourably, induced us to conclude that the important and long meditated attack was not long to be deferred.

The enemy's cannonade was continued, almost on the same scale as the

preceding days, during the night of the 12th. The next morning we observed the combined fleet had made some new arrangements in their position, or moorings, and that the remaining two battering-ships had joined the others at the Orange-grove, where their whole attacking force seemed to be now assembled. About a quarter before seven o'clock, some motions were observed amongst their shipping; and soon after

the battering-ships got under way, with a gentle breeze from the north-west, standing to the southward, to clear the men-of-war, and were attended by a number of boats. As our navy were constantly of opinion that the battering-ships would be brought before the garrison in the night, few suspected that the present manœuvres were preparatory to their finally entering on the interesting enterprise; but, observing a crowd of spectators on the beach, near Point Mala, and upon the neighbouring eminences, and the ships edging down towards the garrison, the governor thought it would be imprudent any longer to doubt it. The town batteries were accordingly manned, and the grates and furnaces for heating shot ordered to be lighted.

Thus prepared for their reception, we had leisure to notice the enemy's evolutions. The ten battering-ships, after leaving the men-of-war, wore to the north; and, a little past nine o'clock, bore down in admirable order for their several stations; the admiral, in a two-decker, mooring about 900 yards off the King's bastion, the others successively taking their places to the right and left of the flag-ship, in a masterly manner; the most distant being about 1100 or 1200 yards from the garrison. Our artillery allowed the enemy every reasonable advantage, in permitting them without molestation to choose their distance; but as soon as the first ship dropped her anchors, which was about a quarter before ten o'clock, that instant our firing commenced. The enemy were completely moored in a little more than ten minutes, and their cannonade then became in a high degree tremendous. The showers of shot and shells which were now directed from their land-batteries, the battering-ships, and, on the other hand, from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a scene, of which perhaps neither the pen nor the pencil can furnish a competent idea. It is sufficient to say that upward of *four hundred pieces* of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment: an instance which has scarcely occurred in any siege since the invention

of those wonderful engines of destruction.\*

After some hours' cannonade, the battering-ships were found to be no less formidable than they had been represented. Our heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, whilst the 32-pound shot seemed incapable of making any visible impression upon their hulls. Frequently we flattered ourselves they were on fire; but no sooner did any smoke appear than, with the most persevering intrepidity, men were observed applying water, from their engines within, to those places whence the smoke issued. These circumstances, with the prodigious cannonade which they maintained, gave us reason to imagine that the attack would not be so soon decided as, from our recent success against their land-batteries, we had fondly expected. Even the artillery themselves, at this period, had their doubts of the effect of the red-hot shot, which began to be used about twelve, but were not general till between one and two o'clock.† The enemy's cannon at the commencement were too much elevated, but about noon their firing was powerful and well directed. Our casualties then became numerous, particularly on those batteries north of the King's bastion, which were warmly annoyed by the enemy's flanking and reverse fire from the land. Though so vexatiously annoyed from the isthmus, our artillery totally disregarded their opponents in that quarter, directing their sole attention to the battering-ships, the furious and spirited opposition of which served to excite our people to more animated

Enemy's ordnance	{ Land batteries	186
	{ Floating ditto	142
		328
Garrison ordnance in action.....		96
		424

† As the ordnance portable furnaces for heating shot were not sufficient in number to supply the demands of the artillery when the attack was at its height, large fires were kindled of wood in the corners of the nearest buildings, and shot, being thrown into these piles, were soon heated red-hot. These supplies were jocularly termed by the men "roasted potatoes."

exertions. A fire more tremendous, if possible, than ever was therefore directed from the garrison. Incessant showers of hot balls, carcasses, and shells of every species flew from all quarters; and, as the masts of several of the ships were shot away and the rigging of all was in great confusion, our hopes of a favourable and speedy decision began to revive.

About noon their mortar boats and bomb-ketches attempted to second the attack from the battering-ships; but, the wind having changed to the south-west and blowing a smart breeze, with a heavy swell, they were prevented taking a part in the action. The same reason also hindered our gun-boats from flanking the battering-ships from the southward.

For some hours the attack and defence were so equally well supported as scarcely to admit any appearance of superiority in the cannonade on either side. The wonderful construction of the ships seemed to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. In the afternoon, however, the face of things began to change considerably: the smoke which had been observed to issue from the upper part of the flagship appeared to prevail, notwithstanding the constant application of water, and the admiral's second was perceived to be in the same condition. Confusion was now apparent on board several of the vessels, and by the evening their cannonade was considerably abated; about seven or eight o'clock, it almost totally ceased, excepting from one or two ships to the northward, which, from their distance, had suffered little injury.

When their firing began to slacken, various signals were made from the southernmost ships; and as the evening advanced, many rockets were thrown up, to inform their friends (as we afterwards learned) of their extreme danger and distress. These signals were immediately answered, and several boats were seen to row round the disabled ships. Our artillery, at this period, must have caused dreadful havoc amongst them. An indistinct clamour, with lamentable cries and groans, pro-

ceeded (during the short intervals of cessation) from all quarters; and, a little before midnight, a wreck floated in under the town line-wall, upon which were twelve men, who only, out of three-score which were on board their launch, had escaped. These circumstances convinced us that we had gained an advantage over the enemy, yet we did not conceive that the victory was so complete as the succeeding morning evinced. Our firing was therefore continued, though with less vivacity; but as the artillery, from such a hard-fought day, exposed to the intense heat of a warm sun, in addition to the harassing duties of the preceding night, were much fatigued, and as it was impossible to foresee what new objects might demand their service the following day, the governor, about six in the evening, when the enemy's fire abated, permitted the majority of the officers and men to be relieved by a picket of a hundred men from the marine brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Trentham; and officers and non-commissioned officers of the artillery were stationed on the different batteries, to direct the sailors in the mode of firing the hot shot.

About an hour after midnight, the battering-ship which had suffered the greatest injury, and which had been frequently on fire the preceding day, was completely in flames; and by two o'clock in the morning of the 14th, she appeared as one continued blaze from stem to stern. The ship to the southward of her was also on fire, but did not burn with so much rapidity. The light thrown out on all sides by the flames enabled the artillery to point the guns with the utmost precision, whilst the rock and neighbouring objects were highly illuminated, forming, with the constant flashes of our cannon, a mingled scene of sublimity and terror. Between three and four o'clock, six other of the battering-ships indicated the efficacy of red-hot shot; and the approaching day now promised us one of the completest defensive victories on record.

Brigadier Curtis, who was encamped with his brigade at Europa, being in-



formed that the enemy's ships were in flames, and that the calmness of the sea would permit his gun-boats to act, marched, about three o'clock A.M., with a detachment to the New mole; and, drawing up his twelve boats in such manner as to flank the battering-ships, compelled their boats to abandon them. As the day approached and the garrison fire abated, the brigadier advanced and captured two launches filled with men. These boats attempted to escape, but a shot killing and wounding several men on board one of them, both surrendered, and were conducted to Ragged Staff. The brigadier being informed by the prisoners that many men were through necessity left by their friends on board the ships, he generously determined to rescue them from the inevitable death which seemed to impend. Some of these infatuated wretches nevertheless, it is said, refused at first the deliverance which was tendered to them, preferring the chance of that death which appeared inevitable to being put to the sword, which they had been persuaded would be the consequence if they submitted to the garrison. Being left, however, some moments to the horrors of their fate, they beckoned the boats to return, and resigned themselves to the clemency of their conquerors.

Whilst the navy were thus humanely relieving their distressed enemy, the flames reached the magazine of one of the battering-ships to the northward, which blew up, about five o'clock, with a dreadful explosion. In a quarter of an hour following, another, in the centre of the line, met with a similar fate. The wreck from the latter spread to a vast extent, and involved our gun-boats in the most imminent danger: one was sunk, but the crew were saved. A hole was forced through the bottom of the brigadier's boat, his coxswain killed, and the strokesman wounded, and for some time the crew were obscured in the cloud of smoke. After this very fortunate escape, it was deemed prudent to withdraw toward the garrison, to avoid the peril arising from the blowing-up of the remaining ships. The brigadier, however, visited two

other ships in his return, and landed 9 officers, 2 priests, and 334 private soldiers and seamen, all Spaniards, which, with 1 officer and 11 Frenchmen who had floated in the preceding evening, made the total number saved amount to 357. Many of the prisoners were severely and some of them dreadfully wounded. They were instantly, on being brought on shore, conveyed to our hospital, and every remedy administered necessary for their different cases.\*

During the time that the marine brigade were encountering every danger in their endeavours to save an enemy from perishing,\* the batteries on the isthmus (which ceased the preceding evening, most likely for want of ammunition, and which had opened again upon the garrison on the morning of the 14th) maintained a warm fire upon the town, which killed and wounded several men; and three or four shells burst in the air, over the place where their countrymen were landed. This ungenerous proceeding could not escape the observation of the spectators in their camp, and orders probably were sent to the lines for the batteries to cease, as they were silent about ten o'clock.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the marine brigade in relieving the terrified victims from the burning ships, many unfortunate men could not be removed. The scene at this time exhibited was as affecting, as that which had been presented in the act of hostility had been terrible and tremendous. Men crying from amidst the flames for pity and assistance; others, on board those ships where the fire had made

\* The following extract from a contemporary account by a French officer, who served in the besieging army, and was an eyewitness of this scene, shows a generous appreciation of the efforts made by the garrison to succour those with whom they had been so lately contending:—"Je n'ai ni l'anglomanie qui exagère le mérite de la nation Britannique, ni la haine nationale qui dissimule; mais c'est pour moi une satisfaction bien douce de payer aux Anglais, libérateurs des malheureux laissés dans les prames, le tribut d'éloges que méritent dans ce moment leur courage et leur humanité. L'Espagne et la France doivent être à jamais reconnaissantes de cette générosité inouïe."

little progress, imploring relief with the most expressive gestures and signs of despair; whilst several, equally exposed to the dangers of the opposite element, trusted themselves, on various parts of the wreck, to the chance of paddling themselves to the shore. A felucca belonging to the enemy approached from the Orange-grove, probably with the intention of relieving these unfortunate persons; but, jealous of her motives, the garrison suspected that she came to set fire to one of the battering-ships which appeared little injured, and obliged her to retire. Of the 6 ships which were still in flames, 3 blew up before eleven o'clock; the other 3 burnt to the water's edge, the magazines being wetted by the enemy before the principal officers quitted the ships. The admiral's flag was on board one of the latter, and was consumed with the vessel. The remaining two battering-ships, we flattered ourselves, might be saved as glorious trophies of our success; but one of them unexpectedly burst out into flames, and in a short time blew up, with a terrible report; and Captain Gibson representing it as impracticable to preserve the other, it was burnt in the afternoon, under his directions. Thus the navy put a finishing hand to this signal defensive victory.

During the hottest period of the enemy's cannonade, the governor was present on the King's bastion, whilst Lieut.-General Boyd\* took his station upon the South bastion, animating the garrison by their presence, and encouraging them to emulation. The exertions and activity of the brave artillery, in this well-fought contest, de-

serve the highest commendations. To their skill, perseverance, and courage with the zealous assistance of the line (particularly the corps in town, the 39th and 72nd regiments), was Gibraltar indebted for its safety against the combined powers, by sea and land, of France and Spain; and the marine brigade, though they had not so considerable a share in the duties of the batteries, yet merit the warmest praises for their generous intrepidity in rescuing their devoted enemies from amidst the flames.

Whilst the enemy were cool, and their ships had received little damage, their principal objects were the King's bastion, and line-wall, north of Orange's bastion. Their largest ships (which were about 1400 tons burden) were stationed off the former, in order to silence that important battery, whilst a breach was attempted by the rest, in the curtain extending from the latter to Montague's bastion. If a breach had been effected, the prisoners informed us that "their grenadiers were to have stormed the garrison under cover of the combined fleets." The private men complained bitterly of their officers for describing the battering-ships to be invulnerable, and for promising that they were to be seconded by ten sail of the line, and all the gun and mortar boats. They further told us, that "they had been taught to believe, the garrison would not be able to discharge many rounds of hot balls; their astonishment, therefore, was inconceivable when they discovered that we fired them with the same precision and vivacity as cold shot." "Admiral Moreno," they said, "quitted the Pastora, which was the flag-ship, a little before midnight; but other officers retired much earlier." The loss sustained by the enemy could never be ascertained; but, from the information of the prisoners, and the numbers seen dead on board the ships, we estimated it could not be less than 2000 men, including the prisoners. The casualties of the garrison, on the contrary, were so trifling, that it will appear almost incredible that such a quantity of fire, in almost all its destructive modes of

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\* It will not be improper in this place to repeat, that General Boyd laid the foundation stone of the King's bastion, as it will be an apology for introducing a remarkable speech of the General on that occasion. In 1773, General Boyd, attended by Colonel Green, the chief engineer, and many field-officers of the garrison, laid the first stone of that work, with the ceremony usual on such occasions. Upon fixing the stone in its place, "This," said the General, "is the first stone of a work which I name the 'King's Bastion': may it be as gallantly defended, as I know it will be ably executed; and may I live to see it resist the united efforts of France and Spain."

action, should not have produced more effect, with respect to the loss of men. The return stands thus:—

SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1782.

Regiments.	Killed.			Wounded.		
	<i>o.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>o.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Royal Artillery . . .	4	0	0	5	3	0
12th Regiment . . .	0	0	0	0	0	2
39th ditto . . .	0	2	0	2	0	0
56th ditto . . .	0	0	0	2	0	0
58th ditto . . .	0	0	0	1	1	0
72nd ditto . . .	0	0	0	2	0	0
73rd ditto . . .	0	0	0	0	1	0
97th ditto . . .	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hardenberg's . . .	0	0	0	0	0	1
Redeu's . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
De la Motte's . . .	0	0	0	0	0	1
Engineers, with the Artificer Company } 0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marine Brigade . . .	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total . . .	1	2	0	13	5	0

Officers killed and wounded.

Artillery—Captain Reeves killed; Captains Groves and Sward, with Lieut. Godfrey, wounded.

58th regiment—Lieutenant Wetham (who had permission to act as an artillery officer) wounded.

73rd regiment—Captain McKenzie wounded.

The distance of the battering-ships from the garrison was exactly such as our artillery could have wished. It required so small an elevation that almost every shot took effect; and the

cannon thus elevated did not require the shot to be wadded—a circumstance not unimportant, as the time, which at point-blank would have been expended in doubly wadding, was employed in keeping up the cannonade with greater briskness. The damage done to our works held no proportion with the violence of the attack, and the excessive cannonade which they had sustained. The merlons of the different batteries were disordered, and the flank of Orange's bastion was a little injured; but the latter was chiefly done by the land fire, and was not of such consequence as to afford any room for apprehension. The ordnance and carriages were also damaged; but, by the activity of the artillery, the whole sea-line, before night, was again in serviceable order.

The enemy, in this action, had 328 pieces of heavy ordnance in play; whilst the garrison had only 80 cannon, 7 mortars, and 9 howitzers in opposition. Upwards of 8300 rounds (more than half of which were hot shot), and 716 barrels of powder, were expended by our artillery. What quantity of ammunition was used by the enemy could never be ascertained. The following was handed about as an authentic list of the battering-ships:—

Two decks.	Names of the Battering-ships.	Guns		Men.	Commanders.
		in use.	in reserve.		
	Pastora . . .	21	10	760	Rear-Admiral Buenaventura Moreno.
	Tailla Piedra . . .	21	10	760	Prince of Nassau-Siegen.*
	Paula Prima . . .	21	10	760	Don Gayetana Langara.
	El Rosario . . .	19	10	700	Don Francisco Xavier Munos.
	St. Christoval . . .	18	10	650	Don Frederico Gravino.
	Principe Carlos . . .	11		400	Don Antonio Basurta.
	San Juan . . .	9		340	Don Joseph Angeler.
	Paula Secunda . . .	9		340	Don Pablo de Cosa.
	Santa Anna . . .	7		300	Don Joseph Goicoechea.
	Los Dolores . . .	6		250	Don Pedro Sanchez.
		142	70	5260	

N.B.—About 36 men to each gun in use, besides sailors, &c. to work the ships.

The afternoon of the 14th, several thousand men marched with colours from the enemy's camp to their lines, and many ships in the combined fleet loosed their top-sails. These motions, and the circumstance of many of their boats

being manned, caused various speculations in the garrison. Whatever their future operations might be, it was prudent to be on our guard: the artillery were ordered therefore to remain upon the batteries, and the furnaces for heat-

\* M. d'Arcon, the French engineer, and projector of the floating batteries, embarked on board the Tailla Piedra, and quitted the ship about half an hour after midnight, as he states in the Defence of his plan of attack, which was published at Cadiz the following year.

ing shot to be kept lighted, lest the enemy should be prompted to put all to the stake, and attempt the garrison by a general attack. It was indeed afterwards rumoured, that such a design had been in contemplation, but was overruled by the duke, who was of opinion it would be exposing the fleet and army to inevitable destruction.

Notwithstanding their recent defeat, the enemy continued their cannonade from the isthmus; expending, during the remainder of the month, from 1000 to 2000 rounds in the 24 hours; diminishing gradually, and confining their shells to the night. Their operations on the land side were also still carried on; and, if we were able to form any conjectures at this period, from their motions to the northward, their late misfortune did not seem at all to damp their hopes of succeeding against the garrison. A flag of truce went on the 15th with letters from our prisoners to the camp; and about two o'clock in the afternoon, the combined fleet handed in their top-sails. Some hours afterwards they manned their yards, and fired a grand salute. We were at a loss to account for these singular rejoicings.\* Lieut. M'Namara, of the 72nd regiment, was wounded the same day at Willis's, where our working parties were employed clearing away the rubbish from the batteries.

The garrison having experienced the powerful efficacy of red-hot shot, and the governor thinking it expedient to have a continual supply of them, the engineers erected kilns (similar to those used in burning lime, but smaller) in various parts of the garrison. They were large enough to heat upward of 100 balls in an hour and a quarter; and, by this invention, hot shot were, if thought necessary, kept continually ready for use. Our former method of heating the shot was either in the grates and furnaces made for that purpose, or by piling them in a corner of some old house adjoining the batteries (as was

principally the practice on the 13th), and surrounding them with faggots, pieces of timber, and small coal. By those means the artificers were enabled to supply the artillery with a constant accession for the ordnance. Answers were received in the afternoon of the 16th to the prisoners' letters. At night a great number of signals were made by the combined fleet. Shot were therefore again ordered to be heated, and the artillery cautioned to be ready to man the batteries. The 39th and 72nd regiments also lay fully accoutred. The same night, the sailors recovered the gun-boat which had been sunk on the morning of the 14th. As the prisoners informed us that intelligence had been received, previous to the attack of the battering-ships, that Lord Howe, with the British fleet, was preparing to sail for the relief of Gibraltar, the navy began to prepare to raise the Brilliant and Porcupine frigates, which had been scuttled in the New mole; but their efforts, for some time, were not attended with success.

The Spanish officers, prisoners, with the Frenchmen who were taken up from the wreck upon the night of the 13th, were sent to the camp on the evening of the 17th. The remaining Spanish privates were encamped upon Windmill-hill, and given in charge to the Corsicans. Of the number who had been saved from the battering-ships, were an officer, a captain of marines, and 29 privates, who were wounded. Most of these recovered in our hospital; but the officer, notwithstanding every assistance and attention, died on the 17th. He was buried, the succeeding day, with all military honours, attended by the grenadiers of the 39th regiment.

When we reflected of what vast importance this grand enterprise was esteemed, and what immense sums had been expended in the ingenious and formidable preparations, it was observed, with no small surprise, by many who were present when the prisoners were landed, that the majority of them seemed to be past that age when the vital powers are supposed to be in their greatest vigour. In an expedition where

\* \* The following extract from the French account of the siege, already quoted, may serve to explain this circumstance:—"Le 15, le Comte d'Artois fit à Dom Louis de Cordova l'honneur de se rendre à son bord."

youth and strength best promised a favourable issue, this impolitic arrangement certainly could not pervade the whole! The Spaniards, from their dark complexion and meagre diet, have naturally, even when young, an aged look: and yet our observations seemed confirmed by other indubitable facts. Several bodies were thrown ashore, all of which seemed advanced in years; and one in particular appeared, from his grey beard and lean visage, past sixty. This corpse was horribly mutilated, and, with the miserable objects then under the care of our surgeons, convinced us, by ocular proof, of the dreadful havoc which our artillery must have made in the latter part of the day.

The westerly wind, which had cast up these unfortunate men, threw also on shore many trifling curiosities, and some things of value, which had floated on the surface of the bay after the battering-ships had blown up. Large wax candles, such as are usually burnt by the Romish priests before their altars; salt provisions; and a great number of ammunition boxes, containing 10 rounds of powder in linen cartridges, were collected by the garrison the morning succeeding the defeat. Considerable pieces of mahogany, and some cedar, were saved from the wrecks of those ships whose magazines did not blow up, which were afterwards converted into various useful articles, serving as memorials of our victory. The governor had a handsome set of tables made for the Convent (the holes in the cedar, where the fire had penetrated, being filled up with sound wood, cut in various figures, forming a beautiful contrast with the burnt part), which will serve as a standing monument to the guests of the transactions of that glorious day.

The enemy's fire on the 19th was warmer than the few preceding days; and, which was rather extraordinary, it was continued whilst a flag of truce went from the governor, and another returned in answer. The officer who brought the Duc de Crillon's answer was one of his aides-de-camp, the Comte de Rufigniac, colonel of the French

regiment de Chartres. He pressed much to deliver his packet *personally* to the governor, and offered to submit to be blindfolded, provided he could be admitted into the garrison. He was even so urgent as to put his foot on board our boat, but was informed by the aide-de-camp that his request could not be complied with. As the Count would not be content with this answer, our flag was obliged to return to make known his extraordinary importunity to the governor, who politely excused himself the honour which the Count intended him, as the state of affairs would not then permit it. We shall have occasion again to mention the Count before the close of this work. The wind changed to the east, in the night of the 19th; but the combined fleet still remained at anchor in the bay. The 20th, the mortar boats, which had remained inactive for some time, bombarded the garrison. They seemed to be attended by only four or five gunboats, and were extremely cautious in directing their fire. Three shells fell in Southport ditch, amongst the 39th regiment.

Some changes took place in the governor's suite on the 21st: town-major Captain Foulis was appointed aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, and Captain Delhoste, of the 72nd regiment, town-major. A flag of truce, the same day, brought over a letter from the duke, in answer to one from the governor, of the preceding day. Their boat also brought clothing for the Walon prisoners. In the evening, about eight o'clock, reports were received from the northern guards, that the enemy were in motion in their camp, and that troops were marching down to the lines. About the same time some extraordinary signals were made by the Spanish admiral. The three pickets remaining with the field-officer in town were immediately detached to reinforce the captain of Landport, the lines, and Waterport, who, beside their usual guards, had each two pickets with them before. The 39th and 72nd regiments were again ordered to lie accoutred, and the artillery cautioned to be alert. By

this disposition it was evident the governor still expected a further attack upon the garrison; and that evening it was most to be apprehended, as it was possible that the Duke by that day might receive an answer from Madrid, indicating his future operations. Upward of 1200 men being thus distributed in the vicinity of the Grand battery, with two regiments at hand to act as corps de reserve, we waited the further movements of the enemy. A little before midnight, a soldier of the 73rd regiment, removing rubbish from the Prince's lines, fell from the extremity, and was killed. An officer with a small detachment was immediately ordered from Landport to bring in the body. This was discovered by the enemy's advanced parties, who opposed it by a brisk discharge of musketry in regular platoons. Queen's lines guard protected our party, who returned with the body without any casualties. The steady and animated fire supported by the enemy convinced us of the strength of their advanced posts. Nothing extraordinary, however, happened during the night after this occurrence.

The governor still continued the party at Lower Forbes's under the lines. On the night of the 23rd they discovered two men near the stone sentry-box, within the ruins of the old barrier. The serjeant's orders (the reader may remember) were, not to fire but in his own defence, or in case of an alarm; but observing them measuring with a chain the distance between the foot of the rock and the Inundation, and thinking they might be persons of some consequence, and probably possessed of memorandums which might discover the motives of their manœuvres, he determined in this case to fire: they, in return, alarmed at his preparations, suddenly appeared

on the defensive; but the serjeant was so lucky as to kill the principal person, and the other ran off. The body was instantly brought in, but no papers of consequence were found about him. He was thought to have been a volunteer. The serjeant, who was a cadet in General Reden's regiment, was soon afterwards promoted to a commission; but whether for this service, or in his tour, I cannot inform my reader.

The enemy's firing seemed now to be directed under the following regulations. About five or six in the morning, when the night-pickets were retiring from their posts, the cannonade commenced, and continued pretty brisk till noon. From twelve to two o'clock there was the usual intermission; for, as I have remarked before, the Spaniards would not be deprived of their customary nap, or siesta. In the decline of the day they discharged more or less, as their caprice dictated. About seven in the evening their cannon ceased, and their mortars took up the fire, continuing it till daybreak of the succeeding day. The ammunition now expended was generally from 400 to 500, and sometimes 600 shells in the 24 hours, with from 600 to 1000 shot. The profusion of the former had greatly diminished the immense piles in their artillery park and their howitzers were by no means so lavish of their troublesome shells as they had been.

The 24th, the Brilliant frigate was raised after much trouble. The same day about noon, upward of 50 boats which had been assembled for the attack, returned to the westward, and the mantlet-boats retired up the river Palmones. The departure of the former, with others which had left the bay the two preceding days, reduced their remaining small craft to a very trifling number.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The Combined Fleets remain in Gibraltar Bay, being determined to oppose the relief of the Garrison—Captain Curtis visits the Enemy's Camp to establish a cartel—Enemy raise additional works—The Combined Fleets greatly distressed by a hurricane—A Spanish line-of-battle ship is driven under the walls of Gibraltar, and submits to the Garrison—At this juncture the British Fleet appear in the Straits, but the convoy unfortunately pass the Rock to the eastward—Letters received from the British Ministry by the Governor—The Combined Fleets, after making repairs, follow the British Fleet, into the Mediterranean, but avoid an action—Lord Howe conducts the convoy safe into the Bay, returns to the westward, and is followed by the Combined Fleets—Enemy's Cannonade diminishes, and the fire from the Garrison increases—Enemy establish a post under the Rock near the Devil's Tower—Repeat their attacks from the gun-boats—The Duc de Crillon acquaints General Elliott that the preliminaries of a General Peace had been signed—Hostilities in consequence cease—The Emperor of Morocco sends a present of cattle with a letter to General Elliott, who soon afterwards receives from England official accounts of the Peace—Interview between the Duc de Crillon and the Governor—The Governor views the Spanish batteries, and dines at San Roque—The Duke returns the visit, in the Garrison—Ceremony of investing the Governor with the Order of the Bath—Sir George Augustus Elliott's speech to the Garrison, upon communicating to them the Thanks of the King and Parliament for their Defence of Gibraltar.

NOTWITHSTANDING that we might naturally infer, from the dispersion of their small craft, that the enemy had at length relinquished the hope of taking Gibraltar by force of arms, yet the continuance of their cannonade, and the presence of the combined fleets (though frequent opportunities had offered for their return to the westward), rendered their conduct so ambiguous that we could form no idea what line they purposed to pursue in their future operations. We knew a relief was intended by the British fleet; but we could never imagine, if there was anything of an equality, that the enemy would venture an opposition, even though a victory might make them masters of Gibraltar. We waited, therefore, a few days to observe the movements of our adversaries, and by their actions expected to solve the difficulty.

The evening of the 26th of September, the whole of the combined army were under arms, formed in one line (which extended about four miles and a half) from the river Guadarranque to

very near Fort Tonara. Some persons of high rank, attended by a numerous suite of cavalry, passed along the front; and they were not dismissed till after sunset. In the evening, Major Horsfall, of the 72nd regiment, was wounded by a splinter of a shell. At night, another of our workmen in the Prince's lines fell from the extremity, and was killed. A party was detached from Landport to bring in the body, and the Queen's lines and other guards ordered to protect them; the enemy however remained quiet. The 27th, their parties began to collect brushwood for fascines. This circumstance served the more to increase our doubts relative to their future conduct. The same day, our navy got up the Porcupine frigate; the engineers also finished the Royal and Green's lodge batteries. The former is 1300, and the latter 900 feet above the level of the isthmus; yet, notwithstanding this elevation, the enemy's fire, during Don Alvarez's bombardment, was found to be so galling, that the engineers were under the necessity of covering them with seasoned mer-

lons. Several launches full of troops were observed, on the 29th, going on board the combined fleet. They were supposed to be marines who had been landed from the men-of-war previous to the grand attack. A flag of truce, the same day, brought clothes for the prisoners. Early on the morning of the 30th, a soldier of the 72nd regiment deserted from the serjeant's party at Lower Forbes's. His own brother was one of the guard. The same day, the combined fleets were joined by a line-of-battle ship. The enemy's cannonade still continued to be about 1000 or 1100 rounds of shot and shells in the 24 hours. Willis's batteries, and the extremity of the Prince's and Queen's lines, were much damaged from the 64-gun battery. A flag of truce went from the garrison with a letter, and two parcels, which had been sent on the 29th, directed for persons who could not be found amongst the prisoners. In the evening of the 30th, the mortar-boats bombarded our camp. At first we imagined they were alone, but the gun-boats soon afterwards fired upon the town from the northward. Two shells fell in the hospital, and wounded several of the sick. Other casualties also happened in the garrison. The prisoners upon Windmill-hill were alarmed, on two or three shells falling near their camp; and it was not without some severity that their guards could keep themselves within the boundaries.

Early on the 1st of October, a boat came into Little Bay, with a Corsican on board, who had escaped from Algeziras. He had been mate of a neutral vessel; but, hearing that some of his relations were in the Corsican corps, he was determined to join his countrymen. The intelligence which he brought was, that Lord Howe only waited some reinforcements to sail for the relief of Gibraltar, and that the combined fleet were resolved to oppose him. Thus consoled with the hope of preventing the intended succours, the enemy still flattered themselves that Gibraltar must of necessity submit, through the mere failure of provisions. In the course of the day, the corpse of

a Spanish officer was washed ashore under our walls: a purse of pistols, and a gold watch, were found in his pockets. He was buried with respect, two navy officers attending the funeral; and the following day, a flag of truce delivered the watch and money, to be returned to his friends. The 2nd, several men were wounded by the enemy's shot, in the gallery above Farringdon's, which continued to be prosecuted with diligence; and Serjeant Harrop, of the 72nd regiment (a man universally noticed and admired for his gallantry and conduct in the works), was killed at Willis's. We observed, the same day, several boats which formerly had mantlets in the bow, returning from the river Palmones; having, as we imagined, undergone some alterations, to enable them to act as gun-boats. In case of a visit from the latter, signals were now determined upon, to intimate when the artillery were to man the batteries. Two guns quick, and a red flag hoisted upon a flag-staff erected on the South bastion, was to be the day signal; two guns quick and a light, the signal for the night. In the evening, we had an opportunity of practising our new signals, by the approach of the mortar-boats, which bombarded the garrison for about two hours. The gun-boats, though perhaps attending them, did not fire. Previous to their visit, some muskets were discharged, and some signals made amongst the fleet; but we could not observe any particular movements.

In the forenoon of the 3rd, a Spanish frigate, with a flag of truce at her fore-top-gallant mast-head, anchored within gun-shot of the Old mole head, and immediately Captain Curtis went on board her. In the forenoon, Captain Curtis returned, and the frigate sailed back to the fleet. The wind at the time was so strong, that she was obliged to leave her anchor behind; which being mentioned to the governor, orders were sent, not to fire upon the boats when they returned to fish it up. The following day, Captain Curtis, accompanied by the governor's secretary and a naval officer, went in his



barge to the Orange-grove; where a carriage waited, and conducted them to Buena Vista, the Duke's quarters. The intention of this visit, we afterwards understood, was to establish a cartel with the Spaniards for the exchange of prisoners. Captain Curtis was introduced, by the Duc de Crillon, to his Royal Highness the Comte d'Artois, who thanked him, in very handsome terms, for his humanity and gallantry in relieving the unfortunate prisoners from the burning battering-ships; requesting Captain Curtis at the same time to inform the governor, that he entertained the highest esteem and respect for him, for his benevolence and liberality to the prisoners upon the same occasion. Before Captain Curtis returned, which was in the evening, the kilns for heating shot were lighted, and other preparations made, as if some attack was expected. During this correspondence, the enemy's batteries observed a proper silence, in respect to the flag. Captain Curtis informed us, that Lord Howe, with the British fleet, was certainly on his passage to the Mediterranean. The garrison did not however feel that indescribable satisfaction and pleasure on receiving this intelligence, which we had experienced when Admirals Rodney and Darby were announced in 1780 and 1781. A French rear-admiral, in a three-decker, with a frigate, and several smaller armed vessels, joined the combined fleet on the 3rd. The man-of-war had many signals flying when she entered the bay, which were answered by the Spanish admiral.

The enemy's cannonade was still continued, with such variation as their caprice dictated. The number of rounds of shot and shells usually exceeded 800 in the 24 hours, and sometimes amounted to 1100 or 1200. We amused them with a trifling return, directed chiefly to their parties, who, to our astonishment, were still forming considerable dépôts of fascines and materials in the *Mies*. Lieutenant Kenneth M'Kenzie, of the 73rd, was wounded on the 4th, in the communication from the King's to the Queen's lines. Two days afterwards, agreeably

to a flag of truce of the preceding day, the Spanish prisoners (excepting 10 sick in the hospital, and 59 Walons and foreigners who requested to stay behind) were sent to the combined camp. The Walons who preferred staying in the garrison were embodied into those corps which chose to receive them. The 39th and 58th regiments entertained 10 each; and the remainder were incorporated with the Corsican company.

Two of the enemy's engineers had been observed on the 4th, picketing out a work, extending from the ruins of the Mahon battery to the western beach, crossing the north-west angle of the farthest gardens. We were at a loss what to conclude from this appearance of a determination still to prosecute the siege. They did not however let us remain long in suspense; for, on the morning of the 6th, we discovered that they had erected a strong boyau of approach, extending, in the line before mentioned, about 430 yards—near a quarter of a mile. It was raised with sand-bags; and from its resemblance to the original capulment of the 64-gun battery, some imagined it was intended for the same purpose; though the engineers were of opinion, it was only a communication to some additional works in embryo. Although the enemy, by throwing up this extensive work, gained by stealth a second advantage upon the garrison, yet the governor was determined, if possible, to prevent them completing it. The Old mole head howitzers, with a warm fire from the heights, were opened at night upon this new object; and, as the former almost entirely enfiladed it, the enemy were so much annoyed, that it was never finished. The night of the 6th, they made good the communication to the parallel, from the extremity of the boyau, near the ruins of the Mahon battery, which was left imperfect the preceding night.

The following day, the St. Martin's battery took fire from the wadding or discharge of their own cannon. One merlon was destroyed, and another considerably damaged, before the flames were extinguished. We threw

a few shells from below, to disturb them in this duty; but otherwise no particular notice was taken of the accident. The enemy found their situation so extremely warm in their new boyau, that, on the night of the 7th, they threw up a strong shoulder at the extremity near the beach, to protect them against the flanking fire of the howitzers of the Old mole head. Our shells were nevertheless fired with such judgment and dexterity as just to clear the traverse, and seemed to do as much execution in the interior part as before. Great quantities of fascines, &c., were scattered in the rear; whence we concluded they purposed working in the night, but had been prevented by the vivacity of our fire. They also repaired the St. Martin's battery. A flag of truce brought over letters for the governor and Captain Curtis on the 8th; and, at night, a boat sailed for Leghorn with a midshipman and six sailors, bearing home dispatches from the governor. This was the first boat or vessel which left the garrison after the victory of the preceding month.

The enemy, about the 8th or 9th, adopted a new plan for the regulation of their bombardment during the night: every 10 or 15 minutes they discharged five, seven, and sometimes ten mortars at the same time, directing the shells principally to the same object. After a silence of the above period, they saluted us with a second volley, and so on till morning gun-fire. The number of rounds continued variable, from 400 to 600 shots, with almost the same proportion of shells, in the 24 hours. They were enabled to expend these immense quantities of ammunition by receiving constant supplies. The parties in the fascine park appeared now to be considerably increased, and an universal activity seemed still to prevail through the different departments. A person, ignorant of what had passed, and suddenly brought to view their proceedings, might therefore naturally conclude from their operations, that they were elated with, and following up some success, rather than depressed by a defeat. On the night of the 9th,

some signals were made at Cabrita Point, which were answered by the combined fleets, each ship showing a light.

The wind blew fresh westerly on the 10th; and two frigates and a cutter joined the combined fleets from that quarter. In the evening, a number of signals were made by the Spanish admiral, which were answered by various ships in the fleet. After sunset, the gale increased, and at midnight it blew a hurricane, with smart showers of rain. Signal-guns were repeatedly fired by the combined fleets; and from their continuance, and the violence of the wind, we concluded some of them were in distress. At daybreak, a Spanish two-decker was discovered in a crippled state, close in shore off Orange's bastion: she was under close-reefed courses, and had lost her mizen topmast. Observing her danger upon an enemy's lee-shore, she suddenly luffed up, and endeavoured to weather the garrison: as she passed several shots were fired through her from the King's bastion, which killed two, and wounded two others; and soon afterwards she grounded near Ragged Staff, and struck to the garrison, hoisting an English jack over her own colours. A boat from the Speedwell cutter immediately took possession of the San Miguel, or St. Michael, of 72 guns, commanded by Don Juan Moreno, a Chef d'Escadre. The officers and men, to the number of 634 (many of whom were dismounted dragoons), were immediately landed, and conducted to the quarters before occupied by their friends upon Windmill-hill. The governor was present when they were brought ashore, and generously permitted them to take their baggage unsearched, and the officers their stock of fresh provisions. When the morning cleared up, so as to admit of our observing the state of the combined fleets, we discovered the whole in great disorder. One was on shore near their grand magazine; a French ship of the line had lost her foremast and bowsprit; one, a three-decker, was missing, supposed to be driven from her anchors to the eastward; and three or four

were forced half-bay over (two within range of the garrison), where they all seemed to be in a very precarious situation. Many of the parapet boats, and other small craft, were also driven on shore near the Orange-grove. If the storm had continued a few hours longer, it is not improbable that a three-decker, with several other ships, would have suffered the fate of the *St. Michael*. The wind, however, abated as the day advanced; and, when the swell would permit them to assist the disabled ships, the boats were busily employed in carrying out anchors and cables to those which appeared most in distress. The garrison were not idle spectators of these movements: several sea-mortars were soon brought to bear on the nearest ships, and one was in a short time obliged to move; but anchoring again off Point Mala, we continued annoying her with shells and red-hot shot, till she warped out of our range.

The prisoners were no sooner landed from the prize, than the seamen began to lighten the vessel, by removing her powder ashore, and cutting away the mizen-mast: but she remaining still aground, they carried out anchors to prevent her going further ashore, intending to renew their exertions to warp her off at high water. The *St. Michael* was esteemed one of the best sailers in the Spanish navy. She was a new ship, built at the Havannah; very lofty between decks, which were of mahogany, and her beams of cedar. When the combined fleets appeared in the English Channel, the *St. Michael* was one of the leading ships, and was also in the squadron which fired upon the garrison the 9th of September, when the *Duc de Crillon* opened his batteries. The Spanish officers informed us they had received intelligence, the preceding day, of the approach of the British fleet; which had induced Admiral Cordova to order the combined fleets to lie at single anchor, and prepare to weigh at the shortest notice: that they were thus situated when the gale came on; and, the hurricane still increasing, a three-decker, early in the morning, ran foul of the *St. Michael*

and forced her from her anchor: that she immediately set sail, but, as the event had evinced, found it impossible to weather the rock.

The intelligence of Lord Howe being so near, now, for the first time, gave us sensible pleasure; not so much on account of our personal situation, as of the advantage which the enemy's recent misfortunes would give his lordship over his opponents, as well toward accomplishing the object of his orders, as affording him a further opportunity of acting as his lordship's well-known abilities might dictate. We were so elated by our enemy's distress, that some were so sanguine as to anticipate the most glorious conclusion of the war and our own sufferings. Our hopes however were soon depressed by the intelligence of Lord Howe's great inferiority in number. Thirty-four sail to oppose forty-two, which still remained at anchor in the bay, gave us reason to be apprehensive for the safety of the British fleet. The navigation of the Straits was so precarious, that if his lordship once entered the Mediterranean he might probably be prevented from returning for a considerable time; and the enemy, though now distressed, might, by the assistance of the camp, soon refit, and attack him under every advantage. By this digression I am, however, anticipating the regular narrative. In the afternoon a French two-decker sailed to the eastward; and soon after a *settee* came in from the west, and fired several guns as she entered the bay. At this time it was so very hazy in the Straits, that we could not see the opposite coasts. About sunset several large ships were discovered through the haze; and soon after, the *Latona* frigate, Captain Conway, anchored under our guns, and informed us that the ships in the Straits were the van of the British fleet, commanded by Lord Howe, consisting of 34 sail of the line, including 11 three-deckers, with 6 frigates and 31 ordnance transports, and a reinforcement of upward of 1600 men for the garrison. Captain Conway further told us of the great anxiety which prevailed at home relative to the situation of Gibraltar;

and that it was only off the southern coast of Portugal that Lord Howe had his uneasiness removed, by receiving intelligence of the enemy's complete defeat. This welcome information, he said, was accompanied by advice, that "the combined fleets had taken their station in the bay of Gibraltar, resolutely determined to prevent, if possible, the intended relief." We learned that, upon receiving the latter intelligence, the admirals and principal officers were summoned on board the *Victory*; where particular instructions and orders were communicated, in expectation of an engagement, which was considered as unavoidable.

Although the enemy's signals for the approach of the British fleet were made early in the afternoon, yet the Spanish admiral exhibited not the least appearance of opposition to any reinforcements being thrown into the garrison. This favourable opportunity was, however, lost; owing, as Lord Howe expresses in his official letter, "to the want of timely attention to the circumstances of the navigation." Only four or five transports reached the rock; the rest, with the fleet, were carried by the current into the Mediterranean. At night, or early on the 12th, Captain Curtis sailed in the *Latona*, to inform Lord Howe of the calamity which had befallen the enemy's fleet. At noon the British fleet appeared in good order off Estepona or Marbella; and the transports, with the frigates, were working to windward to gain the bay. As they approached the isthmus the enemy saluted them from their mortars, and fired upon them from behind the eastern advanced guard-house.

While the British fleet, with the transports, were thus critically situated, the combined fleets were very active in repairing their late damages, and in forming a line of battle along the shore. In the evening a number of troops were embarked on board them from the camp. Their xebèques, cutters, armed brigs, and gun-boats, also assembled in Sandy Bay, with an intention probably of picking up our straggling transports. In the close of the day, however, this

fleet of craft returned to their main fleet. At night the *Panther* man-of-war, and several transports, anchored in the bay.

The enemy on the land-side persevered in their cannonade; and observing that the *St. Michael* had run aground within the range of their batteries, threw great numbers of shells, with an intent to destroy her. Many burst over her, and some fell very near; but, as their artillery could only be directed by her masts, none fell on board. They pointed their usual weight of fire against our works, which the governor (now that a prospect of supplies appeared) returned with unusual vivacity. Their new boyau severely felt the effect of our ordnance. It was considerably deranged, and the enfilading howitzers at the Old mole head prevented them from strengthening it with any additions of consequence. In the garrison orders of the 12th, the following extracts from the dispatches received by the governor were inserted:—

G. O. "Extract from a letter to the governor, from the Right Hon. the Earl of Shelburne, principal secretary of state to his Majesty. Dated St. James's, July 10th, 1782.

"I am also honoured with his Majesty's command to assure you in the strongest terms, that no encouragement shall be wanting to the brave officers and soldiers under your command. His royal approbation of the past will no doubt be a powerful incentive to future exertions; and I have the King's authority to assure you, that every distinguished act of emulation and gallantry which shall be performed in course of the siege by any, even of the lowest rank, will meet with ample reward from his gracious protection and favour. These his Majesty's intentions you will communicate to every part of your garrison, that they may be perfectly satisfied their royal master feels for the difficulties they are under, admires their glorious resistance, and will be happy to reward their merit."

"Extract from a letter to the governor from the Right Hon. Gen. Conway, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces. Dated August 31st, 1782.

"I am now to add that I have the King's command to inform you, that he is in the greatest degree satisfied with the brave and steady defence made by your garrison; and his Majesty is desirous of showing them every mark of his royal approbation. It is in this light that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent to granting hat and forage-money, as a proper indulgence to your officers."

These extracts were perused by the garrison with great satisfaction, as they demonstrated that the safety of Gibraltar was esteemed a matter of the first importance; and flattered us with the agreeable hopes that our late services would be duly appreciated by our friends and countrymen.

The British fleet, at daybreak on the 13th, was still off Marbella, with the wind at west. About nine o'clock A.M. the Spanish admiral made the signal for the combined fleets to weigh anchor. By one o'clock the whole were under way. At three a French rear-admiral, being the last of the rear division, cleared the bay. Their number in all amounted to 80 sail, of which the following, I believe, is an accurate account: 6 three-deckers, 38 two-deckers, including several fifties (total, 44 men-of-war); 5 frigates, 29 xebecs, cutters, armed ships, and brigs; also 2, imagined to be fire-ships. Notwithstanding little doubt was to be entertained of the enemy's intention of leaving the bay, the Panther man-of-war remained at anchor with several officers of the garrison on board, whom the governor had permitted to act as volunteers in the expected engagement. When the combined fleets had cleared the bay, they stood some time to the southward, and leaving a line-of-battle ship and two frigates to prevent the Panther from joining, her admiral, drove with the current some leagues to the eastward. They then appeared to edge down towards the British fleet, which was in close line of battle upon a wind, with their heads to the south-

ward; the transports, with the frigates which had been beating up, falling behind them to leeward. Thus were both fleets situated at the close of the evening. Before the enemy had totally quitted the bay, Captain Curtis landed in a small boat from the *Latona* frigate, with 20,000*l.* in specie for the garrison, having narrowly escaped being cut off by the combined fleets. He told us the British fleet were in high spirits, and impatient to engage, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority. When the combined fleets first appeared in motion, the Spanish prisoners who had been landed from the *St. Michel* were so overjoyed, that they could not forbear expressing their ecstasies in so riotous a manner as to call for some severity, to confine them within the limits of their camp.

As our observations on the manœuvres of the fleet were interrupted soon after sunset, we impatiently waited for the succeeding day to be spectators of the action, which was now considered as impossible to be avoided; and orders were therefore given for preparing several wards in the Navy hospital for the reception of the wounded: but, on the dawn of the 14th, the fleets, to our astonishment, were some leagues distant from each other; the British being to leeward in the south-east quarter, whilst the combined fleets appeared in the north-east, off Estepona. In the evening the British fleet could be discovered only from the summit of the rock. It seemed to the garrison that the Spanish admiral, by having the weather-gage, had it in his option to bring the British fleet to action if he pleased. The fleets being thus separated, the Panther, about noon, endeavoured to join Lord Howe, but put back for want of wind. Seventeen gunboats came from Algeiras, apparently to prevent her leaving the bay; but observing her cast anchor, they returned.

The enemy's cannonade on the land-side was continued with great vivacity. A few days, nay, probably hours, were to turn the balance for or against their future hopes of obtaining the grand object of their wishes: they were not therefore economical in their ammuni-

tion; nor was the garrison in the least behind them in the brisk use of their ordnance. Lieut. Gronley, of the Royal Artillery, was mortally wounded in the evening at Willis's, and died soon after he was brought to the hospital.

Part of the combined fleets, in the morning of the 15th, was seen (though the weather was very hazy) off Marbella. The British fleet was out of sight; the Panther nevertheless attempted to join them. About 8 A.M. the wind came about to the eastward. In the forenoon 9 polacres sailed from the Spanish camp, with troops on board for Ceuta. This brought to our recollection the critical state of that garrison both as to men and provisions, when Admiral Rodney was in their neighbourhood in 1780; and the enemy, from embracing this opportunity of sending supplies, appeared not entirely to have forgotten it. About noon, the British fleet was discovered in the offing, to the south-east of Ceuta, standing under an easy sail towards the rock. At night the *Latona*, with 8 or 10 transports, anchored in the bay. They informed us that the *Buffalo* man-of-war, with the remaining twelve transports, had separated (by order) from the fleet, but had not afterwards joined. This intelligence gave us some uneasiness for their safety; but we flattered ourselves they were gone, agreeably to instructions, to the Zafarine Islands, the place of rendezvous in case the fleets engaged. Capt. Conway, after a short conference with the governor, returned in the morning of the 16th to the British fleet, which was cruising to the eastward of the rock, with the wind at east. The combined fleets were not in sight: we concluded therefore that they were gone to Malaga to make further repairs, and join those ships which had been forced from the bay on the 11th. Since the arrival of the first transports, the garrison had been busily employed in disembarking the supplies. The former fleets had brought us principally provisions; this brought us only men and ammunition, which probably might, without this supply, have become as scarce articles as the former had been.

The exertions of the navy not being successful in floating the *St. Michael*, a hundred sailors were detached on board on the 17th, to their assistance; and not long afterwards, she was anchored off the New mole. It was peculiarly fortunate that she grounded on a bank of sand, though she was surrounded with rocks: her bottom was therefore little injured. Sir Charles Knowles, Bart., who had been formerly on this station, was appointed to command her. The wind had now changed to the south-west; and, in the forenoon of the same day, a British frigate appeared from the west. She made a signal when off Europa, which being answered by our fleet, she immediately joined them. At night, the gun-boats being heard in the bay, our batteries were manned to receive them; but, upon a gun being fired from the *St. Michael*, they threw up their rockets and returned. Some were of opinion that they meditated an attempt to cut her out. The 18th, the wind again came about to the east; and the *Buffalo*, with eleven of the missing transports, arrived in the course of the day. These ships, as we had conjectured, had separated from the fleet, and were proceeding to the place of rendezvous, when, not hearing any firing, and the wind veering about, they returned, and were very near joining the combined fleets, but discovered their error time enough to rectify it. The missing vessel, they informed us, had been taken by the enemy, some days before, off Malaga; and, having on board the wives and baggage of the two regiments which were on board the fleet, and were intended for our reinforcement, her capture greatly distressed those corps, and the garrison heartily consoled with them. The *Latona*, in her return to the fleet, chased and boarded a vessel, which proved to be a Spanish fire-ship. The crew, deserting her, were conducted, by two gun-boats attending, to a xebecque at some distance, which afterwards went into Ceuta. The prize was sent into the bay. About noon, 4 or 5 men-of-war arrived from the fleet, with the 25th and 59th regiments. Lord Mulgrave, who com-

manded the disembarkation, landed the troops with the greatest expedition under the line-wall at the New mole, Rosia and Camp bays, and returned to Lord Howe off Tetuan. The two regiments were encamped before ten o'clock at night; the former behind the barracks, the latter upon Windmill-hill. We now learned that the admiral, having accomplished the object of the expedition, intended to embrace the favourable opportunity of the wind, and immediately return to the westward. In the course of the night, the fire-ship brought in by Capt. Conway was purposely set on fire, and being anchored apart from the shipping, blew up without doing any damage. The *Latona* soon afterwards joined the British fleet. Capt. Vallotton, the governor's first aide-de-camp, embarked in her to bear home the governor's public dispatches. Capt. Curtis also went in her, to communicate information from the governor to Lord Howe; and did not return.

At daybreak on the 19th, both fleets, to our great astonishment, were in sight; the combined fleets being some leagues to windward. When the British fleet was abreast of Europa, Lord Howe dispatched the *Tisiphone* fire-ship, with a further supply of powder collected from the fleet. The British fleet afterwards put before the wind, and stood, under an easy sail, in close order to the westward. The van of the combined fleet, composed of French ships, followed with a press of canvass at some distance. By two o'clock P.M. Lord Howe's fleet was out of sight; but the Spanish ships sailing heavily, it was night before they disappeared. Though fully convinced of the prudence of his lordship's conduct, it was no very pleasing prospect for a British garrison to behold a British fleet, though inferior in force, lead the enemy. At night, the wind changed to the south-west; and the succeeding day, a brisk cannonade was heard from that quarter. This, however, could not proceed from the action which afterwards took place between the fleets, as the firing was heard early in the morning. Some time on the 19th, a guard of 2 subalterns and 96 men was ordered

from the 25th and 59th regiments on board the *St. Michael*, where they remained till she was completely repaired.

Several large ships were observed, on the 20th, to be anchored at some distance from Algeziras; and, as six or seven were conjectured to be fire-ships, precautions were accordingly taken, and the batteries from South bastion to Europa ordered, in case of alarm, to be doubly manned. The enemy, the same day, got off the man-of-war which ran ashore, near their grand magazine. In the evening some movements were observed in the French camp; and on the succeeding day most of the tents were struck. In the afternoon, the resident Spanish priest was confined to his house, for holding conversation with some of the prisoners on Windmill-hill. The enemy's cannonade was still continued, upon an average of about 500 or 600 rounds in the 24 hours. They lined some part of the new boyau with fascines, and raised a few traverses in the rear, notwithstanding our brisk fire: they were, however, prevented from making any additions of consequence. On the 22nd, a polacre arrived from Algiers, with intelligence from the British consul, that Lord Howe had sailed for the relief of Gibraltar. Happily his lordship had effected that business, and, probably, before they at Algiers were informed of the British fleet having left England.

The extreme distress which the garrison had experienced in the close of the years 1779 and 1780, and the great profits which from the exigencies of those periods had arisen to the adventurers who ran the hazard of a voyage with provisions for our relief, were by this time pretty generally known at home. The favourable opportunity of a safe convoy under the British fleet, prompted, therefore, many masters of transports, some of whom had been in the garrison before, during the war, to lay in a stock of various articles, with the prospect that the distresses of their friends might afford these truly humane and generous patriots an occasion, to sell them, on their arrival, at their own price. Although these supplies were most highly acceptable, yet the

garrison was not at this time in such absolute need of their assistance, as to purchase them at those enormous prices which before had been given with pleasure; nor in justice did we think, from the little risk the adventurers ran, that they deserved such immense profits. A committee of officers from every corps assembled on the 23rd, to consider what measures to pursue in order to prevent such impositions in future; and, as every article brought to the garrison was sold at public auction, it was unanimously agreed, that a certain price should be fixed upon each article, allowing such profit as might reasonably be thought adequate to the hazard; and, when the estimate was published, every officer, I believe, pledged his honour not to exceed the terms therein specified. (See App.)

The prudent and manly regulation of the committee was strictly attended to for about a fortnight, but it had not that immediate effect we expected; many of our generous countrymen, rather than dispose of their ventures for a profit of 150, and in some instances 300 per cent., very liberally determined not to land them, but to sell them for a trifling advantage at Lisbon, or elsewhere, in their way home. We should nevertheless have soon got the better of their obstinacy had we continued determined and consistent ourselves; but some individuals who preferred self-gratification to the public good, beginning to evade the agreement, the whole was cancelled and the demands of the adventurers became afterwards as exorbitant, if not more so than before. So little dependence is there upon the adherence of a multitude to any summary regulations, however essential to their real interest.

The mortar-boats, on the night of the 23rd, paid us a visit, and did considerable damage. Their shells were chiefly directed towards the New mole. The Hector cutter, in government service, was sunk by a shell, and everything on board lost. Several other vessels narrowly escaped the same fate. We fired upon them from Willis's and the Old mole; but their gun-boats were silent. The 24th, we observed

that the enemy had struck the tents of four or five battalions, and two regiments were seen this day marching along the beach. The day following some baggage was observed removing from the Duke's quarters; which gave us great hopes that his Grace was preparing to leave the camp, and that matters were verging towards a conclusion. In the evening a deserter came in, a native Catalanian. He informed us there had been an engagement between the British and combined fleets, but could give us no particulars. He further told us that their camp was breaking up: 16 battalions had already marched away, and others were preparing to decamp: that they had ceased to work in their approaches; and that their night-guards consisted of 4000 men, under the command of two brigadier-generals: concluding with acquainting us, that the winter camp before the garrison was to consist of 20,000 men: that additional gun-boats were building to constantly harass us; and that a corporal and 12 men were stationed in the gardens to prevent desertion. The 26th, the tents occupied by the Duke's corps encamped before Buena Vista were struck: which served to increase our hopes, that the prospect was not far distant of an end to our fatigues. Don Juan Moreno left the garrison the same day, with a flag of truce. Our boat could not learn any further account of the engagement; but the officers were informed, that a general peace was expected, as the independence of America had been acknowledged by Great Britain.

More battalions, left the enemy's camp on the 27th: their cannonade nevertheless was continued, and several shot ranged as far as the entrance of Windmill-hill; a distance of about 5000 yards. Their camp was still decreasing on the 28th and 29th; and we judged from our observations, that about 23 battalions, with a brigade of artillery, had marched into the country. The last deserters said many had taken their route to Cadiz. The 30th, we observed the enemy had stationed a guard under the rock near the Devil's tower. They were taken some notice



of by our artillery, who endeavoured to annoy them with small projectiles from the summit of the northern front. The *Tisiphone*, Captain Sandys, with five or six ordnance-ships (having 160 Jews on board), sailed for England early in the morning of the 31st. The same day, a soldier of the 97th regiment was killed at Rosia, by a long-range shot from the isthmus. This shot must have ranged more than two miles and a half.

Three deserters came in on the 2nd and 4th of November, but could give no satisfactory information relative to the action between the fleets. They said the French troops had quitted the camp with the Royal volunteers. The enemy's camp continued to break up on the 7th and 8th; though some of the regiments, it was imagined, took possession of the large building eastward of Point Mala, which had been built for a hospital. On the 7th, two men-of-war and a sloop (supposed to be French, from the West Indies) passed to the eastward. The Spanish gun-boats seemed to suspect they were enemies, and intended to come in; as they were in motion, and appeared to be preparing for an attack. The 8th, 23 gun-boats paraded at a short distance from the garrison, extending in a line a-head to the southward. We expected an attack upon the St. Michael; but, an easterly wind springing up, they returned. They had scarcely got back, when a signal was made at Cabrita Point, and they again put about. Our attention was engaged by this manœuvre; and, upon investigating the cause, we discovered a sloop standing toward the garrison from the eastward. If this vessel had continued the course she then steered, she might undoubtedly have reached the rock: whether, however, it was owing to the westerly current off Europa, or the ignorance of the crew, we could not determine; in the course of an hour she drove so considerably to leeward, as to be out of the protection of our guns, and, after receiving several discharges of round and grape from the gun-boats, was boarded by the enemy. Sir Charles Knowles, Bart. (who since Captain Cur-

tis's departure commanded in the bay), ordered several barges out to her assistance, but to no purpose. A boat, with five of her crew, escaped to the garrison, and informed us she was laden with sugar and tea from Falmouth. Soon afterwards a Danish dogger was brought to an anchor in the bay, by a gun from Europa: she was laden with rice and pilchards from England. A flag of truce on the 9th went with a letter to the Duke; and, in the evening, another brought over Ensign Lewis, of the 58th regiment, with a quarter-master and a volunteer of the 25th, who had been taken in the *Minerva* brig, with the baggage, &c., of the 25th and 59th regiments. This flag also brought over other prisoners. By these gentlemen, we learned that an engagement had taken place between Lord Howe and Admiral Cordova, and that the latter was returned into port with his fleet much shattered.

After the departure of the fleets, little attention was paid by the enemy to the blockade. Not one cruiser was now to be seen in the Straits or to the eastward, and few vessels of force were stationed at Cabrita Point. The idea of gaining Gibraltar, either by force or stratagem, seemed at length to be totally relinquished. Their cannonade from the land nevertheless was continued; but, as it gradually diminished, and scarce exceeded at this time 250 rounds in the 24 hours, we imagined it would in a short time totally cease. The St. Philip's Castle, and several ordnance-ships, had left the bay the evening of the 8th; and, on the 10th and 12th, two light vessels came to Algeziras, which, from their appearance, were thought to be of the latter. On the 12th, a flag of truce went with a letter to the Duke. Whilst it was out the enemy's gun-boats commenced a smart cannonade upon the St. Michael (which was now refitted), whilst their mortar-boats bombarded our camp. We returned their fire, and two of the mortar-boats retired very early, the others following them in about an hour. Three or four shot were fired through the St. Michael, but no other damage was received. Our flag returned just

as the cannonade ceased. As it appeared probable that the enemy might renew their attacks upon the prize, Colonel Williams, who commanded the artillery, ordered more mortars to be distributed along the sea-line, from the King's bastion to the New mole fort. The 15th, a regiment quitted their camp; and at night their workmen raised about 20 traverses in the rear of their advanced boyau, extending from the parallel about half the length of the work. Our fire at this period was variable. The day following, between 20 and 30 transports, with troops on board, sailed under convoy of two frigates for the westward. Their artillery also about this time removed most of the ordnance from their park to the landing place, where we numbered 30 cannon and 5 mortars, with a great quantity of shot and shells ready for embarkation. The 17th, a xebeque and several armed vessels and gun-boats anchored at Cabrita Point, as if they had determined to renew the blockade. Three days after, all the Spanish prisoners taken in the St. Michael (excepting a few who chose to remain behind) were sent to the camp. The Spanish officers, on this occasion, informed us that there had been an engagement between the British and combined fleets, which had ended to the advantage of the former. In the evening of the 20th, a party of about 100 men were seen to go from the eastern part of the enemy's parallel to the back of the rock. We could not at that time account for the marching of these troops. The small craft continued at Cabrita Point; the men-of-war and larger vessels being at anchor off the Orange-grove. Four sail of the line and three frigates, beside xebèques, &c., were now in the bay. The enemy, on the 21st and 22nd, embarked a vast quantity of powder from their grand magazine on board the men-of-war. Most of the spare ordnance had already been shipped on board, and others were removing daily toward the beach.

Two boats arrived on the 23rd from Portugal: they brought certain intelligence of the preceding action between the fleets. The particulars of this in-

telligence were, that a partial action had taken place between the British of 34 ships, and the combined fleets of 46 ships of the line; that, though the latter had the weather-gage, they studiously avoided a close engagement; and, after a cannonade of several hours, hauled their wind and directed their course to Cadiz. The same day Lieutenant John M'Kenzie, of the 73rd, was dangerously wounded at Willis's. The enemy's fire now scarcely exceeded 150 rounds. Two more boats got in from Faro the night of the 26th. Our success in obtaining these welcome supplies rendered the enemy more vigilant and active to intercept them. Every boat, even friends, which approached the rock, raised their suspicion.

Though every appearance in their camp indicated that they had given up all hopes of subduing the garrison by force, their parties on the isthmus continued to be very busy, and some evenings they made additions of traverses to their works. Heavy timber was also brought forward to the parallel, but for what purpose we could not then imagine. Their advanced parties had likewise the audacity frequently to approach half-way upon the causeway from Bay-side; but, the artillery having orders to scour the gardens, and the neighbourhood of Bay-side, with grape from the Old mole, their curiosity in a short time was pretty well cooled. Toward the close of this month, the enemy's fire became more faint and ill directed, whilst ours was more animated and effectual. Our engineers continued to be constantly engaged. The rebuilding of the whole flank of the Prince of Orange's bastion, 120 feet in length, with solid masonry (which was now nearly finished), in the face of such powerful artillery, can scarcely be paralleled in any siege.

In the beginning of December, the Achilles ordnance ship, with two or three boats, arrived from England and Portugal. The 6th, a Venetian ship was driven by the current under the guns of Europa. We fired to bring her to, and the master instantly came ashore and informed us she was bound to London; but, before he could re-

turn, his vessel was boarded by three gun-boats, which towed her to Algiziras. The master then came into the garrison, and at night was permitted to follow his vessel. The following evening a German deserted to us from the Walon guards. He informed us that the enemy stationed every evening a guard of 300 men near the Devil's tower, where they had miners at work in a cave, hoping to form a mine to blow up the north part of the rock. We paid no kind of attention at first to this intelligence, so ridiculous and even chimerical the scheme appeared. Recollecting, however, that a party had been observed to march that way some evenings before, and remarking, upon a closer inspection, that every evening a numerous body of men approached along the eastern shore toward that quarter, we began to give some credit to this singular information.\* The above deserter also informed us that the enemy had removed some ordnance from the parallel, but that their guards and advanced parties were still very strong.

By this period, our engineers had penetrated a considerable distance in the gallery above Farrington's battery, and had opened 5 embrasures to the front of the rock; and, to have a more secure communication to this singular work, a covered way was sunk, by blasting the rock from the above-mentioned battery to the entrance of the gallery. The success with which this work had been prosecuted, and the considerable advantages which promised to result from it when finished, induced the governor to order that a similar battery, but only for 2 guns, should be made in the rock near Croucheff's battery, above the Prince of Hesse's bastion; and the workmen had now made some advances therein. On the 12th, a guard-boat of the St. Michael, with 2 officers and 7 sailors, went over to the enemy. We after-

wards learned from the officers, who returned in a flag of truce, that the sailors rose upon them, saying they were resolved to go over to the enemy: that Lieut. Small, who commanded the boat, drew his hanger, and attempted a stroke at the man who was spokesman upon the occasion; but that he was knocked down by the coxswain with the tiller of the rudder: that, whilst he was thus senseless, they had it in debate to throw him overboard; but, by the intercession of the young midshipman, he was preserved, and, when taken ashore, was some time before he recovered.

The enemy's parties under the rock, near the Devil's tower, began now to engage our curiosity. Every part of the north front was explored, to endeavour, if possible, to discover what they were about. At length, on the 15th, a place was found above Green's lodge, whence we could distinguish a part of their work. The communication with this post, being along a level beach, was greatly exposed to our fire. When their parties were discovered advancing from the east flank of the 64-gun battery, our artillery at Willis's and on the heights prepared to salute them. They were permitted to approach unmolested within 200 or 300 yards, when a general volley was discharged of colorn-shells, with grape, seconded by the mortars on the Levant battery, loaded with hand-shells, or grenades, quilted together. A *chance*, or mine, was sometimes sprung upon them from the top, when they had nearly got under the rock; the stones from which added not a little to their confusion and loss. Notwithstanding that they were in this manner obliged every evening to pass the gantelope of our fire, they continued to bring materials, and maintained their post with surprising obstinacy. Some of the guard were seen frequently, in the day, to advance from their cover: a party of Corsicans, who hitherto had done no other duty than guard the prisoners on Windmill-hill, were ordered therefore to the post above Green's lodge, to fire wall-pieces upon those that appeared from below.

\* In 1727, the besiegers formed the design of blowing up Willis's batteries by a mine; but it is imagined they found it impracticable, as they never attempted to spring the mine, though the Journal of that Siege mentions it was loaded.

A flag of truce went from the garrison on the 17th. The Spanish aide-camp informed us that preliminaries of a general peace were expected to be signed in the course of the month. The succeeding day another flag went from the governor with letters to the Duke: it had scarcely returned, when 29 gun and mortar boats commenced a spirited attack upon the St. Michael, and other ships, at anchor off Buena Vista. Since these boats had made a custom of firing upon the garrison, we never remarked them to be arranged with more judgment, or to behave with greater gallantry, than they did on this occasion. The mortar-boats composed the centre division, and a division of gun-boats was arranged on each flank; their line of battle extending about 2 miles. They got their distance the first round, and retained it with such precision, that almost every shell fell within 50 yards of the St. Michael, which was the chief object of their attack. The 74th shell fell on board, about mid-ship; pierced the first, and broke on the lower deck; killed 4, and wounded 11 sailors, 3 of them mortally. After this accident, Sir Charles Knowles, being apprehensive of the most fatal consequences if a shell should fall into the magazine, removed the powder, through the opposite port-holes, into a launch, which was immediately towed under the rock: 80 barrels, which could not be removed, were thrown into the sea. The enemy still maintained a warm fire, but, it is imagined, did not observe that any had fallen on board the ship. Several shells carried away ornaments and parts of her rigging: fortunately however she received no further injury. Not one shell came ashore from the boats. Captain Gibson, at the commencement of the action, rowed out with 8 gun-boats from the New mole, and very warmly attacked their northern division. On his appearing in motion, 3 parapet boats advanced from the Orange-grove to take our boats in flank. One of this number was however soon disabled by the garrison, and the other two joined the main body. When the enemy had expended their

ammunition, the mortar-boats retired, and the gun-boats covered their retreat in a most beautiful manner. They stood towards the Orange-grove, and embarked some of their crews on board the men-of-war. Three of the line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and a xebec, with several bomb-ketches, and other vessels, which were all laden with military stores, sailed to the westward. The enemy's land batteries, as is mentioned before, were gradually diminishing in their fire; but, upon this occasion, they supported the boats from the bay with a very animated additional cannonade.

The remainder of the enemy's ships, laden with military stores, sailed on the night of the 19th from the Orange-grove to the westward. The wind continued easterly; and, on the succeeding night, or rather the morning of the 21st, blew so strong a gale, that the St. Michael was driven from her anchors more than half-bay over: every exertion was made to recover her station, but all proved ineffectual; when fortunately an eddy-wind brought her about, and Sir Charles Knowles was happy to run her aground within the New mole on a sand-bank south of the tank. The gale was so powerful on Windmill-hill, that the tents of the 59th regiment were torn from the pickets, and carried a considerable distance from the camp-ground. To obviate the like disagreeable circumstances in future, that regiment was removed to encamp in Southport ditch, opposite Sydow's (formerly Hardenberg's) regiment. This arrangement obliged the town-parade to be changed; and the guards afterwards assembled on the Red sands, which continues at this time to be the general parade. In the course of the day, the St. Michael was warped into deep water, and moored in the New mole. At night a deserter came in: he informed us that the enemy had 20 miners at work near the Devil's tower, protected by a strong guard; that we annoyed their communication with that post very much, and every evening killed and wounded many men. In consequence of this intelligence, our fire toward

that quarter was increased. A flag of truce, on the 20th, had informed us that the women belonging to the 25th and 59th regiments were at the enemy's camp, waiting more moderate weather, to be sent by water into the garrison. The 22nd, they were received; but, upon their landing, they were conducted to the Naval hospital, where some few of them were detained by the faculty as exceptionable. Lieut. Small, of the navy, came over on the 23rd, in a flag of truce. He told us the enemy's small craft had materially suffered from the storm which had so greatly endangered the St. Michael. The Duc de Crillon, the day following, visited the parallel, and was present in the western boyau, whilst an engineer picketed out a work at the extremity of it, near the beach. At intervals, we could now distinctly hear the explosion of the mines in the enemy's cave or gallery at the Devil's tower. Few men were however to be seen in that neighbourhood; though at night they continued the reliefs, and brought materials as usual.

In the afternoon of the 25th, being Christmas-day, we observed the gun and mortar boats in motion; and, about four o'clock, 18 of the former and 11 of the latter advanced from Algeziras, apparently with an intention of renewing their attack upon the unfortunate St. Michael; but, 11 of our gun-boats, under the personal orders of Sir Charles Knowles, opposing them, the centre division of mortar-boats, and the southward division, stood toward Europa, and began a warm bombardment upon our camp; throwing their shells indiscriminately from Windmill-hill to South shed. Our gun-boats in this action behaved with great gallantry, directing their opposition entirely against the mortar-boats; the fire of which they in a great measure diverted from the shipping. A blind shell nevertheless fell into the ward-room of the St. Michael; and another shell carried away the mizen-mast of the Porcupine frigate, and burst in the state cabin. Seven or eight shells fell within the hospital-wall: one exploded in a ward, and killed and wounded several of the sick. Several

houses and sheds were also destroyed, and others considerably injured. In short, it was thought to be the warmest attack we had ever experienced from the gun-boats; and our men, being mostly in spirits after their Christmas dinner, were consequently less upon their guard. One was killed, and seven were wounded, in the camp. As our artillery had time to prepare, the enemy's cannonade was returned with great vivacity, but the mortar-boats and southward division had taken so judicious a station, that few ordnance could be brought to bear upon them. We had nevertheless some reason to conclude their loss was superior to our own. Their land batteries (with the addition of Fort St. Philip and the Black battery, which had been silent some time) upon this occasion, as upon the last, increased their fire upon the town. We therefore had the enemy upon our whole front, from Europa Point to Landport. At a quarter past six o'clock the mortar-boats retired, and were covered in their retreat by the gun-boats, as before.\* This dishonourable and cruel mode of prosecuting the war, we had reason to think, would be continued till a peace should put an end to all hostilities. The enemy had been very industrious in impressing this pleasing information on the memories of the women who had been lately detained by the weather in their camp. They were told, for their comfort, that, as the besieging army had been reluctantly compelled to relinquish the idea of recovering Gibraltar, they were determined to harass and alarm the garrison by successive attacks from the gun and mortar boats,

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\* It was during this attack that the materials from which this work is compiled were in the most imminent danger of being entirely destroyed.—A 13-inch shell from the enemy's mortar boats, falling above the camp guard, rolled along the road leading from Buena Vista and entered the author's marquee, brushing the pillow of his bed, and lodging closely under the corner of the bedstead; though lighted when it entered, and though its force must have been greatly spent in the ricochets before it entered, the fuse luckily broke as it lodged within, and the marquee, with its contents, by that fortunate circumstance was preserved.

which, for the purpose of having regular reliefs, were to be increased in number: thus, by being exposed to a revengeful enemy, the prospect before us promised to be more irksome and vexatious than the more interesting period which had passed.

Although the enemy's fire from the isthmus was almost discontinued, the governor, towards the conclusion of December, made up for their deficiency by a more animated discharge than usual: every night the whole north front appeared a continued line of fire. The Devil's tower chiefly engaged his attention: their guard at this post was generally relieved about seven or eight o'clock in the evening, if not prevented by our fire. The work of sand-bags, which we could see from one spot, was totally destroyed; and the sloping timbers which they had placed against the rock to protect them from the overhead fire, were much shattered by the weighty fragments of rock which were hurled upon them from above. The night of the 27th, the enemy opened three embrasures in the epaulment at the east end of the 64-gun battery. The embrasures were then masked, and, the succeeding evening, were faced with fascines. The night of the 29th, they raised a work of sand-bags, of about 100 feet in extent, at the western extremity of the new boyau. It was picketed out when the Duke was present, and extended to the rear at right angles with the epaulment. The 30th, 19 gun and mortar boats came out of the river Palmones, where they generally retired to repair, after firing upon the garrison. The evening of the succeeding day being very calm, and some movements being observed amongst them, we expected they would commence the new year with another visit: but we were happily disappointed. Since we were sufficiently persuaded of the conduct which the enemy had determined to pursue for the remainder of the war, the governor again adopted the idea of retaliation: the gun mounted on Colonel Williamson's elevated carriage was removed to the Old mole head, and other preparations were made to annoy their camp, when the boats

should renew their attack. In the course of December several vessels and boats arrived with stores and supplies. Others likewise left the bay, and flags of truce frequently passed between the governor and the Duke. Their purport was not, however publicly known.

The last day of December, a party of the navy fished up one of the guns from the wreck of the battering-ships; and the following day, the 1st of January, 1783, the gun, which was of iron and a 26-pounder, was drawn in procession by the British tars, with a Spanish ensign, which had been taken from on board one of the ships, displayed over it, and attended by a band of music, playing "God save the King."\*

Our observations made upon the enemy's proceedings at the Devil's tower were as yet very unsatisfactory, though, by the enterprising activity of a serjeant in the artificers, we knew that they were in reality at work in a cave: for he had descended, by means of ropes and ladders, so low down the face of the rock as to see the mouth of the cave, and hear the people converse. Early, therefore, on the morning of the 4th, three of the governor's staff went in a barge, protected by two gunboats, to reconnoitre this post. Their curiosity prompted them to approach nearer than was perhaps prudent, as the guard fired musketry upon them, and a gun or two were discharged from Fort Barbara. Soon after they returned, the new 3-gun battery, at the east end of the 64-gun battery, was unmasked, though the guns were under metal. In the afternoon of the same day, the gun and mortar boats advanced in two divisions from Algeiras, and, when half-bay over, were joined by a third division of five from Cabrita Point, consisting in all of thirty-three. The centre division of sixteen, principally mortar-

\* Many more of these guns were afterwards recovered from the wrecks; and most of them, being of brass, were sold; the produce of the sales, and other moneys arising from the head-money granted by Parliament for the battering-ships, and the sale of the St. Michael prize, were proportioned in shares to the garrison and marine brigade.—See Appendix.

boats, was warmly attacked by Sir Charles Knowles, with eleven of ours, whilst the northern division was as briskly annoyed from the King's bastion. This division of twelve gun-boats had the boldness to approach within the range of grape, and suffered very considerably. One was undoubtedly sunk by a howitzer shell, and others were greatly damaged. Two of the mortar-boats were also driven from the line, and several others were observed to be in confusion. The land-batteries, which had been silent since the Duke had visited the lines on the 2nd of January, seconded the attack by sea with a very animated fire. The bay being calm, and little wind blowing to carry off the smoke, the appearance of this attack altogether, from the extent of the front engaged, was tremendous. Lieutenant Holloway, of the engineers, aide-de-camp to General Green, was wounded by a splinter of a shell, which fell opposite to General de la Motte's quarters at the southward, where the staff at the southward usually assembled upon these occasions. Two men were killed, and one wounded, in the garrison; but the seamen had no casualties. The St. Michael also on this occasion escaped; and it was remarked not one shell fell near the hospital. When the boats had expended 83 shot and 206 shells, they retired: from the isthmus 578 shot and 102 shells were discharged in this short period.

When our artillery had put the batteries in order, a party was detached, about eight in the evening, to the Old mole; and upward of 100 rounds of red-hot shot, with large and small shells, were thrown into the enemy's camp: all appeared to answer, except the heavy shells, the fuses of which were in general too short for the range. The following morning, several pieces of a gun-boat, an oar, with some bread, garlic, &c., were seen floating in the bay, and gathered by our boats. This served to strengthen our conjecture of the preceding evening, that one of their gun-boats had been sunk in the action. In the evening, about nine o'clock, our northern guards were surprised with a sudden discharge of musketry on the

causeway, and in the neighbourhood of Bay-side: it was immediately returned from Landport and the lines, with a few rounds of grape from Covert-port battery; after which there was a dead silence. The next morning a bloody hat, with several shot-holes through it, was taken up near Bay-side. We could not otherwise account for this firing than by supposing that some of the enemy, attempting to desert, had been observed and pursued. One or two of our own men in the Flèche were wounded by the scattered grape-shot from the Covert-port battery.

The evening of the 9th, the enemy paraded with only 23 boats, seemingly with an intention of renewing their attack upon the shipping and garrison; but Sir Charles appearing with his small force, his opponents thought proper to retire. We were however alarmed, early the next morning, by their firing upon the garrison: they approached very cautiously, and directed their fire towards the New mole. Sir Charles Knowles had his boats soon manned; but had not been long out before one of them was unfortunately sunk by a splinter from one of our own shells which burst in the air. The crew were instantly taken up by their friends, and the boat towed in. The land batteries opened as before, and continued firing until the boats retreated. Our shipping received no damage, nor were any seamen hurt; but in the garrison we had 1 killed and 15 or 16 wounded, beside a Jew, an inhabitant. One of their shells fell into the north pavilion of the South barracks, and burst upon the second floor: the officers were luckily out; for the rooms, above and below, were totally destroyed. When the smoke had sufficiently dispersed, we numbered 38 boats, but (as their sterns were towards us) could not distinguish how many carried mortars. The governor saluted their camp in the evening from the Old mole. A boat arrived on the 11th from Faro, with dispatches to the governor. The Brilliant frigate was ordered soon afterwards to be prepared for sea.

The enemy's cannonade from the

land, except when the gun-boats fired, was at this time so trifling that it scarcely deserved the name of a continuation. Our engineers were therefore employed in repairing the curtain of the Grand battery, the north face and flank of Montague's bastion, with the adjoining curtain; and, though the men were much exposed in this duty, the enemy seldom if ever molested them. Their parties continued bringing various materials from the parallel to the post at the Devil's tower. We never allowed them to pass, or even appear, without a tremendous volley of shells and grape, and fragments of stones discharged from the summit of the rock. But our artillery were not solely engaged with the enemy in this quarter; every annoyance that could be devised was directed against them in all quarters. The ordnance, since the arrival of the last dispatches from Faro, were kept in as quick action as the metal would permit. A party of Corsicans were also stationed in the lines to punish their patrols, who frequently had the audacity to approach within a few yards of the extremity. The evenings of the 18th and 19th, the enemy played off a number of rockets and other fireworks at Algeziras, accompanied with several discharges of cannon. They likewise saluted us from the lines with a volley of shells, and 21 rounds of shot. We could not divine the cause of these rejoicings. On the 25th some sparks of fire communicating to an ammunition box at Middle-hill guard, the contents blew up, and carried away great part of the wall and guard-house, bruising and burning several of the guard. The engineers were immediately ordered to repair the breach, and not quit the post till the works were in their original state. A reinforcement of a subaltern from the line, with a drum and 21 rank and file, was ordered likewise to join that guard every evening; and other regulations relative to it were established.

On the 29th Lieut. Angelo Raffaeli, of the Corsican company, was slightly wounded in the lines. In the evening, the gun and mortar boats, in-number

28, fired upon our shipping and the camp. They took their stations off Europa and Rosia, apparently determined to avoid the fire from the King's bastion (which they had found so fatal to these enterprises), and directed their fire principally against the Brilliant frigate, which was then at anchor off Buena Vista, and the St. Michael in the New mole. Their land batteries opened at the same time, directing a furious cannonade into the town, and along our northern front. The garrison returned their fire with great vivacity, though not with their usual success. Our gun-boats were also unfortunate, one of them being damaged very early in the action, and obliged to be towed in. We had 3 men killed, and 11 wounded; 6 of whom were of the 59th regiment. The enemy discharged from their boats 236 shot and 225 shells; and from the isthmus, 555 shot and 245 shells; after which, the former retired, and the latter were silent. The next day 4 gun-boats fired upon the Brilliant, *en passant*, but soon retired. At night, a soldier of the artillery, who had been punished some time before, threw himself down the precipice from the Queen's battery at Willis's: he passed so quickly by the men on duty, that he was scarcely seen; and was not known till he was missing the next morning. In the course of the month, one of the 25th regiment deserted, and another of the 58th (who had been entertained from the number that remained behind of the prisoners who were taken in the battering-ships) was retaken in attempting to get away. Two boats came in also from Faro, and a third was intercepted in her passage.

February was introduced by an animated fire from the garrison. Every part of the enemy's works felt the effects of our artillery. Thus affairs were proceeding, when, on the 2nd, letters from the Duc de Crillon informed the governor that the preliminaries of a general peace had been signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. When the boats met, the Spaniards rose up with transports of joy, and cried out, "We are all friends;" delivering the letters with the greatest



apparent satisfaction. They could not inform us what were the terms of the peace; which occasioned some anxiety in the garrison relative to the fate of Gibraltar. Previously to the boats meeting, the enemy discharged about 30 rounds, but never, after the letters were delivered, fired upon the garrison. Our artillery also ceased in the evening. The Spaniards, the succeeding day, advanced from their works, and conversed with our sentries in the lines, expressing their satisfaction that we were no longer enemies. This intercourse was, however, forbidden by the governor, who ordered the guards to inform those who approached our works that all correspondence of this nature was to be suspended, till official accounts were received from England of the peace. General Eliott answered the Duke's letter on the 3rd, and ordered the captain of artillery to fire an elevated shot, from Willis's, over any parties which might pass between their parallel and the Devil's tower. The Duke, on the 5th, informed the governor that the blockade by sea was discontinued; in consequence of which, a placard was published in the garrison, signifying that the port of Gibraltar was again open. About noon, an elevated gun was wantonly fired over their works, which was the last shot fired in this siege.

This return of tranquillity, this prospect of plenty, and relief from the daily vexations of so tedious a siege, could not fail to diffuse a general joy throughout the garrison. Indeed such feelings are seldom experienced; they baffle all attempts to describe them: far beyond the pleasure resulting from private instances of success or good fortune, ours was a social happiness; and the benevolent sentiments acted upon the heart with additional energy, on the prospect of meeting those as friends with whom we had been so long engaged in a succession of hostilities.

The Duke, on the 6th, informed the governor that the preliminaries had been signed the 20th of January at Paris, and that Gibraltar was to remain in the possession of Great Britain. From this period, operations on both

sides were suspended; each party anxiously waiting official accounts from England of the peace. Toward the close of the month, the Duke began to withdraw some of the ordnance from the advanced batteries, and to remove materials from the parallel to the camp. The garrison, on the other hand, were employed in making repairs, and in arranging various matters, which could not before be attended to. Several ships, and a number of boats, arrived from England and Portugal; so that provisions became every day more abundant, and consequently the prices of articles more moderate.

In the beginning of March, a schooner arrived from Barbary, with a letter accompanying a present of bullocks for the governor. We were ignorant of the contents of the letter: but, it was imagined, the subject was to request a renewal of our friendship. Two officers and 24 Corsicans, who in their passage to Gibraltar had been chased ashore on the coast of Barbary by the Spaniards, arrived also in this boat. The former informed us, that, upon the commencement of the attack of the battering-ships on the preceding 13th of September, the Moors at Tangier repaired to their mosques, imploring Heaven in behalf of their old allies; and that, on receiving accounts of the defeat of the enemy, they made public rejoicing, and gave every demonstration of their affection for the English nation.

When the cessation of hostilities took place, parleys were almost daily passing between the governor and the Duke; and the Spanish aides-de-camp never omitted expressing their surprise that the governor had not yet heard from England. Their patience as well as ours was nearly exhausted, when the long-expected frigate arrived on the 10th of March: but, for some time, even when she had got into the bay, she kept us in suspense, by steering close along the Spanish shore, and showing no colours. At length, however, the British ensign was displayed, and the anxious garrison saluted her with a general huzza. She was the *Thetis* frigate, Capt. Blankett; and, soon after she anchored, Sir Roger

Curtis (who had been knighted for his conduct on the 14th of September) landed with dispatches for the governor. The Duc de Crillon sent a parley to the garrison in the evening, which was answered the succeeding day. The subject of this correspondence probably was to appoint an interview between the generals, as, on the 12th, his Grace, attended by his suite, came down to the extremity of the western boyau, and sent an aide-de-camp to inform the governor he was arrived. General Elliott, attended by Lieut. Kochler, his aide-de-camp, soon afterwards rode out by Lower Forbes's, and was met by the Duke on the beach, half-way between the works and Bay-side barrier. Both generals instantly dismounted and embraced. When the common salutations were over, they conversed about half an hour, and then returned to their respective commands. The cannon in the Spanish batteries were now all dismounted; and large parties were daily removing them, with ammunition, also various materials, from their post at the Devil's tower to the lines and camp. As their guards were now considerably diminished, numbers of deserters were daily coming over to the garrison. They were principally foreigners; and the reason they gave was a dislike to the Spanish service.

The Duke, on the 18th, sent the governor a present of a grey Andalusian horse. The 22nd, the St. Michael man-of-war sailed for England, where she happily arrived safe. The day following, the governor, accompanied by General Green, the chief engineer, with their aides-de-camp, met the Duke in the Spanish works: they were conducted by his Grace through the whole, and afterwards to the cave at the Devil's tower. The governor dined with the Duke at San Roque, and returned in the evening. The 31st, the Duc de Crillon, accompanied by the Marquis de Saya, Prince de Mazarran, Counts de Jamaïque and de Serano, Don ———, the intendant, and Capt. Tendon, returned the visit. The governor received his Grace near Forbes's; and on entering the garrison, a salute was fired of 17 pieces of cannon

from the Grand battery. When the Duke appeared within the walls, the soldiers saluted him with a general huzza; which being unexpected by his Grace, it was said greatly confused him. The reason however being explained, he seemed highly pleased with the old English custom; and, as he passed up the main street, where the ruinous and desolate appearance of the town attracted a good deal of his observation, his Grace behaved with great affability.

The officers of the garrison were introduced by corps to the Duke, at the convent. When the artillery were mentioned, he received them in the most flattering manner: "Gentlemen," said his Grace, addressing himself to them, "I would rather see you here as friends, than on your batteries as enemies, where," added he, "you never spared me." The Duke afterwards visited the batteries on the heights. At Willis's he made some remarks on the formidable appearance of the lower defences; observing, whilst he pointed towards the Old mole battery, that, "had not his opinion been overruled, he should have directed all his efforts against that part of the garrison." The good state of our batteries in so short a period produced some compliments to the chief engineer; and, when conducted into the gallery above Farrington's battery,\* his Grace was particularly astonished, especially when he was informed of its extent, which at that time was between 500 and 600 feet. Turning to his suite, after exploring the extremity, "These works," he exclaimed, "are worthy of the Romans." After dinner (at which were present the generals and brigadiers in the garrison, with their suites), he passed through the camp to Europa, each regiment turning out without arms, and giving three cheers. The youth and good appearance of the troops much engaged his attention. When his curiosity was gratified in that quarter, he returned, and was conducted about 8 o'clock without Landport, being saluted with 17 cannon on his departure.

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\* Now called Windsor.

His horse started at the flash of the guns, and almost, if not entirely, unhorsed him; but he escaped without being hurt. The Duke, in the course of the conversation at dinner, paid many handsome compliments to the governor and garrison for their noble defence. "He had exerted himself (he said) to the utmost of his abilities; and, though he had not been successful, yet he was happy in having his sovereign's approbation of his conduct."

Before the Duc de Crillon entered the garrison, the Comte de Ruffignac, Colonel in the French service (who, the reader may remember, was very pressing for admittance into the garrison some few days after the defeat of the battering-ships, and who, for the sole purpose of seeing the place, had remained behind his brigade), was admitted into the garrison without the Duke's knowledge; and, being in the flèche at Landport when the Duke was approaching from Forbes's, his Grace could not avoid seeing him. As he had entered without the Duke's permission, his Grace requested he might not see him at the convent; and the Count, being informed of this, withdrew into the garrison, apparently much chagrined at the Duke's particularity. When his Grace returned, it was said, orders were given not to permit the Count to go back by way of the lines. The following evening, however, after satisfying his curiosity in the garrison, he returned.

The 2nd of April the Duc de Crillon quitted the camp to repair to Madrid. He was succeeded in command by Lieut.-General the Marquis de Saya, or Zaya, who had accompanied his Grace into the garrison, and (what was very singular) had served as an officer at the preceding siege of Gibraltar in 1727. Deserters still continued coming over to us, and the Spaniards were employed in removing materials from the neutral ground to the lines. Letters often passed between the Marquis and General Elliott; but, though the latter requested to pay his compliments at San Roque, the etiquette observed by the former (orders having been received from Madrid to prevent all in-

tercourse) would not for some time permit him to receive the governor. The 15th of April Sir Roger Curtis sailed in the *Brilliant* frigate on an embassy to the Emperor of Morocco: he took with him, as a present, four brass 26-pounders (which had been weighed from the wreck of the battering-ships), with proportionable ammunition.

His Majesty having been pleased to confer upon the governor the Most Honourable Order of the Bath,\* as a mark of his royal approbation for the defence of Gibraltar; and having signified his pleasure by Sir Roger Curtis, that Lieut.-General Boyd should act as his Majesty's representative in investing General Elliott with the insignia of the order, which ceremony was to be performed in as splendid and magnificent a manner as the state of the garrison would permit; the engineers, soon after the arrival of the *Thetis*, began to erect a colonnade upon the rampart of the King's bastion, that the honours might be conferred where the victory was gained. By the 23rd of April (St. George's day) the colonnade was finished; and, every preparation for the ceremony being completed, the governor commenced by communicating to the troops the thanks of their king and country for their defence of Gibraltar. Detachments from all the regiments and corps, with all the officers not on duty, were assembled in three lines on the Red sands at eight o'clock in the morning; and the governor taking post in the centre of the second line, and the usual compliments being

\* This was not the only honour conferred on the General for his services in defending Gibraltar. Parliament voted him a handsome pension for life; and his sovereign, on his return to Britain in 1787, gave him an additional mark of his approbation by raising him to the British peerage, by the style and title of Lord Heathfield, Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar, with the honourable distinction of bearing, in chief, with his own arms, the arms of the garrison. General Boyd was also honoured with the Order of the Bath, and General Green distinguished by a baronetcy. After General Elliott's elevation to the peerage he was never employed on active service; and a short time afterwards he was attacked with paralysis, of which he died, at his residence near Aix-la-Chapelle, aged 72.

paid, his Excellency addressed himself to the garrison as follows:—

“Gentlemen—I have assembled you this day, in order that the officers and soldiers may receive, in the most public manner, an authentic declaration transmitted to me by the secretary of state, expressing the high sense his Majesty entertains of your meritorious conduct in defence of this garrison. The King’s satisfaction upon this event was soon divulged to all the world, by his most gracious speech to both houses of Parliament. The House of Lords and the House of Commons not only made the suitable professions in their addresses to the throne, but have severally en-joined me to communicate their unanimous thanks by the following resolutions:—

• Die Veneris, 13 Decembris, 1782.

‘Resolved, nemine dissentiente, by the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, that this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the services of the officers, soldiers, and sailors, lately employed in the defence of Gibraltar; and that General Eliott do signify the same to them.’

• Die Jovis, 12 Decembris, 1782.

‘Resolved, nemine contradicente, that the thanks of this House [Commons] be given to Lieut-General Boyd, Major-General de la Motte, Major-General Green, chief engineer; to Sir Roger Curtis, Knt., and to the officers, soldiers, and sailors, lately employed in the defence of Gibraltar.’”

The governor then proceeded:—  
“No army has ever been rewarded by higher national honours: and it is well known how great, universal, and spontaneous were the rejoicings throughout the kingdom upon the news of your success. These must not only give you inexpressible pleasure, but afford matter of triumph to your dearest friends and latest posterity. As a farther proof how just your title is to such flattering distinctions at home, rest assured, from

undoubted authority, that the nations in Europe and other parts are struck with admiration of your gallant behaviour: even our late resolute and determined antagonists do not scruple to bestow the commendations due to such valour and perseverance.

“I now most warmly congratulate you on these united and brilliant testimonies of approbation, amidst such numerous, such exalted tokens of applause: and forgive me, faithful companions, if I humbly crave your acceptance of my grateful acknowledgments. I only presume to ask this favour, as having been a constant witness of your cheerful submission to the greatest hardships, your matchless spirit and exertions, and on all occasions your heroic contempt of every danger.”

A grand feu-de-joie was then fired by the line, each discharge commencing with a royal salute of 21 guns. Three cheers closed the ceremony. The commander-in-chief, general and field officers, afterwards withdrew; and the detachments (formed two deep) marched into town, and lined the streets leading from the convent, by the Spanish church and Grand parade, to the King’s bastion. About half-past eleven o’clock, the procession began to move in the following order: all uncovered, and two deep, except the troops under arms.

MARSHAL,

Music, 12th Regiment,

Playing

“See the conquering Hero comes.”

ARTILLERY.

QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL, and  
ADJUTANT-GENERAL, TOWN-MAJOR,  
and DEPUTY;

With other Staff of the Garrison.

First Division of Field Officers,

Youngest first.

Music 58th Regiment.

The COMMISSIONER’S SECRETARY,  
Bearing on a crimson velvet cushion  
The Commission.

The COMMISSIONER’S AIDES-DE-CAMP.  
LIEUT. GENERAL BOYD, the  
KING’S COMMISSIONER.

The GOVERNOR’S SECRETARY,  
Bearing, on a crimson velvet cushion,

The Insignia  
Of the Order of the Bath.  
The GOVERNOR'S AIDES-DE CAMP,  
as Esquires.  
GENERAL ELIOTT,  
The KNIGHT ELECT;  
Supported by Generals DE LA MOTTE  
and GREEN.  
Aides-de-camp to the Major-Generals.  
MAJOR-GENERAL PICTON.  
His Aide-de-camp.  
The Brigadier-Generals, eldest first.  
Their Brigade Majors.  
Music, De la Motte's.  
Second Division of Field Officers,  
Eldest first.  
Music, 56th Regiment.  
The Grenadiers of the Garrison.

No compliment was paid to the knight elect; but, as the commissioner passed, each regiment, with the officers, saluted. When the procession arrived at the colonnade, the general and field officers placed themselves on each side of the throne; the artillery formed under the colonnade, and the grenadiers fronting the bastion, along the line-wall. The proper reverences being made to the vacant throne, the commissioner desired his secretary to read the commission: which being done, he addressed the knight elect in a short complimentary speech, taking the riband at the conclusion, and placing it over the governor's shoulder, who inclined a little for that purpose: three reverences were then a second time made, and each took his seat on a crimson velvet chair on each side of the throne, the commissioner sitting on the right hand. The governor was no sooner invested than the music struck up "God save the King." The grenadiers fired a volley, and a grand discharge of 160 pieces of cannon was fired from the sea-line. The procession then passed forward through the colonnade, and returned in the same order. The detachments were afterwards dismissed, and each non-commissioned officer and private received a pound of fresh beef and a quart of wine. The generals, with their suites, and the field-officers, dined at the convent. In the evening the colonnade

was illuminated with different-coloured lamps, and transparent paintings in the back scene: and Sir George Augustus Eliott, with the lieutenant-governor and principal officers of the garrison, assembling at the King's bastion about nine o'clock, there was a display of fire-works from the North and South bastions, and the Spanish church; the principal of which were fired from the latter, being opposite to the company.

Thus, in festivity and with honour, ended the labours of the garrison of Gibraltar. During a period of three years, seven months, and twelve days (that is from the commencement of the blockade to the cessation of arms), we had experienced a continued series of watchfulness and fatigue, the horrors of famine, and every harassing and vexatious mode of attack which a powerful, obstinate, and revengeful enemy could devise. On reviewing the transactions of this period, two circumstances cannot fail to strike the attentive reader; viz. the very slow manner in which the enemy proceeded in their early operations, and the impossibility of maintaining so strict a blockade as to prevent all communication by sea. To evince these, and other circumstances not unimportant to military readers, I have been reduced to greater accuracy, and minuteness than ordinary historians are obliged to observe; and instead of the acuteness of investigation, or a splendid sententiousness, I have been necessitated to pursue the narrative, almost uninterruptedly, in the tedious form of a journal. I have not presumed to intersperse many animadversions of my own: the only merit to which I can lay any claim, is that of a faithful narration of facts; and I confess I would at any time rather walk in the beaten track of truth, than mislead the judgment of my readers in the wilds of fancy and conjecture.

A return of casualties is annexed, also the expenditure of ammunition, both by the enemy and the garrison. These papers, as well as the estimate of provisions, I thought better to throw into the form of an Appendix, than to interrupt the narrative by their insertion.

# APPENDIX.

## ETAT GÉNÉRAL DE L'ARMÉE ESPAGNOLE ET FRANÇOISE EMPLOYÉE AU SIEGE DE GIBRALTAR,

SOUS LES ORDRES DE SON EXCELLENCE LE DUC DE CRILLON.

### ÉTAT MAJOR DE L'ARMÉE ESPAGNOLE.

GÉNÉRAL EN CHEF LE CAPITAINE-GÉNÉRAL DUC DE CRILLON.

Lieutenans Généraux.	Maréchaux de Camp.	Brigadiers.
D'Abarea,	Le Marquis de Zayas d'haut-Regard,	De Garcia de
Commandant-Général des	Commandant des Gardes Wal-	la Mora.
Ingénieurs.	lones.	D'Allenès.
Le Comte de Lascey,	De Tilly, Colonel d'Artillerie.	D'Hoces.
Commandant-Général de	De Teller, Commandt. des Gardes	De Betchart.
l'Artillerie.	Espagnoles.	D'Imperioli.
De Habor.	D'Oliver, Major-Général de l'In-	De Guevara.
Le Comte de Revilagigedo.	fanterie.	De Tirrel.
Le Marquis de Casagagigal.	Le Marquis de Mont-Hermoso,	Le Marquis de
	Major-Général de la Cavalerie et	d'Avilles.
	Dragons.	De Moro.
	De Pacheco.	De Caro.
	Le Marquis de Brancéforté.	De Gourales.
	De Roca.	De Fout.
	Le Marquis de Torremasana.	De Lancaster.
		De Castel
		d'Oscins.
		De Sangro.
		Le Prince de
		Montfort.
		De Serrino.
		De Moya.
		De Colona.
		Le Marquis de
		Valparaiso.
		Le Duc de
		Montellano.
		De Nova Cer-
		rada.
		De Pignatelli.
		De Pacheco
		Le Marquis
		Giron.
		d'Alos.
		D'Estacharia.

### INFANTERIE.

REGIMENS.	Bataillons.	Compagnies de Grenadiers.	Compagnies de Fusiliers.	Colonels.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Ajudaus.	Porte-Drapeaux.	Capitaines.	Premiers Lieutenans.	Second Lieutens.	Sous-Lieutens.	Sergens.	Caporaux.	Tambours et Fûtes.	Soldats.	Total des Officiers et Soldats.
Gardes Espagnoles . . .	4	4	24	.	.	1	8	.	28	28	28	28	168	448	112	2184	2912
Gardes Walloues . . .	4	4	24	.	.	1	8	.	28	28	28	28	168	448	112	2184	2912
Saboya . . . . .	1	1	8	.	1	1	2	9	9	9	9	9	96	71	20	572	689
Cordova . . . . .	2	2	16	.	1	1	2	9	9	9	9	9	96	71	19	572	688
Burgos . . . . .	2	2	16	1	1	1	2	4	18	18	18	18	52	142	39	1144	1377
Murcia . . . . .	2	2	16	1	1	1	2	4	18	18	18	18	52	142	39	1144	1377
Altonia . . . . .	1	1	8	1	1	1	2	9	9	9	9	9	26	71	20	572	689
Volontaires d'Aragon	1	1	6	.	1	1	2	6	6	6	6	6	18	36	9	324	387
1er. Reg. de Catalogne	2	2	12	1	1	1	2	4	12	12	12	12	36	72	17	1680	1805
La Princessa . . . .	1	1	8	.	1	1	2	9	9	9	9	9	26	71	19	572	688
Naples . . . . .	2	2	16	1	1	1	2	4	18	18	18	18	52	142	39	1144	1377
Betchart . . . . .	2	2	8	1	1	1	2	10	10	10	8	10	48	64	25	1054	1191
Compge. de Grenadiers	2	22	.	.	.	.	.	.	22	22	.	22	44	120	22	1152	1338
Cavalerie demontée	2	20	.	1	1	1	2	4	20	20	.	20	40	120	27	1160	1347
Dragons do.	2	22	.	.	.	.	.	.	22	22	.	22	.	.	.	.	.
Grenads. Provinciaux	6	60	.	3	3	9	6	.	60	60	.	60	120	360	60	3960	4509
Artillerie . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	60	120	24	1126	1341
Volontaires de Crillon	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Total Infanterie . .	35	144	154	10	13	19	39	30	298	298	64	298	962	2509	612	20544	24627

## CAVALERIE ET DRAGONS.

RÉGIMENS.	Escadrons.	Compagnies de Grenadiers.	Compagnies de Fusiliers.	Colonels.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Ajudans.	Porte-Drapeaux.	Capitaines.	Premiers Lieutenans.	Second Lieut.	Sous-Lieuts.	Sergens.	Caporaux.	Tambours et Fifres.	Soldats.	Total de Bas-Officiers et Soldats.
Du Roi . . . . .	1	.	3	.	1	.	1	1	2	3	.	3	6	12	2	108	128
De la Reine . . . . .	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	.	4	8	16	3	156	183
Du Prince . . . . .	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	.	4	8	16	3	156	183
De Bourbon . . . . .	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	7	7	.	.	14	28	5	164	311	
De Earsese . . . . .	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	3	4	.	4	8	16	3	156	183
D'Alcantara . . . . .	1	.	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	.	3	6	12	2	108	128
D'Algarves . . . . .	1	.	3	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	.	3	6	12	2	108	128
De Calatrava . . . . .	1	.	3	.	1	1	1	1	2	3	.	3	6	12	2	108	128
De San Iago . . . . .	1	.	3	.	1	1	1	1	2	3	.	3	6	12	2	108	128
De Mendoza . . . . .	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	.	4	8	14	3	156	183
De Volontaires . . . . .	1	.	3	.	1	1	1	1	2	3	.	3	6	12	2	108	128
De Pavie, Dragons . . . . .	2	1	6	3	1	1	1	2	6	1	.	7	14	24	10	264	316
De Lusitania . . . . .	2	1	6	1	1	1	1	2	6	1	.	7	14	28	7	264	316
Total Cavalerie, &c.	16	7	58	12	7	7	9	16	47	43	.	55	110	220	46	2064	2440
Do. Infanterie . . . . .	35	144	154	10	13	19	39	30	299	298	64	293	962	2509	612	20544	24627
Total général . . . . .	51	151	202	22	20	26	48	46	345	341	64	353	1072	2729	658	22608	27067

## ÉTAT MAJOR DES TROUPES FRANÇOISES.

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## LE MARQUIS DE BOUZOLZ, COMMANDANT EN SECOND.

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Le Marquis de Crillon, Brigadier.	Le Vte. de Veneur, Maître de Camp, Col.	Le Comte. E. de Sparre, M.-de-C., Col.
De Portal, Major-Général.	Le Marquis de Guérchy, ditto en second.	Le Baron d'Hamilton, M.-de-C. en second.
Le Baron F. le Fort } Aides Maj.-Généraux.	Dubourg, Lieut.-Col.	D. O. Conell, Lt.-Col.
Le Baron C. le Fort } Aides Maj.-Généraux.	De Cappy, Major.	D'Orsner, Major.
	Le Comte de Crillon, Maître de Camp, Col.	Le Baron de Wimpffen, M.-de-C., Col.
	Le Vidame de Nassé, ditto en second.	Le Baron de Nivenheim, ditto en second.
	Le Chev. de St. Roman, Lieut. Col.	De Peyrier, Lieut. Col.
	De Portal, Major.	O'Ghier, Major.
	Artillerie.	Génie.
De Goenand, Lieut.-Col.-Commandant.	D'Arçon, Colonel.	Doria, Major.
De Barras, Capitaine, aide-Maj.	De l'Hillier } Capitaines.	De Bonleman } Capitaines.
D'Artan } Capitnes.	Gromar de Quinten } Capitnes.	D'Assigny } Capitaines.
D'Hemery } Lieuts. en premier.	Cadman } Lieuts. en premier.	De Samis } Lieutenans.
Le Ch.-d'Alphonse } en second.	De Marten } en second.	Damoiseau } Lieutenans.
Pich } au troisième.	Fourrier } au troisième.	D'Aumont } Lieutenans.
Hommes, 130.		
Le Marq. de Puissegur, Capitaine, avec brev. de Colonel.		
Administration.		
Intendant de Rouissière.	Monmergues, Inspecteur	VIVI
Commissaire de Boileau.	Demange, Directeur	
Commissaire du Demain		
De Wildemonth } Capitaines	Thion, Premier Médecin.	
De Meunier } en second.	Bodners, Chirurgien	
Officiers chargés du détail de la Tranchée.	Massol, second do.	Hôpital.
Brochel, Directeur		
Chamel, Sous-Directeur		

Régimens.	D'Officiers supérieurs.	D'Hommes.
Brigade De Lyonnais . . . . .	65	1,024
Française De Bretagne . . . . .	65	1,016
Brigade Royale Suédois . . . . .	65	1,000
Allemande De Bouillon . . . . .	52	1,025
Total Français . . . . .	247	4,055
Espagnol . . . . .	1669	27,067
Grand total . . . . .	1916	31,122

33,038 Officiers et d'hommes.

Il y avoit un Corps d'Ingénieurs aux ordres de M. d'Abarca, composé de 8 Ingénieurs en Chef, 12 en second, 11 ordinaires, 14 extraordinaires, 12 Ajudans. Une Compagnie de Marchaillée, de 40 Cavaliers, aux ordres d'un Lieut. Il y a une Compagnie de Cadets, dont le Capitaine est un Colonel. Les Compagnies de Sapeurs ont chacune un Capitaine, un Lieutenant, un Sous-Lieutenant.

## A GENERAL RETURN OF CASUALTIES.

REGIMENTS.	Killed.			Dead of Wounds.			Disabled by Wounds.			Wounded, but recovered.			Dead by Sickness.			De- serted.					
	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	Rank & File.				
Royal Artillery	2	1	0	20	0	0	0	8	0	2	0	11	8	2	1	105	1	1	0	34	1
12th Regiment	1	3	1	13	0	0	0	10	1	0	0	10	2	4	7	89	0	3	0	32	3
25th "	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	1	0	0	13	1
30th "	1	3	1	16	1	1	0	6	0	0	0	10	3	5	1	44	0	1	0	37	5
56th "	0	0	0	17	0	1	0	9	1	0	0	6	3	2	0	59	1	4	1	34	3
58th "	1	1	0	11	0	1	0	5	0	0	1	8	2	2	2	61	0	1	1	53	11
59th "	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	33	0
72nd "	0	2	0	31	0	2	0	21	0	1	1	21	3	11	5	109	0	1	0	47	9
73rd "	0	0	0	30	0	1	0	13	1	5	0	31	5	2	0	77	0	0	0	58	2
95th "	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	5	0	1	0	4	0	3	1	33	1	6	0	106	1
Reden's Regiment	0	2	0	7	0	0	1	5	0	1	0	4	1	1	1	33	1	1	0	16	1
De la Motte's	0	3	0	16	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	42	2	2	0	10	1
Sydow's, formerly Hardenberg's	0	2	0	18	0	0	0	6	0	2	0	6	1	7	2	69	0	0	0	5	5
Soldier-Artificer Company	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	3	0	30	0	0	0	23	0
Marine Brigade	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Corsican Comp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	19	2	197	1	6	2	101	3	13	2	120	31	46	20	773	7	22	2	505	43

## ABSTRACT OF THE TOTAL LOSS OF THE GARRISON.

Killed, and dead of wounds . . . . .	333
Disabled by wounds (discharged) . . . . .	138
Dead of sickness, exclusive of those who died of the scurvy in 1779 and 1780 . . . . .	536
Discharged, from incurable complaints . . . . .	181
Deserted . . . . .	43
Total . . . . .	1231



**EXPENDITURE OF AMMUNITION FROM THE GARRISON AND  
BY THE ENEMY.**

GARRISON.						ENEMY.		
Commencing the 12th of September, 1779, and ending the 3rd of February, 1783.						Commencing the 12th of April, 1781, and ending the 2nd of February, 1783.		
MONTHS.	Shot.	Shells.	Grape.	Car- casses.	Light balls.	MONTHS.	Agreeable to the La- boratory Accounts.	
							Shot.	Shells.
1779.						Enemy silent.	..	..
Sept. 12 to 30 . . .	1767	201	..	..	..		..	..
October . . . . .	372	1116	1	..	6		..	..
November . . . . .	57	183	5	..	..		..	..
December . . . . .	82	63	6	..	4		..	..
1780.							..	..
January . . . . .	88	131	38	..	..		..	..
February . . . . .	2	6	3	..	..		..	..
March . . . . .	17	7	3	..	..		..	..
April . . . . .	6	..	..	..	..		..	..
May . . . . .	8	..	6	..	..		..	..
June . . . . .	123	..	..	..	..		..	..
July . . . . .	246	..	..	..	..		..	..
August . . . . .	56	..	..	..	..		..	..
September . . . . .	6	..	..	..	..		..	..
October . . . . .	85	243	73	1	160		..	..
November . . . . .	771	6004	510	63	64		..	..
December . . . . .	160	4242	250	79	54		..	..
1781.						..	..	
January . . . . .	33	875	63	22	8	..	..	
February . . . . .	32	346	76	9	..	..	..	
March . . . . .	23	221	17	13	..	..	..	
April . . . . .	2672	2494	26	2	..	1781.	..	
May . . . . .	804	2742	23	6	..	April 12 to } May 31 }	56760	
June . . . . .	828	2250	104	35	3	June . . . . .	8799	
July . . . . .	428	761	51	13	5	July . . . . .	3036	
August . . . . .	130	172	103	56	2	August . . . . .	1350	
September . . . . .	2614	6228	213	58	42	September . . . . .	9320	
October . . . . .	1722	11515	64	19	53	October . . . . .	15754	
November . . . . .	509	3587	82	33	5	November . . . . .	2430	
December . . . . .	632	7119	139	60	44	December . . . . .	3375	
1782.						..	..	
January . . . . .	722	11052	132	60	23	January . . . . .	4342	
February . . . . .	2617	7295	177	21	19	February . . . . .	3046	
March . . . . .	3657	10362	733	56	45	March . . . . .	5828	
April . . . . .	2314	2768	370	..	..	April . . . . .	3541	
May . . . . .	2315	1669	352	..	14	May . . . . .	2418	
June . . . . .	2052	178	263	1	8	June . . . . .	2190	
July . . . . .	228	37	100	..	13	July . . . . .	..	
August . . . . .	5441	1781	1047	3	48	August . . . . .	750	
September . . . . .	13557	3262	479	215	..	September . . . . .	36432	
October . . . . .	2504	6981	735	12	14	October . . . . .	11312	
November . . . . .	1947	5701	1157	74	17	November . . . . .	2897	
December . . . . .	2595	12159	1422	26	3	December . . . . .	1036	
1783.						..	..	
January . . . . .	2640	14176	3444	42	25	January . . . . .	1067	
February . . . . .	210	1047	414	..	..	February . . . . .	53	
Total . . . . .	57163	129151	12681	926	679	Total . . . . .	175741	
							68363	

Total . . . . . 200,600 rounds.  
British gun-boats . . . . . 4,728 shot.  
205,328

Total . . . . . 244,104 { rounds, all of a  
heavy nature.  
Spanish gun-boats 14,283 shot and shells.  
258,387

The garrison expended very near 6000 barrels of powder; and the number of ordnance damaged and destroyed during the siege amounted to 53.

The number of barrels of powder expended by the enemy could never be ascertained, nor what ordnance was destroyed.

*An Estimate of the Prices fixed upon Provisions by a Committee of Officers, at Gibraltar, October the 23rd, 1782. To which is annexed the price of various articles, as they were sold at different Periods of the Blockade and Siege.*

The sums are turned into sterling, at the average exchange of 3s. 3d. the dollar; though the Garrison exchange fluctuated between 3s. 4d. and 3s. 6d.

PRICES DURING THE BLOCKADE.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.			
Fresh beef, veal, and mutton, per lb.	0	2	6	.	.	.	.	From 0	2	1	to 0	4	10½	
Pork, ditto	0	1	3	.	.	.	.	From 0	2	1	„	0	4	1
Ducks and fowls, per couple	0	9	9	.	.	.	.	From 0	13	0	„	1	1	11½
A goose	0	11	0	.	.	.	.					1	10	4
A turkey	0	14	7½	.	.	.	.					2	8	9
A pair of pigeons	0	3	3	.	.	.	.					0	9	9
Corned beef, per lb.	0	1	3	Round of beef, per lb.								0	2	11
Corned pork, ditto	0	0	10	Salt beef and pork, ditto								0	1	3
Ham, ditto	0	1	10½									0	4	1
Bacon and dried tongues, ditto	0	1	3									0	3	3
Cheese, ditto	0	1	3									0	4	1
Salt butter, ditto	0	1	10½					From 0	2	6	to 0	4	1	
An egg	0	0	2½	per dozen								0	4	10½
Pickled tripe, per lb.	0	1	3											
Potatoes, ditto	0	0	7½									0	2	6
Loaf sugar, ditto	0	2	6	Sold at an Auction for								17	1	
Powder, ditto	0	2	1					From 0	2	6	to 0	4	10½	
Best green tea, ditto	1	1	11½											
Bohea or Souchong, ditto	0	13	0					From 1	8	0	„	2	5	6
Coffee, ditto	0	1	10½									0	5	9
Flour, ditto	0	0	7½					From 0	1	3	„	0	2	1
Mould candles, ditto	0	1	0½											
Common, ditto	0	0	10									0	2	6
A hogshead of porter	5	13	9½											
Bottled porter (with bottles), per doz.	0	14	7½											
A hogshead of port wine	24	7	6											
Port wine (with bottles), per doz.	1	12	5½											
Good common wine, per gallon.	0	4	11	Malaga wine, per bottle								0	4	10½
Inferior ditto, ditto	0	3	8									0	2	6
Claret (with bottles), per dozen	1	17	4½											
Best fish, per lb.	0	1	3											
Inferior kind, ditto	0	0	10											
Small fry, ditto	0	0	7½											

} These articles were generally sold, according to their size and quality, at most exorbitant rates.

These articles were generally sold, according to their size and quality, at most exorbitant rates.

This estimate afterwards underwent some small alteration by the Committee, the wines being fixed, they thought, at too low a price. Beside the articles mentioned under the head of the Blockade price, the following sold in the course of the siege for the sums annexed to them:—

	£.	s.	d.
A calf's head and feet	1	14	1½
A calf's pluck	0	14	7½
Hind quarter, with the head and tail of an Algerine sheep	7	10	0
Head and feet of a sheep	0	14	7½
A bullock's head, without tongue	1	3	4½

	£.	s.	d.
A bullock's heart . . . . .	0	9	9
A goat's head . . . . .	0	8	1½
Onions, per lb. . . . .	0	2	6
A cabbage . . . . .	0	1	7½
A bunch of cabbage-leaves . . . . .	0	0	5
A bunch of carrots and turnips . . . . .	0	1	0½
A small bunch of radishes . . . . .	0	0	5
A pint of milk and water . . . . .	0	1	3
A lemon . . . . .	0	0	5
A quill . . . . .	0	0	6½
A live pig sold for . . . . .	9	14	9

A large sow in pig sold for upwards of 29l. A goat, with a young kid, both of which had been purchased in England for 15s., sold in the garrison, when the latter was about twelve months old, for near 12l. An English milch-cow was sold, in 1780, for 50 guineas; reserving to the seller a pint of milk each day whilst she gave milk; and another cow was purchased by a Jew for 60 guineas, but the beast was in so feeble a condition that she dropped down dead before she had been removed many hundred yards. If these facts were not thought sufficient to demonstrate the exorbitant prices of every article in the garrison, others could be adduced of equally as surprising a complexion.

*The following are the proportions of the Prize-Money, as distributed to the Garrison of Gibraltar, from the sums arising from the Head-Money granted by Parliament for destroying the Battering-Ships, and the sale of the St. Michael man-of-war.*

The subsequent sums are proportions of 30,000l., which was the sum first divided.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The governor, 1-16th . . . . .	1875	0	0	Captain . . . . .	43	10	1
Lieutenant-governor . . . . .	937	10	0	Lieutenant . . . . .	25	5	6
Major-general . . . . .	468	15	0	Second lieutenant and ensign . . . . .	22	0	6½
Brigadier-general . . . . .	267	10	0	Serjeant . . . . .	3	6	9
Colonel . . . . .	156	1	0	Corporal . . . . .	2	0	11½
Lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	80	16	0	Private . . . . .	1	9	1
Major . . . . .	57	15	6				

A second Act of Parliament afterwards passed, for granting to the garrison whatever might be fished up from the wrecks of the battering-ships; and those employed in this duty proceeded with such success, that brass and iron cannon, with other articles, were recovered to a considerable value.

Two divisions, of 16,000l. and 8000l., have since been distributed; the latter of which, it is imagined, will be the last.

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